The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon

A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13-17

DANIEL A. MACHIELA

BRILL

The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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By

Daniel A. Machiela

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Dedicated to
my wife Jody Louise Machiela
with utmost love, respect, and gratitude
קמו בניה ויאשרוה
בעלה ויהללה

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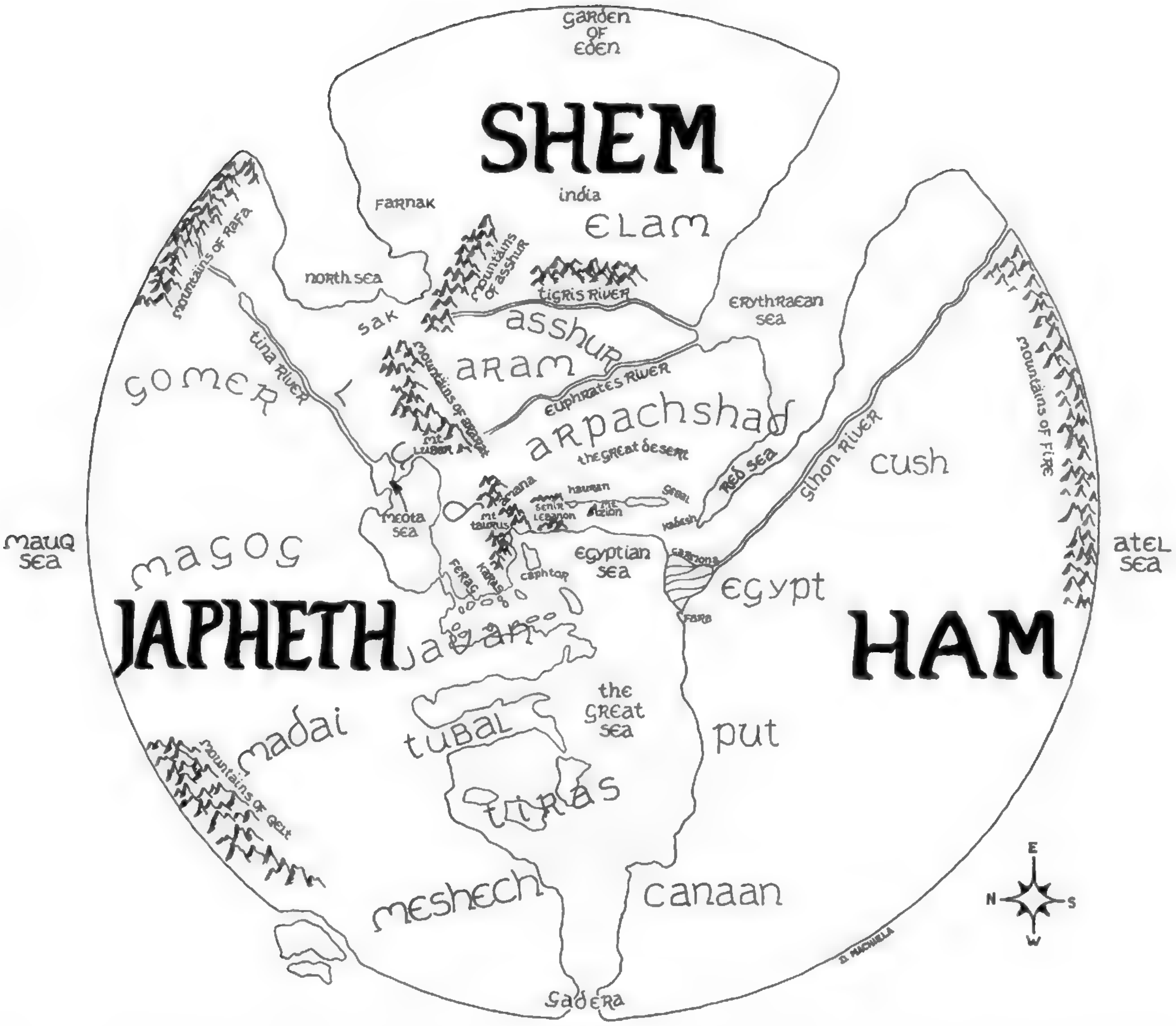
Daniel Machiela
Notre Dame, IN
March 2008

ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJA	*Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*
DJBA	*Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*
DJPA	*Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*
DLZ	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of Dead Sea Scrolls*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSJSup	Supplement to *JSJ*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Supplement to *JSP*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
KS	*Kirjath Sepher* (קרית ספר)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*


Garden of Eden
SHEM
Farnak
india
Elam
north sea
mountains of Asshur
tigris river
Erythraean sea
sak
asshur
mountains of Rafa
tina river
gomer
aram
mountains of Ararat
euphrates river
arpachshad
mt Lubar
the great desert
Red sea
Gihon river
cush
mountains of fire
amana
hauran
Gebal
mt taurus
Senir
Lebanon
mt Zion
kadesh
meota sea
Mauq sea
magog
Ferag
Karas
caphtor
Egyptian sea
Gaazona
egypt
Atel sea
Fara
JAPHETH
javan
HAM
the great sea
madai
tubal
put
mountains of Qelt
tiras
meshech
canaan
E
N
S
W
B. Machiela
Gadera

Map 1. New Reconstruction of a World Map Like That Underlying Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon

SECTION ONE

THE BACKGROUND AND TEXT OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

CHAPTER ONE

THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON: ISSUES AND OBJECTIVES

In 1947 a tattered, brittle, parchment scroll was found in a well-hidden cave near the Dead Sea. At first, it was unassumingly called the "Fourth Scroll," since it was the last scroll to be unrolled of four manuscripts purchased by Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the Syrian Metropolitan of Jerusalem.[1] As the contents of the scroll slowly unfolded, however, it came to be known as the Book (or Apocalypse) of Lamech, and later still "A Genesis Apocryphon" (abbreviated as 1QapGen, 1QapGen^{ar}, or 1Q20).[2] While this title has some shortcomings, it has become sufficiently entrenched to deter further change.[3]

In its present state, the Aramaic scroll tells the stories of the biblical patriarchs Enoch, Lamech, Noah, and Abram, mostly from a first person perspective.[4] While the narrative is clearly related to Genesis 6–15, the two texts are far from identical (as the scroll's latest name suggests). For example, Moshe Bernstein has detailed a number of instances where the author of the scroll has rearranged, anticipated, and harmonized aspects of the biblical account.[5] To this we might also append a number of additions and subtractions.

1.1. Objectives

The present study is composed of three main parts: 1) an introduction to previous research on the Genesis Apocryphon; 2) a new, annotated transcription and translation of the scroll, accompanied by textual notes; and 3) a case study of one area in which recently or newly published portions of text improve our understanding of the scroll—namely, geography. This thematic analysis will be followed by some brief, concluding observations on the nature and possible purpose of the scroll.

The introduction to prior research, put forth in the present chapter, synthesizes a number of issues and proposals surrounding the Apocryphon raised since its initial publication in 1956. My aim here is to contextualize ensuing parts of the dissertation within the current stream of research, and to provide a backdrop against which final conclusions may be proffered. In order to prevent clutter and repetition, this section is designed to be representative of previous scholarship, rather than exhaustive. However, an effort has been made to provide adequate bibliography for further research on each topic presented.

The text, translation, and notes are preceded by their own introduction, in which I explain the need for a new edition. My goal in the second chapter is to provide those interested in the Apocryphon with a more comprehensive, accurate, and serviceable edition than those currently available.

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[1] It was originally found along with six others, but three of the scrolls were eventually purchased by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, through the arrangement of Professor Eliezer Lipa Sukenik.

[2] A more extensive history of the discovery and publication of the scroll will be recounted in Chapter 2. Also see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd rev. ed.; Biblica et Orientalia 18/B; Roma: Editrice Pontifico Instituto Biblico [Pontifical Biblical Institute Press], 2004), 13 25. (Subsequent reference to Fitzmyer's commentary will be to the 3rd edition, unless otherwise indicated). From this point forward I will use a definite article when referring to the scroll, a practice first adopted by E. Y. Kutscher shortly after its initial publication. See E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon': A Preliminary Study," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana IV; eds C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958), 1 35; repr. in מחקרים בעברית ובארמית [Hebrew and Aramaic Studies] (eds Z. Ben-Hayyim, A. Dotan and G. Sarfatti; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), 3 36.

[3] See the opinions of D. Flusser, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *Kiryat Sefer* (קרית ספר) 32:4 (1956 57): 379 n. 3 [Hebrew]; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (Studies in Biblical Theology 26; trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM Press, 1959), 14 n. 1; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 16. They (and I) prefer the suggestion of B. Mazar, ספר אבות "Book of the Patriarchs."

[4] Hence, the Genesis Apocryphon is frequently part of discussions on ancient pseudepigraphic works. First person narration occurs in most, but not all, of the scroll. A brief but penetrating discussion of its mix between pseudepigraphic and third-person narrative is found in the early review of the original publication by Flusser, review of Avigad and Yadin, 379 83. Also see M. J. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; eds E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1 26 [esp. 15 17]. The widespread phenomenon of first-person pseudepigraphy is helpfully placed in its broader Near Eastern setting by P. Machinist, "The Voice of the Historian in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean World," *Interpretation* 57:2 (April 2003): 117 137.

[5] M. J. Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3:1 (1996): 37 57. This trait has often been compared to the autobiographical perspectives of the first portion of the Book of Tobit and the various patriarchal Testaments (e.g. the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, or the Jewish portions of Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) composed during the second temple period.

The third chapter focuses on only one of many areas in which new or recently published material from the Apocryphon impacts not only our knowledge of this scroll, but also of other early Jewish texts, and second temple Judaism in general. The subject of this chapter is the geography of the Genesis Apocryphon, particularly as it relates to geographic usage in the Book of Jubilees. While both of these texts appear to employ geography to similar ends, it will be seen that use of geography is more comprehensive in the Apocryphon, and that the two texts may not be as similar as many had previously assumed. The goals of that chapter are to highlight a major exegetical and theological motif in the Apocryphon, and to enhance our understanding of its oft noted relationship with Jubilees.

The concluding chapter is dedicated to offering some thoughts on the scroll's composition, date, and provenance, especially in light of newly published or emended portions of text and the results of the preceding chapters. Based on the contents and language of the Apocryphon, it is suggested that an early to mid-second century BCE date of composition is most plausible, and that the scroll was produced by a Judean group with a number of concerns that overlapped matters deemed important by the Qumran Essenes.

1.2. Current Issues in Study of the Genesis Apocryphon

As the contents of the Dead Sea Scrolls were revealed—a process that has taken over five decades—questions dear to modern text-critical scholars began to be asked of each work. What is this scroll about? How old is it? From which Jewish community did it initially emerge? Is it a product of the alleged Essene community at Qumran? How should it be classified? How does it fit into the history and literature of the period? How does it relate to the Bible? Ever since the initial publication of five of the Genesis Apocryphon's columns by Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin in 1956, efforts to answer such questions vis-à-vis the Genesis Apocryphon have centered on three main issues: 1) literary genre; 2) relationship to Genesis; and 3) relationship to other ancient Jewish works.[6] In an effort to lay the proper groundwork for the following chapters these topics will be surveyed briefly below.

1.2.1. *Literary Genre*

Even before the first parts of the Genesis Apocryphon were published there was keen interest in what *kind* of text it is. It was immediately clear that the Aramaic scroll was tied to stories known from Genesis, but how? Avigad and Yadin first described it as "a sort of apocryphal version of stories from Genesis, faithful, for the most part, to the order of the chapters in Scripture."[7] Despite their use of the words "Apocryphon" and "apocryphal" to characterize the scroll, Matthew Black, Paul Kahle, and Otto Eissfeldt preferred to label it a "targum" (i.e. translation).[8] Black and Kahle, however, later changed their minds and began referring to the work as a "midrash," perhaps following the lead of S. Zeitlin.[9] M. Lehmann, arguing that the Genesis Apocryphon proves the early existence of targums, maintained that the Apocryphon "fits squarely into the main stream of Targumim and Midrashim, and probably represents the oldest prototype of both available to us."[10] The classification "midrash" was eventually adopted by a bevy of scholars.[11]

While some small, isolated sections of the scroll could be considered an Aramaic targum of Genesis, Fitzmyer stated correctly that "it is not really possible to label the whole composition a targum," since most of its text is much freer and more expansionistic than any known targum, including the so-called Pseudo-Jonathan and Fragment Targums.[12] In the Noah section, for example, one can read for several columns (at least what is left of them) without meeting a strict translation of any known biblical version.

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[6] I am certainly not suggesting that these are the only issues that have been, or deserve to be, discussed regarding the Apocryphon. However, these three topics do represent (or at least relate to) the brunt of scholarship on the scroll up to the present, and thus provide a good starting point for this study.

[7] N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956), 38.

[8] M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (London: Nelson, 1961), 193. Also see his "The Recovery of the Language of Jesus," *NTS* 3 (1956 57): 305 13. O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 697.

[9] S. Zeitlin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: 1. The Lamech Scroll: A Medieval Midrash: 2. The Copper Scrolls: 3. Was Kando the Owner of the Scrolls?" *JQR* [New Ser.] 47:3 (January, 1957): 247.

[10] M. R. Lehmann, "1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim," *RevQ* 1 (1958 59): 251.

[11] These included A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Goshen-Gottstein, J. van der Ploeg, G. Lambert, R. Meyer, R. de Vaux, E. Vogt, G. Vermes, A. Wright, S. Segert, and H. Kee. For complete references see Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 19 n. 28.

[12] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 18. This is also the opinion of R. Le Déaut, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, *Biblica* 48 (1967): 142.

Although the term "midrash" may serve as a helpful description of the interpretive process used in the Genesis Apocryphon, it too has weaknesses. On the one hand, midrash can constitute a broad category roughly synonymous with "Jewish biblical interpretation,"[13] while on the other it is frequently used to refer to a specific, rabbinic method of biblical interpretation, which cites a lemma and then seeks to explain it in a discrete segment of commentary.[14] Although the broad definition would certainly include the Genesis Apocryphon, it risks anachronistic confusion with the more narrow rabbinic method of interpretation.

Attempts to avoid such confusion are reflected by various commentators on the Apocryphon. H. Lignée correctly specified that "c'est un midrash haggadique d'un genre spécial, qui n'est pas absolument semblable au midrash rabbinique..."[15] A. Dupont-Sommer further posited that the scroll is "un précieux specimen de midrash essénien," although one might expect this distinction to belong rather to the sectarian pesharim.[16] C. Evans aptly summarized the situation: "[t]he *Genesis Apocryphon* is certainly not a targum, nor is it midrash in the sense of text and commentary."[17]

In 1961, Geza Vermes introduced the term "rewritten Bible" into his discussion of Jewish midrashic texts.[18] By "rewritten Bible," he clearly meant a subcategory within the broader spectrum of midrash. He wrote that, "[i]n order to anticipate questions, and to solve problems in advance, the midrashist inserts haggadic development into the biblical narrative—an exegetical process which is probably as ancient as scriptural interpretation itself."[19] Included by Vermes under rewritten Bible were *Sepher ha-Yashar*, the Palestinian Targum, Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, the Book of Jubilees, and the Genesis Apocryphon. As later noted by Bernstein, a defining characteristic of Vermes' description was a "recapitulation of the narrative...of the whole or a large part of the biblical story,"[20] as opposed to lemmatized commentary. Hence, in the works deemed rewritten Bible by Vermes, haggadic accretions are not formally distinguished from the biblical narrative.

Rewritten Bible has subsequently become a popular term, used to describe and categorize various ancient Jewish exegetical works, especially the Genesis Apocryphon.[21] Unfortunately, it has not always been applied in a consistent manner, causing the genre to lose some of its usefulness.[22] Especially confusing is the interchangeable and conflicting use of adjectives like "rewritten," "parabiblical," "midrashic," "apocryphal," "retold," and "reworked" to describe ancient Jewish texts that interpret Scripture. For instance, the term "parabiblical" was coined in 1967 by H. L. Ginsberg:[23]

> I...approve of [Fitzmyer's] rejection of such labels as "targum" and "midrash"... To the question of literary genre, I should like to contribute a proposal for a term to cover works, like *GA* [i.e. *Genesis Apocryphon*], Pseudo-Philo, and the *Book of Jubilees*, which paraphrase and/or supplement the canonical Scriptures: parabiblical literature. The motivation of such literature—like that of midrash—may be more doctrinal, as in the case of the *Book of Jubilees*, or more artistic, as in at least the

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[13] It was regularly employed in this broad sense by G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Studia Post-Biblica 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961 [2nd ed., 1973]). Also see A. G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash (Part Two)," *CBQ* 28 (1966): 456. The term is set in an even broader context by R. Bloch, "Midrash," in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vol. 5; eds L. Pirot, A. Robert, and H. Cazelles; Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1957), 1263–81. He traces the practice of midrash from its ancient Near Eastern origins, through Jewish Intertestamental works such as Jubilees, to its culmination in the rabbinic method. This important article has been translated into English by M. Howard Callaway in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (2 vols; Brown Judaic Studies 1; ed. W. S. Green; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 1:29–50.

[14] In other words, the biblical passage and its interpretation are formally distinguished from each other. See, e.g., the definition in H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (trans. and ed. M. Bockmuehl; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992 [repr. 1996]), 235. Cf. G. J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:777–80; and M. J. Bernstein, "Rewritten Bible: A Generic Category which has Outlived its Usefulness?" *Textus* 22 (2005): 186. Also see the important distinction of C. Perrot, *Pseudo-Philon: Les Aniquités Bibliques. Tome II* (SC 230; Paris: Cerf, 1976), 22–28. Perrot partially captured these two ways of understanding midrash by delineating two exegetical techniques: *texte expliqué* (i.e. lemmatized midrash) and *texte continué*. The latter term is equivalent to Vermes' "rewritten Bible" (see below).

[15] H. Lignée, "L' Apocryphe de la Genèse," in *Les texts de Qumran: Traduits et annotés* (2 vols; eds J. Carmignac, É. Cothenet, and H. Lignée; Paris: Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1963), 2:215.

[16] A. Dupont-Sommer, *Le Écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (Paris: Payot, 1980), 293.

[17] C. A. Evans, "The Genesis Apocryphon and the Rewritten Bible," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 154. For a similar appraisal see D. J. Harrington, "The Bible Rewritten (Narrative)," in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (eds R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 239–47 [esp. 242].

[18] Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 67.

[19] Ibid., 95.

[20] Bernstein, "Rewritten Bible," 174.

[21] J. Kugel prefers the term "Retold Bible," thereby attending to the undoubtedly significant oral component of the process. He provides a helpful description of the exegetical process involved in these types of texts in J. L. Kugel, *In Potiphar's House* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 264–68.

[22] Bernstein's "Rewritten Bible" is a welcome corrective to this trend. He also provides a survey of how the term has been used.

[23] H. L. Ginsberg, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, *Theological Studies* 28 (1967): 574–77 [574]. Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 20) prefers this term to rewritten Bible, although he calls the Genesis Apocryphon "a good example" of the latter.

> preserved parts of *GA*, but it differs from midrashic literature by not directly quoting and (with more or less arbitrariness) interpreting canonical Scripture.

Ginsberg's use of "parabiblical literature" seems to be nearly the same as Vermes' employment of "rewritten Bible." However, when we turn to the more well-known use of "parabiblical" in Oxford's *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series, we find the two terms juxtaposed in a different way:[24]

> Within these volumes the parabiblical texts hold a special place since some of the literary genres represented by Qumran are becoming known only now, with the publication of the volumes. The volumes of the parabiblical texts contain various compositions which have in common that they are closely related to texts or themes of the Hebrew Bible. Some of these compositions present a reworking, rewriting, or paraphrase of biblical books.

Here parabiblical is used by E. Tov as an umbrella term, under which rewritten Bible would apparently be placed (i.e. more akin to Vermes' use of "midrashic"). Evans makes a similar swap, this time between midrash and rewritten Bible: "Therefore, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is part of what is sometimes called the 'rewritten Bible,' a broad category that includes targum, midrash, and rewritten biblical narratives."[25] In contrast, Vermes and Bernstein would place the more narrowly defined rewritten Bible under the broader heading of midrash, or biblical interpretation. The landscape of terms has obviously become cluttered and confusing.

To add to this dilemma, some have begun to question the validity of even using expressions like rewritten Bible or parabiblical literature at all. Such terms, they allege, imply a canonical situation that is anachronistic for many of the works typically gathered under them. John Reeves stated the argument forcefully:[26]

> The conceptual problem for modern researchers is further aggravated by a largely unreflective use of popular classificatory terminology like that of 'rewritten Bible' for works like Jubilees or 1 Enoch. One must first have 'Bible' before one can 'rewrite' it: the category presupposes and subtly endorses both a chronological sequence and an intertextual relationship.
>
> ...I would suggest that the notion of 'Bible' as a privileged category functioning as the fixed point of reference and discussion for the labeling, analysis, and evaluation of 'non-canonical' i.e., non-biblical works, requires a radical revision and reformulation. Our descriptive language should be altered in order to express this 'revisioning'; instead of biblical 'expansions' or 'rewritings,' we should perhaps speak of 'biblically allied,' 'biblically affiliated,' or 'biblically related' literatures. Moreover, our accustomed way of perceiving and categorizing how Bible interacted with parallel literary corpora will require a serious overhaul. Instead of measuring all biblically allied or affiliated literatures against the Bible and then assigning labels like 'expanded Bible,' 'rewritten Bible,' 'paraphrased Bible,' 'distorted Bible,' and the like to those exemplars which depart textually and/or thematically from the Bible of the Masoretes, we should rather consider the bulk of this material, both biblical and non-biblical, as one culturally variegated literary continuum which juxtaposes a number of alternative or parallel ways of recounting a particular story or tradition.

Reeves' advice serves as a healthy reminder of the fluidity of these traditions during the second temple period, and points out an important link to the equally contentious issues of canonicity and scriptural authority. Yet, few would argue that the authors of works typically considered rewritten Bible did not base their accounts on a relatively fixed, received scriptural tradition roughly analogous to one of the known "variant literary editions."[27] If this is granted, then rewritten Bible remains a practical and helpful (albeit somewhat anachronistic) designation, so long as it is clear where it stands in the taxonomy of classificatory terms.

Recently, Daniel Falk again addressed the problem of terminology within the broader discussion of canon formation (or lack thereof) and scriptural authority in early Judaism.[28] Not only does he provide a much more thoroughgoing summary of preceding opinions on the status of these texts than is presented here, but also proffers his own set of definitions and conceptual framework for discussion. "Parabiblical," he argues, is best employed as an umbrella term, encompassing a wide variety of literary genres and styles (i.e. much as Tov uses it). "Rewritten Bible" (or, better in Falk's opinion, "rewritten Scripture"), meanwhile, cannot be spoken of as a literary genre *per se*, but should be viewed as an exegetical *activity*—part of what Falk calls "extending Scripture." As he points out, such extension was apparently a booming industry during the second temple period.[29]

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[24] H. W. Attridge et al., in consultation with J. C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), ix. Cf. M. Broshi et al., in consultation with J. C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4, XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); G. Brooke et al., in consultation with J. C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4, XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

[25] Evans, "The Genesis Apocryphon and the Rewritten Bible," 154. An equally broad view is expressed by G. J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," 2:780b.

[26] J. C. Reeves, "The Flowing Stream: Qur'anic Interpretations and the Bible," *Religious Studies News: SBL Edition* 2.9 (Dec. 2001). Similar opinions have been expressed by B. Chiesa, "Biblical and Parabiblical Texts from Qumran," *Henoch* 20 (1998): 131 33; and J. P. Meier, "The Historical Jesus and the Historical Law: Some Problems within the Problem," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 57 n. 10.

[27] This is, perhaps, more true for the Pentateuch than some other scriptural books. For a definition and defense of the term "variant literary edition" see E. C. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Leiden: Brill, 1999), 99 120 [esp. 106–109].

[28] See his excellent, up-to-date introduction to the Genesis Apocryphon and "parabiblical" texts in general in D. K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts. Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS 8; LSTS 63; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 1 25. Falk includes in his survey a number of scholars who have contributed to the present discussion, but are not included here

In this study I will employ rewritten Bible as a subcategory of either biblical interpretation, midrash (in the broad sense of Vermes), or parabiblical literature (in the more generous views of Tov or Falk)—these three categories being roughly equivalent in my opinion. Under rewritten Bible I include the Genesis Apocryphon and any other ancient text seeking to interpret sacred Scripture by combining the biblical narrative and significant interpretive elements (haggadic or halakhic) without formally distinguishing between the two.

This definition leaves open two difficult questions, which I simply acknowledge here. First, how significant must the *interpretive element* be for a work to not be considered Scripture? Here a text such as 4QReworked Pentateuch (4Q364–367) is particularly thorny, since exegetical intrusions into the scriptural text are relatively minimal.[30] Second, and on the other end of the spectrum, how much *biblical narrative* must be present? 1 Enoch, Life of Adam and Eve, Ascension of Isaiah, 4 Ezra, Baruch, Aramaic Levi, and similar texts give pause in this regard, since their explicit scriptural grounding is very thin indeed.[31] Both questions ultimately pertain to "the degree of closeness of the exegetical composition to the biblical text,"[32] and call for boundaries to be set at either end of the rewritten Scripture continuum if one wishes to define it as a genre. Wherever these outer limits may fall (and it is not my intention to set them here),[33] we may confidently place the Genesis Apocryphon within their range, since it is one of a handful texts to be included in every published list of rewritten Bible thus far.

Of course, it is worth reminding ourselves that the Genesis Apocryphon's status as rewritten Bible is valid only when viewing the scroll in its entirety. Were we to possess only the first few columns, we would probably not consider this text rewritten Bible, but an Enochic writing. If, on the other hand, we had only column 22 it could legitimately be considered a targum.

1.2.2. *Relationship to Genesis*

Closely bound to the question of literary genre is the way in which the Genesis Apocryphon "rewrites," or "retells," parts of Genesis. A host of scholars have summarized the general character of the scroll in relation to the ancient versions, noting, for example, that it expansively paraphrases, reproduces and supplements, or freely reworks and rearranges the biblical narrative.[34] Bernstein has recently begun to supplement these broad statements with careful, detailed studies of the specific exegetical techniques employed by the scroll, thereby filling a desideratum.[35] His studies

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(e.g. F. García Martínez, L. H. Schiffman, S. White Crawford, M. Segal, B. Fisk, E. C. Ulrich, J. C. VanderKam, J. Maier, and J. G. Campbell).

[29] Ibid., 17.

[30] Studies aimed at what we might call the more "biblical" end of the rewritten Bible spectrum are those of E. Tov, "Biblical Texts as Reworked in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special attention to 4QRP and 4QparaGen-Exod," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 111 134; S. White Crawford, "The 'Rewritten' Bible at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts," *Eretz-Israel* 26 [F. M. Cross Festschrift] (1999): 1 8; and M. Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10 28. Also see Bernstein, "Rewritten Bible"; and Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 107 119.

[31] Such texts are included in the discussions of G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. E. Stone; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1984), 89 156 [esp. 89 90]; and Harrington, "The Bible Rewritten (Narratives)." The case of 1 Enoch deserves special attention. While the composition as a whole may be excluded as rewritten Bible by most accounts, certain of its components in particular the Animal Apocalypse—could fit into most definitions of the genre. Perhaps this distinction should be borne in mind as discussion regarding rewritten Bible continues.

[32] Tov, "Biblical Texts as Reworked," 113.

[33] I find the summary of Philip Alexander a helpful move in this direction, and the best definition of the genre to date. See P. S. Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honor of Barnabas Lindars* (eds D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99–121 [esp. 116–18].

[34] Some representative examples are Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 17; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 173; and VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 277.

[35] See Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation, and Harmonization," 37 57; idem, "From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran. Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15 17 January, 2002* (STDJ 58; eds E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements; Leiden: Brill,

affirm earlier generalizations: the author of the scroll rearranged, anticipated, harmonized, added, and subtracted varied information from the scriptural narrative in order to provide a fuller, smoother, more coherent story. With this basic description of the scroll's *modus operandi* in mind, there are three issues worthy of brief treatment before proceeding: 1) the question of theological *Tendenz*; 2) variation in exegetical expansion; and 3) the narratological break at 1QapGen 21.23.

1.2.2.1. *Theological* Tendenz

Vermes, Fitzmyer, and others have understood the Apocryphon to be largely devoid of theological *Tendenz*, or interpretative activity driven by religious concerns and ideologies. Vermes' characterization of the scroll reflects vibrantly this viewpoint:[36]

> ...it will be seen that Genesis Apocryphon occupies a privileged position in the midrashic literature in that it is the most ancient midrash of all. With its discovery the lost link between the biblical and the Rabbinic midrash has been found. Its freshness, its popular character, and its contribution to the understanding of the midrashic literary genre in its purest form, are unique. The pseudepigrapha related to it, or eventually dependent upon it (Jub., Enoch), as also most of the later midrashim, are too much concerned to graft upon the biblical story doctrines sometimes foreign to them. Beside Genesis Apocryphon they appear artificial and laboured, even though the relative weakness of their literary quality is often compensated by a greater theological richness...
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> The haggadic developments of Genesis Apocryphon are therefore organically bound to their biblical text. The author never attempts to introduce unrelated or extraneous matter. His technique is simple and he exercises no scholarly learning, no exegetical virtuosity, no play on words. His intention is to explain the biblical text, and this he does either by bringing together various passages of Genesis, or by illustrating a verse with the help of an appropriate story. The resulting work is certainly one of the jewels of midrashic exegesis, and the best illustration yet available of the primitive haggadah and of the unbiased rewriting of the Bible.

In like manner, F. Rosenthal wrote that "for the time being, we can be pretty certain that the text contains little of an ideological nature," although he qualified this statement by noting that "the material preserved is limited."[37] He does, nonetheless, detect a concern over the purity of the priestly line in the insistence of Sarai's chastity while in Pharaoh's house, and further proffered that, "[a]fter publication of the entire scroll, similar ideological attitudes, I am sure, will be discovered in the work upon closer scrutiny." Fitzmyer agreed that "it is difficult to see what exegetical or doctrinal meditations were at work in the composition of this text."[38]

Other commentators have shown less reservation in assigning various theological motivations to our author. We may cite as examples the contentions of P. Winter and R. Meyer that the scroll contains an anti-Samaritan prejudice.[39] While this suggestion is difficult to rule out completely, it lacks the evidence and argumentation to instill confidence. More convincing is Lignée's perception of a "tendance sacerdotale" and a "tendance apocalyptique," which he attributes to the work's Qumranic milieu.[40]

An exception to these tenuous suggestions is the fine study of George Nickelsburg, who has outlined a number of techniques and tendencies employed in the Apocryphon's retelling of events in Genesis.[41] First, he refers to several places where an "Enochic" perspective is clearly discernible—not only in the scroll's early columns, but also in the Abram story, where Abram instructs Pharaoh's underlings by reading "from the book of the words of Enoch."[42] Second, he draws attention to a possible "eschatological *Tendenz*" based on an *Urzeit/Endzeit* typology also found in 1 Enoch, whereby the author associates the wicked generation of Noah and its impending punishment with his own age.[43] Third, the author of the Apocryphon exploits channels of divine revelation not found in Genesis, such as the

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2005), 39 64; and idem, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; eds D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 199 231 [esp. 206–210]. Others who have dealt in some depth with the exegetical techniques of the scroll are Vermes, "Scripture and Tradition," 96–126; Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," 104–107; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 172 77; and idem, "Patriarchs Who Worry about their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12 14 May 1996* (STDJ 28; eds M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137 58; repr. in *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* (2 vols; JSJSup 80; eds J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:177 99.

[36] Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124–26.

[37] F. Rosenthal, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *JNES* 18 (1959): 82 84.

[38] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 23.

[39] P. Winter, "Note on Salem Jerusalem," *NovT* 2 (1957 58): 151 52. R. Meyer, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 80 (1959): 586 87.

[40] H. Lignée, "L'Apocryphe de la Genèse," 2:211 12.

[41] Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry."

[42] Ibid., 181 82, 190 91 (cf. 1QapGen 19.25).

[43] Ibid., 182.

figure of Enoch and symbolic dream-visions.[44] Fourth, there is a clear "psychologizing interest" in describing the interaction between characters in the narrative, especially patriarchs and their wives (e.g. Lamech/Batenosh; Abram/Sarai).[45] Other tendencies are noted as well, such as an interest in eroticism, demons and apotropaicism, and the portrayal of patriarchs through the lens of other Israelite figures, such as Joseph and Daniel. According to Nickelsburg, several of these factors indicate significant concern over the sexual purity of Israelite women, which may give us some hint of the social setting behind the scroll.

Nickelsburg has successfully shown that the author of the Genesis Apocryphon utilized certain literary techniques and theological perspectives in his rewriting of Genesis. However, he was not able to extensively incorporate the more recently published parts of the scroll into his analysis, instead having to focus on those parts first published by Avigad and Yadin in 1956. An investigation of the techniques and concerns reflected in these parts of the Apocryphon has yet to be undertaken. Such a study may help clarify Nickelsburg's list, and perhaps add to it.

1.2.2.2. *Variation in Exegetical Expansion*

In passing, Nickelsburg mentioned a practice of the Genesis Apocryphon worth drawing further attention to here. While almost every commentator notes the expansive nature of the Apocryphon, he observed that there are at least two sections of the scroll which compress stories from Genesis: the story of Abram and Lot (Gen 13:1–13; 1QapGen 20.33–21.7) and the war of the eastern and Canaanite kings (Gen 14; 1QapGen 21.23–22.26).[46] Although not altogether surprising, this suggests that the author of the Apocryphon was more interested in some parts of Genesis than in others, that there was simply more haggadic material available to draw on for certain portions of the book, or that he was using sources which varied in their exegetical approach. Analysis of individual facets of the narrative, such as the mixed employment of divine names or the noticeable shifts in Aramaic syntax, suggests that the latter is quite probable.[47]

1.2.2.3. *1QapGen 21.23*

The autobiographical narration of the Genesis Apocryphon is one of its unique and most frequently cited attributes. Many scholars, however, have been careful to stress that this trait does not carry throughout the entire scroll, since at 1QapGen 21.23 there is a shift from the first to third person.[48] This shift is concurrent with the beginning of the story about the war of the four eastern kings against the five Canaanite kings (cf. Gen 14).

Fitzmyer, Vermes, and Alexander observed that this narrative break is accompanied by a more profound shift in the scroll's style of biblical exegesis.[49] In contrast to the part of the scroll preceding 21.23, Fitzmyer noted that the portion following it "is marked by far less rewriting or embellishments than what is found in the preceding chapters of Genesis. Indeed, at times it is nothing more than a word-for-word translation of the Hebrew text into Aramaic; yet even this sort of translation does not last long. It is rather a paraphrase, which stays close to the biblical text."[50] Although this later segment of the Apocryphon still contains a large number of novel interpretive elements, Fitzmyer's distinction remains essentially correct. This change in style is, no doubt, partly responsible for early disagreement over whether the scroll should be labelled a targum or a midrash.

1.2.3. *Qumran Origins?*

The most recent edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica inconspicuously states that the Genesis Apocryphon "is a good example of Essene biblical exegesis."[51] Yet, opinions over whether the Genesis Apocryphon was the product of the Essenes at Qumran have been decidedly mixed. Some, such as Michaud, Meyer, Lignée, de Vaux, and Dupont-Sommer perceived elements in the scroll suggesting a direct connection to the Qumran Essene community, whose theology is reflected in sectarian writings such as the Community

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[44] Ibid., 183, 188–89.

[45] Ibid., 183–84, 188.

[46] Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 177.

[47] See the article by M. J. Bernstein, "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon" (forthcoming). In it, he highlights a dramatic distinction between the divine titles and epithets employed in what he calls Part I (the Noah section [cols. 0–17]) and Part II (the Abram section [cols. 19–22]) of the scroll.

[48] Most introductions to the text mention this fact. For a summary see Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 229–30.

[49] See Vermes' treatment, "2. The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran," in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols; trans., rev., and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 3.1:318–25 [esp. 321]. Cf. Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," 104.

[50] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 230. Cf. Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 33.

[51] *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (15th ed.; Chicago/London: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2005), 5:177.

Rule, the War Scroll, and the Pesharim.[52] J. C. Reeves has suggested that part of Noah's sacrifice in 1QapGen 10.14 may also indicate that the Apocryphon was a sectarian or proto-sectarian product.[53] His proposed reconstruction of Noah burning fat upon the altar following the flood has since been confirmed, and may display a ritual affinity with Jubilees and the Temple Scroll.[54]

Fitzmyer is among those who have questioned this stance, asserting that "[t]here is nothing in this text that clearly links it with any of the known beliefs or customs of the Qumran sect. There is practically no Essene theology in this work..."[55] This position appears to be correct, and has been held by a large majority of scholars who have studied the scroll, including P. Winter, F. Rosenthal, G. Vermes, D. Harrington, G. Nickelsburg, and D. Falk.[56] This conclusion may also gain support from the fact that the Apocryphon was written in Aramaic, since all Qumran writings of certain Essene origin were penned in Hebrew.[57] Although the Genesis Apocryphon was probably not composed by the Qumranites, there has been unanimous agreement that it originated in the land of Israel. This is most clearly evidenced by the author's impressive knowledge of regional geography.[58]

1.2.4. *Relationship to Other Ancient Jewish Texts*

Sustained efforts have been made to compare and relate the Genesis Apocryphon to other literary works of the second temple and rabbinic periods. Oftentimes, these are aimed at settling questions regarding the composition's date and provenance. A firm relative date, for instance, could help determine whether the Apocryphon was composed before or during the period when Qumran was settled, or with which Jewish group(s) it may have been associated. In addition, comparison with contemporaneous literature may help scholars conjecture what some of the gaps in the fragmentary scroll once contained. Below I will outline some of the most pertinent connections scholars have drawn between the Apocryphon and other ancient Jewish texts.

1.2.4.1. *1 Enoch and Jubilees*

The Genesis Apocryphon's close relationship to the early Enochic literature on one hand, and the Book of Jubilees on the other, has been noted since its initial publication by Avigad and Yadin.[59] Unfortunately, 1 Enoch and Jubilees have often been uncritically grouped together as if they were a single work, especially by early commentators. This seems to rest on the unverified conclusion that the Genesis Apocryphon must either be a source for, or dependent upon, both 1 Enoch and Jubilees—i.e. the relationship must be the same for both works. The early statement of Avigad and Yadin is typical: "we may confidently emphasize the close connection between the scroll and many parts of the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees, leading at times to the conclusion that the scroll *may have served as a source for a number of the stories told more concisely in those two books.*"[60]

The frequent conflation of these texts renders any attempt to treat either one in terms of its own relationship to the Apocryphon difficult. In an effort to avoid repetition, I will present the opinions of those who treat 1 Enoch and Jubilees together under my section on 1 Enoch, referring back to them only as needed in the subsequent Jubilees section.

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[52] H. Michaud, "Une livre apocryphe de la Genèse en Araméén," *Positions luthériennes* 5 (April 1957): 91–104 [esp. 101–2]; Meyer, review of Avigad and Yadin, 587; H. Lignée, "L'Apocryphe de la Genèse," 211–12; R. de Vaux, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, *RB* 74 (1967): 101; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Le Écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (Bibliothèque historique; Paris: Payot, 1959), 293.

[53] J. C. Reeves, "What Does Noah Offer in 1QapGen X, 15?" *RevQ* 12.3 (1986): 415–19.

[54] The fact that fat is burned is hardly determinative, since this practice is also common in the Hebrew Bible. Reeves' observation that the Apocryphon employs a sectarian order for the sacrifices may be more meaningful, but its connection to the Temple Scroll does not seem particularly close. The sectarian status of the Temple Scroll has also been a matter of some debate. See L. H. Schiffman, review of Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (English edition), *BA* 48.2 (1985): 122–26.

[55] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 23. Cf. H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer: Die Sekte von Qumran* (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1958), 150.

[56] Winter, "Note on Salem-Jerusalem," 151–52; Rosenthal, review of Avigad and Yadin, 83; Vermes, "2. The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran," 323; Harrington, "The Bible Rewritten (Narratives)," 244–45; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 177; and Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 29.

[57] See S. Segert, "Die Sprachenfragen in der Qumrāngemeinschaft," *Qumrān-Probleme* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 42; ed. H. Bardtke; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 315–39 [esp. 322–23]; idem, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, *JSS* 13 (1968): 282; and A. Lamadrid, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, *Estudios Bíblicos* 28 (1969): 169. Also see the more detailed discussion of language and date in Chapter 5.

[58] See, e.g., Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124.

[59] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 38.

[60] Ibid. [emphasis theirs]. The widely acknowledged composite nature of 1 Enoch has also not always been adequately taken into consideration.

1.2.4.1.1. *1 Enoch*

A vague connection between 1 Enoch and the Genesis Apocryphon was first posited by John Trever in 1949.[61] Commenting on the first legible piece of the scroll, he wrote that "Dr. W. F. Albright...suggested from key words appearing on it that it came from Enoch, though he found no exact parallels."[62] With this general connection suggested, a number of scholars have attempted further to clarify their relationship.

Genesis Apocryphon a Source for 1 Enoch

From Trever's early report on the emerging contents of the Fourth Scroll it is clear that both Albright and Charles Torrey considered this "Book of Lamech" to be a source for the Book of Enoch. Torrey argued that:[63]

> The consistent use of the first person in the Fragment shows that it was truly a Lamech apocalypse, quite distinct from the book of Enoch. In my judgment, this framework was given up when this portion of the work was made a part of Enoch and adapted to it; for there, as you see, Lamech is spoken of only in the third person, while the only one who speaks in the first person is Enoch! My guess, then, would be that your Fragment represents the original form of the apocalypse.

Albright added that "[a] strong case can be brought for considering the so-called Book of Noah which is imbedded in Enoch (Chapters 6–11; 54–55:2; 60; 65–69:25; 106–107, according to Charles, The Book of Enoch, 1912, p. xlvii) as properly derived from the Book of Lamech."[64] Unfortunately, he did little to clarify this "strong case" beyond pointing to some well-documented difficulties in the Noachic sections of 1 Enoch.

Avigad and Yadin were the first to analyze the most complete, persuasive parallel between the Apocryphon and 1 Enoch in detail:[65]

> [T]he first five columns of the scroll as we now have it, deal with the birth of Noah in a manner that has no relationship at all to the brief Biblical account in Genesis v, 28–29. On the other hand, the narrative in the scroll resembles chapter cvi of the Book of Enoch in most essential points, though there are some significant additions in the scroll, such as the dialogue between Lamech and Bat-Enosh and Enoch's long reply to Methuselah—some five times as long as the version in the Book of Enoch.

This fascinating story tells of Noah's spectacular birth, Lamech's suspicion that the child's conception may be illegitimate, and the eventual assurance by Enoch that the infant is indeed his offspring (1QapGen 2–5.27; 1 En 106–7).[66] The fact that the story is significantly longer in the Apocryphon than in 1 Enoch led the editors to conclude that the former was probably contemporary with or previous to the composition of the latter—i.e. 1 Enoch is a later, condensed version of the story of Noah's birth, perhaps based on the Apocryphon.

Vermes was the only scholar to offer explicit support for the proposal of Avigad and Yadin regarding 1 Enoch.[67] He went further than they did, however, in explaining his reason for this stance. For Vermes, the primacy of the Genesis Apocryphon is obvious based on "[i]ts freshness, its popular character, and its contribution to the understanding of the midrashic genre in its purest form." It is "the most ancient midrash of all," beside which other midrashic works like 1 Enoch and Jubilees "appear artificial and laboured, even though the relative weakness of their literary quality is often compensated by a greater theological richness." Hence, it is the Apocryphon's "unbiased rewriting of the Bible" that sets it apart, and proves its greater antiquity in relation to other similar works. It is surprising that Vermes cited Enoch as an example in this description, since he evidently based his estimation of the Apocryphon solely on passages paralleled in Jubilees and dealing with Abram. In fact, the more expansive passage of 1QapGen 2–5.27 would seem to contradict his blanket judgments.

More compelling is Vermes' later defense of the Apocryphon's priority, in which he noted a tendency in Intertestamental literature towards abbreviation.[68] His examples of this phenomenon are Psalm 151, the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch, and the Aramaic Testament of Levi.[69] Echoing earlier sentiments, he further observed that it is easier to account for Jubilees' insertion of doctrinal tendencies (e.g. calendrical matters) into an unbiased work such as the Genesis Apocryphon than the other way round. He was also the only commentator to question the traditional dating of the scroll's language to the first century BCE, arguing that the only thing Kutscher had shown in his renowned linguistic analysis was that the Aramaic of the Apocryphon postdates that of Daniel.[70] Hence, he "slightly" preferred a date of composition in the early second century BCE. Despite these views, Vermes admitted that the opinion of others, who believed Jubilees to be the earlier text (see below), is also tenable.

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[61] J. C. Trever, "Identification of the Aramaic Fourth Scroll from 'Ain Feshka," *BASOR* 115 (1949): 8–10.

[62] Ibid., 8.

[63] Ibid., 9.

[64] Ibid., 9 n. 4.

[65] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 19.

[66] The story derives from an interpretation of Gen 5:29. See Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 16–19; and G. Sarfatti, "Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon," *Tarbiz* 28 (1958–59): 254–55 [Hebrew].

[67] Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124–26.

[68] Vermes, "2. The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran," 318–25.

[69] Ibid., 321.

Indeterminate Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch

A bevy of scholars reviewed the 1956 edition of the scroll by Avigad and Yadin, many exhibiting wariness at the possibility of pinpointing the direction of literary dependence between the Apocryphon and 1 Enoch. David Flusser was among the first to express doubt:[71]

> The entire scroll bears a resemblance in its overall plot and in many details to parts of the Book of Jubilees and parts of the Book of Enoch, although not all of the composition's features are found in those two works. The question pertains whether the composition before us was used as a source for the works mentioned above. The editors of the scroll are inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. Yet I do not know if the small amount of material from the scroll published thus far makes it at all possible to answer this important question... It is difficult today to assess the ways in which the authors manipulated their sources in order to create this literature; it appears that the authors put the words of their compatriots to use in a way similar to scribes of the Middle Ages, i.e. they relied on the texts at their disposal, intermingled them, arranged them according to their fancy, and added or subtracted to the extent that it is sometimes difficult for us to determine whether what lies before us is a new version or a new composition.

Similar, albeit less developed, opinions were expressed by H. Bardtke, J. Hempel, and R. Meyer, the latter adding that Avigad and Yadin's hypothesis seemed to him "fraglich."[72] There was a general consensus among these scholars that publication of other parts of the Genesis Apocryphon may shed light on the issue of literary dependence. Although significantly more of the text is now available, few efforts have been made to explore what they may add to our knowledge on this topic.

Most recently, and since the publication of all available columns, Bernstein has noted an ongoing scholarly inability to accurately determine the relationships between the Apocryphon and other Jewish works.[73] Having pointed out a number of connections with Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Giants, and without giving up hope for future advances, he concludes that "we cannot yet determine any genetic relationship among them."[74]

1 Enoch a Source for the Genesis Apocryphon

H. E. Del Medico was the first to disagree overtly with Avigad and Yadin's relative chronology, and his judgment has since emerged as the *communis opinio*:[75]

> At the moment, it is impossible to give a definite date for this manuscript, but there is a clearly marked tendency in all writings of this kind which should not be overlooked: whilst an author leaves out a story he does not know, the general rule stands that "no author abbreviates; all amplify"... Moreover, it hardly seems probable that our roll could have been earlier to, or contemporary with, the Book of Jubilees, Enoch, etc., which are given dates from the fourth to second centuries BC.

While Del Medico's proposal to invert the direction of literary dependence suggested by Avigad and Yadin has been accepted by others, his dating of the scroll has been widely dismissed. He assigned the scroll a second century CE date at the earliest based on its employment of the name Hyrcanus, which he understood to refer to a member of the Tobiad dynasty.[76]

G. Lambert joined Del Medico in his rejection of Avigad and Yadin's proposed relationship, if not his controversial dating, "Personellement nous avons plutôt l'impression que c'est notre auteur qui amplifie, à partir du Livre des Jubilés et d'autres sources, mais non l'inverse."[77] Like most commentators, Lambert discusses the Genesis Apocryphon's relationship with Jubilees almost exclusively, although he would presumably include 1 Enoch among his "autres sources."

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[70] For a significantly more skeptical assessment of the possibility of dating the Aramaic of the Apocryphon and other Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran see M. O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini* (JSPSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 103–51.

[71] Flusser, review of Avigad and Yadin, 382–83 [translation mine].

[72] Bardtke, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *TLZ* 83 (1958): 346; Hempel, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *ZAW* 69 (1957): 234; and Meyer, review of Avigad and Yadin, 587.

[73] Bernstein, "From the Watchers to the Flood," 39–64.

[74] Ibid., 64.

[75] H. E. Del Medico, *The Riddle of the Scrolls* (trans. H. Garner; London: Burke, 1958), 177. Originally published as *L'énigme des manuscripts de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1957), 239–40.

[76] Del Medico, *The Riddle of the Scrolls*, 174–78. This Hyrcanus (son of Joseph and grandson of Tobias) was active during the late 3rd to early 2nd cents BCE. Del Medico claims that the legend of Hyrcanus and the literary environment must have had at least three centuries (!) to develop before reaching the stage found in the Apocryphon. Sheer conjecture would be a benevolent characterization of Del Medico's theory. It is also worth noting his obvious disdain for this text, passages of which he dubbed "highly improper."

Fitzmyer took the same stance in his 1966 commentary on the Apocryphon. Having explained Avigad and Yadin's position, he observed that "the editors have given no reasons for their 'assumption,'" leading him to assert that:[78]

> just the opposite seems to be more likely, i.e., that the work in this scroll depends on Enoch and Jubilees. Such a view is more in accord with the general tendency of the scroll to fill out and embellish the Genesis narrative. One gets the impression that the scanty details in Genesis, Enoch, or Jubilees are here utilized in an independent way and filled out with imaginative additions.

Although Fitzmyer cited no specific examples, he would undoubtedly consider the longer version of Noah's birth in the Genesis Apocryphon a "filling out" and "embellishing" of 1 En 106–107.[79] In 1984 K. Beyer followed suit, claiming that Enoch and Jubilees were used directly by the Apocryphon to fill out its retelling of Genesis.[80]

Nickelsburg has offered the most comprehensive and well-reasoned argument for the priority of 1 En 106–107 to date. Based on earlier suggestions by J. T. Milik and F. García Martínez that both sources depend on an earlier Book of Noah (see below), Nickelsburg suggested that:[81]

> [A] Noah book may have provided source material for 1 Enoch 106–107, whose author enhanced the figure of Enoch and added some eschatological material drawn from other parts of the Enochic corpus. The Apocryphon's author further elaborated the Enochic story with the haggadic motifs that were of interest to him and with the Enochic material, which has also influenced other parts of the Apocryphon.

Four reasons were proffered in defense of this claim: 1) The heated exchange between Lamech and his wife Batenosh (1QapGen 2) is paralleled by similar additions to the Abram story later in the scroll, indicating an authorial tendency rather than a remnant from an earlier tradition; 2) Lamech's first person narration fits the general technique of the scroll, and need not derive from a source; 3) The Apocryphon devotes more space to Enoch's discourse than 1 En 106–107, suggesting an Enochic rather than Noachic source for the Lamech version of the story; and 4) The superscription "The Book of the Words of Noah" in 1QapGen 5.29 (directly following the birth of Noah story) seems to preclude the earlier columns of the Apocryphon belonging to a Book of Noah. Moreover, the stories of Noah's life (col. 6) and Abram and Sarai in Egypt (cols. 19–20) incorporate Enochic motifs and language.[82]

While point four does not directly apply to the present question, the first three claim that much of the material present in the Genesis Apocryphon, but not in 1 Enoch 106–107, may be attributed to broader authorial mannerisms displayed in the Apocryphon. Nickelsburg proposes that when these editorial tendencies are removed the remaining account more closely resembles that of 1 Enoch, suggesting the latter as a probable source for the former.

Nickelsburg has also argued that the Genesis Apocryphon relies on other parts of the Enochic corpus, such as the Book of Watchers (1 En 6–11), the Epistle of Enoch (1 En 92–105), and various other passages.[83] He clearly understands these Enochic passages to be earlier, influencing the Apocryphon's retelling. Except for perhaps the Book of Watchers (cf. 1QapGen 0–1), Nickelsburg's examples speak more to a shared ideological background than direct borrowing or quotation from 1 Enoch.

Most recently, Falk has joined the camp of scholars claiming that the Apocryphon seems most likely to depend on 1 Enoch and Jubilees.[84]

Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch Dependent on a Common Source

Milik espoused a view unlike those presented above, arguing instead that the stories of Noah's birth in the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch are independently derived from a common source, which he called the "Book of Noah."[85] He remarked that:[86]

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[77] Lambert, "Une 'Genèse apocryphe' trouvée à Qumrân," in *La secte de Qumrân et les origines du christianisme* (Recherches Bibliques 4; Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), 85–107 [esp. 106].

[78] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (1966), 14. He had earlier expressed the same view, but with less developed reasoning, in "Some Observations on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *CBQ* 22 (1960): 277–91 [esp. 277].

[79] Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 122.

[80] K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairo Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 165.

[81] Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry," 199.

[82] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 76.

[83] Such as 1 En 72–82, 83–84, and 85–90, where Methuselah is the mediator of Enochic revelation. See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 172–77.

[84] Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 29, 50–53, 106.

> [I]n 106:7–8 Methuselah betakes himself, for a consultation on the miraculous birth of Noah, 'to the limits of the earth' where Enoch 'dwells with the angels'. This so-called Noachic fragment is nothing but a summary which serves as a reference (a sort of catchword) to a work in which the birth and the life of the Hebrew hero of the Flood were recounted in greater detail.
>
> This 'Book of Noah' was summarized in Aramaic, undoubtedly in its original language, by the compiler of 1QGenesis Apocryphon... A Hebrew version of such a summary may be preserved in fragments of 1Q19. In En. 106–7, and the corresponding fragments of 4QEn^{c}, we have a third, and the most reduced, résumé of the 'Book of Noah'.

This statement posits no direct relationship between 1 Enoch and the Apocryphon. However, one gains the impression that Milik considered the account in GenAp 2–5.27 to be older than that of 1 En 106–107, or at least closer to its original Noachic source.[87]

Excursus: The Date of 1 Enoch 106–107

Any attempt to date the Genesis Apocryphon relative to 1 Enoch 106–107 depends on a fixed date for the latter account. R. H. Charles isolated these chapters of Enoch as a fragment of a Noah Apocalypse, noting that they did not cohere with their surrounding context.[88] He therefore attributed them to a late stage of the book's editing.

Milik agreed with Charles' judgment, reporting further that the story was partially preserved in one of the copies of Enoch from Cave 4 of Qumran (4QEn^{c} 5 i 24–25).[89] Dated paleographically to the last third of the first century BCE, this discovery provides a *terminus ante quem* for the story's composition. Following Charles and Milik, García Martínez wrote that these chapters "are clearly an insertion... and obviously represent a later addition."[90] Both Milik and García Martínez considered this interpolation an abridged form of an earlier Book of Noah.

Nickelsburg agreed substantially with his predecessors, but modified their position slightly by suggesting that 1 En 106–107 did not rely on an earlier Noachic source alone, but on a number of older traditions.[91] One of these sources, he argued, was the Epistle of Enoch, which he dates to the mid to early second century BCE.[92] Hence, the version of the story as it stands in 1 Enoch 106–107 may be dated to sometime between the first third of the second century BCE and the last third of the first century BCE. If Nickelsburg's assessment is correct, a date between the mid second century and early first century BCE is plausible.

Although this does not tell us with any assurance when the Genesis Apocryphon's version of the story was composed, it does provide a plausible touchstone for comparison. If Torrey, Albright, Avigad and Yadin, and Vermes are followed, we might expect the Apocryphon to be dated to the mid second century BCE or earlier. However, if scholars such as Lambert, Fitzmyer, Nickelsburg, and Falk are correct, a date around the mid first century BCE might be reasonably argued.

Summary: The Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch

Thus far Nickelsburg has marshalled the most impressive case for a specific, genetic relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch, arguing that most "non-Enochic" elements in the former may be attributed to the literary techniques of its author. Yet, the brief remarks of Torrey and Albright leave one somewhat ill at ease in accepting this proposal. Indeed, an extension of Torrey's reasoning turns one of Nickelsburg's strongest points on its head by suggesting that there is ample motivation for the redactor of 1 Enoch to change the main character of the story from Lamech to Enoch (i.e., subsume it under an Enochic perspective) in order to integrate it into the Enochic corpus. This argument gains support from other passages in 1 Enoch (e.g. chapters 60 and 65) where the figure of Enoch either displaces Noah or narrates Noachic events, even though Noah was clearly the original speaker.[93]

To counter another of Nickelsburg's points, it would not be surprising if the Enochic redactor quietly left aside the somewhat risqué exchange between Lamech and Batenosh, in which she details her sexual arousal during intercourse. The question thus becomes where the story seems most at home in its literary surrounding, to which we must answer emphatically: the Genesis Apocryphon. In sum, one could plausibly argue (with earlier scholars) that the redactor of 1 Enoch altered and abbreviated the Apocryphon, which would suggest a late second century BCE date for the Apocryphon at the latest.

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[85] Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 55. The Book of Noah is an ancillary topic of significant interest to those who study the Genesis Apocryphon, but for reasons of economy it will not be explored further here. For a recent and judicious review of the scholarship and issues see M. E. Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," *DSD* 13.1 (2006): 4–23.

[86] Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 55.

[87] See Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 56 57, 183 84), who considered chapters 106 107 to be an appendix to the Enochic corpus. Cf. F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 27 28; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 539.

[88] R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 25, 32 33, 301. This is also the opinion of Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 55 57) and Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 542), although the reasons for separating these chapters from the Epistle of Enoch and assigning them a later date have never been fully articulated.

[89] Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 55 57, 178 217.

[90] García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 27 28.

[91] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 26, 542.

[92] Ibid., 427 28. Cf. Charles (*The Book of Enoch*, 264), who assumes a later date.

[93] See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 152 53, 169 70.

Arguments based primarily on the relative length of these two related accounts are also troubling. To state simply that the longer text should be considered the younger (so Del Medico and Fitzmyer) is extremely suspect, since this rule—if indeed it is a rule at all—is prone to have exceptions. As noted above, Vermes (no amateur to the field) believed just the opposite to be true: abbreviation, not expansion, is the rule. A good example of such abbreviation is found in Jubilees' rewriting of portions of 1 Enoch.[94]

Judging by the preceding insights, the best we can muster at present is to say that the relationship between these texts remains highly debatable. While a clear connection between them exists, its specific nature is frustratingly elusive. Perhaps the most important point to take away from their relationship is a shared ideological and theological milieu, in which a common apocalyptic worldview is embraced and Enoch is seen as a major conduit of divine revelation. Some further thoughts on this relationship will be offered in Chapter 5.

1.2.4.1.2. *Jubilees*

Based on a large fragment of the Fourth Scroll, removed during its stay in the United States in 1949 (now col. 2), Trever observed that "[t]he combination of letters, *bt'nwš*, became the clue to the text, when I found that according to the Ethiopic Jubilees 4:28 the wife of Lamech was Bētēnōs."[95] Indeed, this was the first clue of many that the Genesis Apocryphon and Book of Jubilees share a special relationship. Some of the most significant parallels suggested to date are:

i. The name of Noah's wife, Batenosh (1QapGen 5.3, 8; Jub 4:28)
ii. Noah's expiatory sacrifice following the Flood (1QapGen 10.13–17; Jub 6:1–3)
iii. The location (Mt. Lubar) and five-year chronology of Noah planting a vineyard and celebrating its produce (1QapGen 12.13–15; Jub 7:1–2)
iv. The division of the earth between Noah's sons and grandsons (1QapGen 16–17; Jub 8:10–9:15)
v. The construction of Hebron (1QapGen 19.9; Jub 13:12)
vi. The seven-year chronology of Abram and Sarai during their sojourn in Egypt (1QapGen 22.27–29; Jub 13:10–12)[96]

As with 1 Enoch, scholars have explained these parallels in at least four different ways.

Genesis Apocryphon a Source for Jubilees

The assumption of Avigad and Yadin and Vermes that the lengthier Genesis Apocryphon served as a source for 1 Enoch applied to Jubilees as well. While Avigad and Yadin partially relied on parallels with 1 Enoch to reach this conclusion, Vermes appears to have based himself almost exclusively on comparison with Jubilees. Vermes admits that "[t]he relationship between Genesis Apocryphon and the Book of Jubilees presents a particular problem which cannot be solved satisfactorily until all the fragments of GA have been published," but goes on to claim that "from the material already accessible it would appear—as the editors themselves believe (p. 38)—that the corresponding portions of the Book of Jubilees may be no more than an abridgement of Genesis Apocryphon."[97] In his opinion, Jubilees "should, perhaps, be regarded as a shortened, though doctrinally enriched, Essene recension of the original work."

Prior to Vermes, Paul Kahle had sided with Avigad and Yadin on the priority of the Genesis Apocryphon. Commenting on the manuscript's proposed first century BCE date he remarked, "I am convinced that it was composed earlier, as it seems to have been presupposed by the Book of Jubilees: the text actually found in the first cave may have been a copy of an older original."[98] He did nothing further, however, to defend this view.

In 1964 B. Z. Wacholder proposed an additional reason for considering the Genesis Apocryphon to be earlier than Jubilees.[99] After studying the comparative chronologies of Abram and Sarai's tumultuous sojourn in Egypt in both the Apocryphon and Jubilees,

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[94] E.g. Jub 5:1–13//1 En 6–11. See Milik's (*Books of Enoch*, 183) assertion that the Epistle of Enoch was longer in the original than in the later versions. Also J. C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and other Second-Century Sources," *SBLSP* (1978): 233–35.

[95] Trever, "Identification of the Aramaic Fourth Scroll," 9.

[96] See B. Z. Wacholder, "How Long did Abram Stay in Egypt?" *HUCA* 35 (1964): 43–56.

[97] Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124.

[98] P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), 199.

[99] Wacholder, "How Long did Abram Stay in Egypt?" 43–56.

Wacholder found reason to believe that the former preserves the more primitive scheme. Moreover, he understood a chronological recounting of Abram's journeys by the Lord in 1QapGen 22.27–29 to signify a period when this school of pentateuchal chronology was struggling for acceptance. He concluded that:[100]

> Genesis Apocryphon uses a relative system of dating; Jubilees an absolute one. Less obvious, but nevertheless real, differences are that in the former the dating is an integral part of the narrative; in the latter it is superimposed. The author of Genesis Apocryphon still feels the need to defend his chronology by invoking the Lord himself; the author of Jubilees takes the chronology for granted.

Although he believed the Genesis Apocryphon to be older than Jubilees, Wacholder withheld judgment concerning the precise nature of their relationship: "[o]n the basis of the available works, the chronology of Genesis Apocryphon is *directly or indirectly* the source of Jubilees."[101]

Pierre Grelot made a very similar case in his 1967 review of Fitzmyer's commentary. Compared to the fully integrated calendrical system employed by Jubilees, Grelot considered the less developed scheme in the parallel portions of the Genesis Apocryphon to be "une chronologie plus archaïque."[102] Based on this observation he supposed that the Genesis Apocryphon does not depend on Jubilees at this point, proving that the latter must depend on the former, or both on a common source.

A more recent defense of the Genesis Apocryphon's priority was undertaken in a pair of articles by Cana Werman. In an essay dealing with the Book of Noah at Qumran she wrote that "the author of Jubilees was acquainted with the Genesis Apocryphon and even made use of it."[103] She supported her claim by citing two incidents found in both texts: the planting of Noah's vineyard, along with the **נטע רבעי** (fourth year's fruit of a young tree in 1QapGen 12.14–19; Jub 7:1–4, 34–37), and the sacrifices offered by Noah after disembarking from the ark (1QapGen 10; Jub 6). Not only are both of these passages longer in Jubilees, but, Werman claims, both passages in Jubilees can be shown to alter the Genesis Apocryphon in accordance with a priestly agenda.

In a subsequent article Werman drew attention to the portions of land allotted by Noah to his sons Shem and Japheth (cf. 1QapGen 16–17; Jub 8:10–9:15) during his division of the earth. Jubilees' description, she argued, is longer, more detailed, and includes a greater admixture of Hellenistic scientific knowledge, thus revealing its dependence on the shorter and less scientifically informed Apocryphon.[104] A notable aspect of Werman's arguments is that they incorporate the more recently published portions of the scroll, which appeared only in the 1990's.[105]

Esther Eshel also took up a detailed investigation of the geographic portions of the Genesis Apocryphon in comparison with Jubilees (and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*).[106] She has arrived at the same opinion as Werman based on similar reasoning, but her argument depends on different geographic clues within the two accounts. First, she understands 1QapGen 16–17 to reflect an older, Ionian schema of the inhabited earth, with its "navel" located at Delphi, while Jubilees has appended onto this picture the religiously motivated idea that Jerusalem is the earth's center. Second, she understands the Apocryphon, like Josephus, to apportion Asia Minor to Japheth, while in Jubilees decorum is spared by allotting it instead to Shem. These suggestions will be discussed at more length in Chapter 4.

An interesting aspect of the above survey is that contrasting assumptions by Avigad and Yadin on one hand, and Werman on the other, lead each to the same conclusion. While the former claim priority for the Genesis Apocryphon based on its greater length, Werman (and perhaps Wacholder) does so based on its shorter, simpler character. If nothing else, this serves as a warning that general statements about one work being longer or shorter than another may not accurately reflect the situation.

Indeterminate Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees

A number of scholars who believed a verdict about the relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees to be premature have been listed above, in the section dealing with 1 Enoch (e.g. Flusser, Bardtke, Hempel, Meyer, and Bernstein). The 1957 assessment of de Vaux, dealing specifically with Jubilees, mirrors their sentiment:[107]

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[100] Ibid., 52.

[101] Ibid., 53 [italics mine].

[102] P. Grelot, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, *RB* 74 (1967): 103.

[103] C. Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 172.

[104] Werman, "The Book of Jubilees in Hellenistic Context [Hebrew; ספר היובלים בהקשר הלניסטי]" *Zion* [ציון] 66:3 (2001): 275 96 [esp. 280 282]. This article has recently been translated into English in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism [Betsy Halpern-Amaru Festschrift]* (JSJSup 119; eds L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[105] See Chapter 2.

[106] E. Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, 111 131 [esp. 130 131].

> ...les rapports entre cet apocryphe et Jubilés ne sont pas entièrement clairs. Ce sont peut-être de oeuvres parallèles et le développement donné à certains passages ne prouve pas nécessairement que l'apocryphe soit antérieur aux Jubilés. Les texts de Qumrân nous apprennent de plus en plus que literature était riche et que son histoire est complexe.

It bears repeating that most of these scholars expressed hope that the relationship would gain more clarity with the publication of the remaining parts of the Apocryphon—a task now essentially complete.

Jubilees a Source for the Genesis Apocryphon

As seen above, many scholars reacted with skepticism to Avigad and Yadin's claim that the Genesis Apocryphon served as a source for 1 Enoch and Jubilees, finding just the opposite arrangement to be more plausible (e.g. Del Medico, Lambert, Fitzmyer, Beyer, and Falk). Most of these cited the first century BCE to CE date of the manuscript and Kutscher's roughly comparable date for the scroll's language[108] in support of their claim.[109] That this view has gained preferred status is evidenced through its presumption by scholars such as Craig Evans and Nickelsburg.[110]

Another scholar to argue for the priority of Jubilees was Louis Hartman.[111] Like Wacholder and Grelot, Hartman drew on the comparative Abramic chronologies of the Apocryphon and Jubilees to help discern their relationship. His observations, however, brought him to the opposite conclusion. Since Jubilees incorporates the ten years of Abram's journey from Haran to Canaan into its broader chronological system of "weeks" and jubilees, Hartman understood it to be the earlier, more authentic account. The Genesis Apocryphon, in contrast, offers no special reason for its chronology, indicating that it must depend on a work containing such a motive—i.e. Jubilees.

Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees Dependent on a Common Source

In their chronological assessments, both Wacholder and Grelot left open the possibility that the Apocryphon and Jubilees might rely on a common source, rather than directly upon one another. García Martínez further posited that this is the *only* viable option, proposing that "both writings depend on a common source, which is more reliably reproduced in *1QapGen* than in *Jub*."[112] To prove his point, he provided two examples—one textual and one literary. First, he considered the toponym "Mountains of Asshur" in Jub 8:21 and 9:25 to be a scribal error for Mount Taurus—a mistake that occurred when translating this passage from Aramaic to Hebrew. Although he does not elaborate, presumably García Martínez believes that the author of Jubilees read the Aramaic תורא (Taurus, or Ox) as אתור (Asshur) instead, thereby causing the mistaken identity.[113] Secondly, he points to the term מרה שמיא (Lord of Heaven; GenAp 7.7), which is found in 1 En 106:11 but nowhere in Jubilees. In the opinion of García Martínez these examples rule out a direct relationship between Jubilees and the Apocryphon. Like Milik's suggestion for 1 Enoch, he believes the common source behind these two works to be the lost Book of Noah.

Jacques van Ruiten agrees that a common source is probable based on his observation that "[s]ince the structure and wording of the book of *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* are quite different, it is reasonable to suppose that both texts borrowed their material from a common tradition."[114] Assuming a very close relationship between the Apocryphon and parts of 1 Enoch (presumably warranted by a Book of Noah underlying both), Ruiten adds that "[t]his is supported by the fact that in *1 En* 85:3, the name of Enoch's wife is mentioned, although in a form which is slightly different from *Jubilees* (Edna)."

Excursus: The Date of Jubilees

As with 1 Enoch, any dating of the Genesis Apocryphon relative to Jubilees depends on a reliable date for the latter.

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[107] R. de Vaux, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *RevQ* 64 (1957): 624.

[108] Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon.'"

[109] E.g. Fitzmyer, "Some Observations on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 277.

[110] Evans, "Rewritten Bible," 162; Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry," 199 n. 45.

[111] L. F. Hartman, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, *CBQ* 28 (1966): 495 98.

[112] García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1 44 [esp. 40 41].

[113] García Martínez does little to defend his claim that the name Mountains of Asshur is a mistake, although his argument would benefit from such an effort. Although he asserts that the mistake would be "difficult to understand when taking the Hebrew... as a point of departure," one could argue that scribal confusion of השור (Ox, or Taurus) with אשור (Asshur) makes better sense.

[114] J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted. The Rewriting of Genesis 1 11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 123. Also see page 332.

Here I do not intend to give an exhaustive defense or rebuttal of any one stance, but rather to present briefly the opinions of others who have more fully articulated the relevant issues. In my opinion the most convincing date is that proposed by VanderKam, who has argued for a date between 161 and 140 BCE, and more probably between 161 and 152 BCE.[115] VanderKam's proposed date rests largely on Jubilees' incorporation of certain battles of Judas Maccabeus (active 167–160 BCE), along with other anti-Antiochian motifs, into parts of its narrative. He also takes into account which parts of 1 Enoch the author of Jubilees appears to know.[116] Following his initial publication on the subject, part of a copy of Jubilees from the Qumran corpus (4Q216, or 4QJub^{a}) was paleographically dated to the mid to late second century BCE.[117]

Of course, this is not the only proposed date for Jubilees' composition. Nickelsburg leans toward an earlier date, circa 168 BCE, following the lead of L. Finkelstein and others.[118] Those who espouse an early date do not find the references to Maccabean battles convincing and date Jubilees in relation to slightly earlier events, just preceding the Maccabean Revolt. Taking into account these objections, VanderKam concluded that "it now seems safe to claim that the Book of Jubilees was written between the years 170 and 150 BCE."[119]

A minority of scholars, such as Wacholder, D. Mendels, and Werman, follow Charles and Dillmann in assigning the book a later date—typically in the last third of the second century BCE.[120] However, the reasons offered for a later date vary considerably, some (e.g. Werman) proposing a connection with the Essenes at Qumran.

A related topic, appropriate to the present discussion, is the relationship between 1 En 106–107 and Jubilees. VanderKam has suggested that Jub 4:23 may draw some of its inspiration from the Enochic story of Noah's birth, since it records that Enoch was taken from human society by angels and placed in the Garden of Eden to write down a testimony against humanity.[121] This observation is based on Enoch's statement in 1 En 106:8 that his son Methuselah came to him "at the ends of the earth," where he dwelled with the angels.[122] If Jubilees could be shown to use this portion of 1 Enoch it would have significant implications for the date of the latter, pushing it back into the early second century BCE. Unfortunately, the reference in Jub 4:23 is vague enough to leave serious doubt, and the matter must remain undecided. Nevertheless, any serious attempt to delineate the relationships between the Genesis Apocryphon, 1 En 106–107, and Jubilees should keep the statement of Jub 4:23 in mind.

Summary: The Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees

Although a majority of scholars now accept the priority of Jubilees over the Genesis Apocryphon, there has been little serious argumentation in defense of this view. The difficulties inherent in judging such a relationship based primarily on the relative length of parallel accounts have been broached above. Perhaps the most convincing argument for Jubilees' priority is the dating of the Apocryphon's language and manuscript, but this too leaves ample room for doubt, as I seek to show in Chapter 5. In sum, the argument for Jubilees' priority requires considerable bolstering in order to be persuasive. Rather than being founded on demonstration from actual parallels, it has survived largely on vague intuition.

It may not be coincidental that some who have argued for the opposite relationship—i.e. that Jubilees depends on the Apocryphon—believe Jubilees to be a product of the Qumran sect, and therefore significantly later than the early to mid-second century BCE date espoused by most scholars. This assumption clears the way for assigning the Apocryphon priority, and such priority, in turn, affirms a later date for Jubilees. Despite this questionable congruence of interests, scholars from this camp hold the advantage of having argued seriously for their position, and their opinions should be granted due consideration. It indeed appears that 1QapGen 12 and 17 contain more compressed forms of their respective stories than Jub 6–7 and 9, turning the already questionable argument of Del Medico and Fitzmyer on its head. Werman, however, does not take full account of the impressive differences that obtain for each of these parallels. Such differences might be better used to support the "common source" theory of García Martínez and others. The matter of comparative chronologies in the Abram account is intriguing, but here too a final judgment seems premature in the absence of corroborating evidence.

While the current evidence appears to point toward the priority of the Apocryphon or to the common source theory, it seems best to keep an open mind in studying the existing parallels and newly published material from the Apocryphon. As with 1 Enoch, the matter remains unsettled.

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[115] For a defense of this date see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 207–85 [esp. 283–85].

[116] VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees."

[117] See J. C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "The First *Jubilees* Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication," *JBL* 110/2 (1991): 243–70. One sheet of this manuscript is written in a late (c. mid-1st cent. BCE) Hasmonean hand, and the other in an earlier, semi-cursive script.

[118] Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 77–79. Cf. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 212–13.

[119] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols; CSCO 510–11; Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 2:vi.

[120] See B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 41–62; D. Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 57–88; C. Werman, "The *Book of Jubilees* and the Qumran Community," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 37–55 [Hebrew]; and idem, "Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage," *HTR* 90.1 (Jan. 1997): 1–22.

[121] VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees," 229–51.

[122] A similar statement is made in 1QapGen 2.23.

Review: Dating the Genesis Apocryphon

Based on the above survey it is evident that the date a particular scholar assigns to the Apocryphon is closely bound up with her/his opinion of its relationship to 1 Enoch and/or Jubilees. Those who believe the scroll to be later than these two works tend to embrace Kutscher's and Fitzmyer's dating of its language to the first century BCE (–first century CE).[123] In their estimation, this is the period of the scroll's composition.[124]

Those who ascribe priority to the Genesis Apocryphon have either ignored the issue of language, assumed that the scroll's language evolved with copying, or disputed the first century BCE dating of Kutscher and Fitzmyer. While an estimated date of composition is not always given by these scholars, the late third to early second century BCE might be expected, unless a later date of Jubilees is espoused, in which case the date of the Apocryphon may also shift accordingly. Although not dealt with extensively in this study, it is evident that the language of the scroll is an important component of this debate, and an area ripe for reassessment.[125]

Those who have understood the Apocryphon to be independent of 1 Enoch and/or Jubilees—i.e. based on a common Book of Noah—have not commented on the scroll's date. One gains the impression, however, that they hold the Apocryphon to be the earlier (or at least more accurate) representative of the Noah book, in which case an early second century BCE date might be expected. Taking account of all views surveyed above, a broad period between the late third century and early first century BCE appears relatively certain for dating the scroll. In the following chapters I will suggest that a date near the early end of this spectrum (preceding Jubilees and perhaps even 1 En 106–107) is preferable.

1.2.4.2. *Other Dead Sea Scrolls*

Scholars have linked several other manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Genesis Apocryphon, particularly in connection with the story of Noah's spectacular birth in 1QapGen 2. While not containing exact literary parallels, these texts have often been discussed as derivations from a source or tradition also underlying the Apocryphon.[126]

1.2.4.2.1. *1Q19 (1Q Livre de Noé)*[127]

Fragment 3 of this Hebrew text recounts an astounding birth, witnessed by Noah's father Lamech. Avigad and Yadin were the first to suggest a mutual relationship between this fragment, 1QapGen 1–5, and 1 En 106–107. Milik went on to specify that fragments of 1Q19 may be a Hebrew parallel to the Aramaic account in the Genesis Apocryphon. In his opinion, both are summaries of the lost Book of Noah, which is further abridged in 1 En 106–107.[128] This theory has been accepted by García Martínez and Fitzmyer. While the remaining text of 1Q19 3 is scanty enough to leave questions regarding its literary proximity to the Genesis Apocryphon, it is probable that it recounts the same general story.[129]

1.2.4.2.2. *4Q534 (4Q Mess ar; 4Q Naissance de Noé^a ar)*[130]

This incomplete Aramaic text recounts the birth, childhood, and physical characteristics of an astounding youth, hailed at one point as the "Elect of God" (בחיר אלהא). Among other things, this individual is said to study "the three books" (1 i 5), possess counsel and prudence (1 i 7), come to know the mysteries of humanity and all living things (1 i 8), and have plans that will last forever (1 i 9). He is clearly an important figure for the text's authorizing community. In the following column, significant events are mentioned, including objects being destroyed (1 ii 13), waters ceasing (1 ii 14), and a subsequent building project (1 ii 15). The subject's activity is even compared with that of the Watchers (1 ii 15), which could be taken either positively or negatively.[131] Presumably, the fantastic child and these events are linked to one another.

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[123] Avigad and Yadin dated our copy of the scroll between the late first century BCE and middle first century CE on paleographic grounds. This was based primarily on comparisons with 1QM (the War Scroll). Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 25 26) observed that their opinion was confirmed by J. T. Milik, F. M. Cross, and S. A. Birnbaum. This range subsequently gained affirmation from radiocarbon dating. See G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Atiqot* 20 (July 1991): 27 32. The data are also published in G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon* 34/3 (1992): 843 49. Cf. Chapter 5.

[124] Exceptions are Zeitlin and Del Medico, who believe the scroll to be significantly later than all other commentators do (Medieval and second century CE respectively).

[125] See the more detailed analysis in Chapter 5.

[126] A summary of these sources is provided by García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1 44.

[127] Published by Milik in D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 84–85.

[128] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 55.

[129] García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 42; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 258.

[130] The most recent and thorough publication is that of E. Puech, "**534.** 4QNaissance de Noé^a ar," in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 129 52. Some earlier publications providing text and translation are J. Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen de la grotte 4 de Qumrân," in *Ecole des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris: Mémorial du cinquantienaire 1914–1964* (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10; Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964), 51 66; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran Cave IV," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348 72; and García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1 44.

J. Starcky first took the child of 4Q534 to be the future, davidic messiah,[132] with similar views intermittently espoused by A. Dupont-Sommer, J. Carmignac, I. D. Amusin, M. Delcor, and J. Zimmermann.[133] However, it did not take long for others to contest that the youth was, in fact, Noah. Fitzmyer first noted that "[i]n the Intertestamental Literature there is a certain fascination with the birth of Noah," leading him to wonder "whether we are not really dealing with another text belonging to the Noah literature of late Judaism."[134] Fitzmyer's speculative identification was subsequently adopted by A. Caquot, P. Grelot, Milik, García Martínez, Puech, and even a repentant Starcky.[135] Alternative suggestions for the child included Enoch (A. Caquot), and Melchizedek (J. C. Greenfield).[136] James Davila has preferred to leave the central character anonymous, stressing instead the text's prototypical relationship to Merkavah mysticism.[137]

Those believing the "Elect of God" in 4Q534 to be Noah have generally drawn a connection with the beginning columns of the Genesis Apocryphon, supposing that the two reflect a common tradition venerating Noah's spectacular birth. Puech's statement is typical: "L'insistance sur les 'circonstances' de la naissance dans cet ouvrage semble correspondre à son aspect quasi-miraculeux dans d'autres texts (1 Hénoch 106, 1QApGn I–V et 1Q**19** 3)."[138] Despite this and like statements, however, it remains very uncertain whether the child of 4Q534 actually refers to Noah. The gist of the text does compare favorably with 1QapGen 2–5.27, where Enoch lectures at surprising length (nearly three columns) about young Noah. Although this speech is mostly lost, in 5.10–13 we find mention of Noah's remarkable physical traits. The explicit connection of Noah to three books in the Samaritan *Asatir*, which appears to contain some early Jewish interpretive traditions, is another interesting coincidence.[139] Still, the very best we can say presently is that 4Q534 *might* be speaking about Noah. Even if so, there is no proof of any direct link between 4Q534 and the Apocryphon. At times, two other texts—4Q186 and 4Q561—have been considered different copies of the same work, but there is very little evidence to support this claim.[140]

1.2.4.2.3. *4Q535–536 (4Q Naissance de Noé$^{b–c}$ ar)*

In 1978, Milik listed two other fragmentary texts from Qumran—4Q535 and 536—alongside 4Q534.[141] In 1992, he included all three works under the rubric "Naissance de Noé."[142] The links between these three manuscripts has been subsequently confirmed by Puech, who lists two places where word for word correspondence occurs.[143] While 4Q536 2 ii 11 contains the words "and he will not die in the days of evil," which could be said of Noah, there is very little in these manuscripts to certify that Noah is the subject. Again, it is uncertain whether there is a direct connection between these compositions and the Apocryphon.

1.2.4.2.4. *6Q8*

Both M. Baillet and F. García Martínez argued that this fragmentary Aramaic papyrus contains references to an extraordinary birth, Noah's father-in-law Barakiel, and Mount Lubar—all of which are present in various Noachic sections of 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and/

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[131] E.g., in Jub 4:15 they are presented positively, but in Jub 5 (cf. 1 En 6 11) negatively.

[132] Starcky, "Un texte messianique," 59, 66.

[133] See E. Puech, "**534–536.** 4QNaissance de Noé$^{a\ c}$ ar: Introduction," *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 117 27 [esp. 117].

[134] Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text," 371.

[135] See Puech, "**534–536.** 4QNaissance de Noé$^{a-c}$ ar: Introduction," 118 20.

[136] Ibid.

[137] J. R. Davila, "4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism," *DSD* 5 (1998): 367 81.

[138] Puech, "**534–536.** 4QNaissance de Noé$^{a\ c}$ ar: Introduction," 124. Also see Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 260), who includes it in his latest appendix of texts related to the Genesis Apocryphon.

[139] In the *Asatir*, Noah studies the three Books of Creation for seven years: the Book of Signs, the Book of Astrology, and the Book of Wars (3:9). See M. Gaster, *The Asatir: The Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses,"* (Oriental Translation Fund New Series, Vol. 26; London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927), 214 [11 (**יא**) of Hebrew text].

[140] See Puech "**534–536.** 4QNaissance de Noé$^{a\ c}$ ar: Introduction," 121.

[141] J. T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu, etudes présentées par M. Delcor* (BETL 46; Paris et Gembloux, 1978), 91 113 [esp. 94].

[142] J. T. Milik, "Le modèles araméens du Livre d'Esther en la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *Mémorial Jean Starcky* (2 vols; *RevQ* 15; 1992): 2:357, 363 64. Cf. Puech "**534–536.** 4QNaissance de Noé$^{a\ c}$ ar: Introduction," 121 22, for more information.

[143] For Puech's text and commentary see "**534.** 4QNaissance de Noé^{a} ar," 153 170.

or the Genesis Apocryphon.[144] In the second edition of his commentary, Fitzmyer echoed the possibility that this "apocryphe de la Genèse" was related to the birth of Noah in the Genesis Apocryphon. However, he apparently retracted this opinion in his third edition.[145] Loren Stuckenbruck, arguing in defense of Milik's earlier hypothesis that 6Q8 belongs instead to the Enochic *Book of Giants*, asserted that any reference to a miraculous birth is unlikely, and that the Baraq'el of 6Q8 frg. 1, line 5, is probably not the father-in-law of Noah mentioned in Jub 4:28.[146] García Martínez eventually sided with Milik's identification as well.[147] Presently, the scholarly tide has turned toward identifying this scroll as a part of the *Book of Giants*, and a link to Noah's birth appears very unlikely.

1.2.4.3. *Additional Texts*

Connections between the Genesis Apocryphon and other ancient Jewish exegetical texts have occasionally been suggested, although these are generally weaker than the parallels listed above. It is not my intention to give a detailed analysis of proposed connections with these texts, but simply to raise awareness of the broader spectrum of Jewish literature in which the Apocryphon has been discussed.

1.2.4.3.1. *Other "Rewritten" Biblical Works*

Other examples of rewritten biblical texts, such as Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, the Samaritan *Asatir*, and *Sepher ha-Yashar* provide logical points of comparison for the Genesis Apocryphon. The most in-depth comparison of these texts to date is Vermes' study of Abraham's life according to a number of the above works (what he termed a "retrogressive historical study"), and then according to the Apocryphon (a "progressive historical study").[148] Throughout his analysis Vermes also made copious reference to rabbinic literature, the targums, and various other works of the period. In conclusion, he offered four categories by which one may evaluate the relationships between the Genesis Apocryphon and other Jewish works: 1) interpretations proper to Genesis Apocryphon; 2) disagreement in exegesis; 3) partial agreement in exegesis; and 4) identical exegesis. While he states that the last category is "frequent and characteristic, and is represented on all levels," most of his examples pertain to individual details rather than large blocks of narrative.[149] These parallels attest to a common Jewish exegetical milieu, in which biblical issues and inconsistencies are handled in similar ways across a spectrum of texts. Yet, never do these details suggest a close connection or dependent relationship with the Apocryphon in the way that 1 Enoch and Jubilees do. One comes away from this group of texts with a sense that their similarities with the Apocryphon stem from a common genre and exegetical approach to the Bible rather than a genetic kinship. Fitzmyer has also provided many pertinent references to the above works, among others, in his commentary.

1.2.4.3.2. *Rabbinic Midrashim and the Targumim*

Rabbinic midrashic works, such as *Genesis Rabbah*, *Tanhumah*, *Yalqut Shimoni*, or the tannaitic midrashim, have also been sporadically compared with the Apocryphon. These are typically placed alongside the various Aramaic Targumim, especially *Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Yerushalmi*. The studies of G. Sarfatti and M. R. Lehmann remain the most comprehensive comparisons available.[150] Although these texts and the Apocryphon often express a shared interest in specific exegetical issues, rarely do they provide the same solutions to these questions. Even the closest connections between the Apocryphon and these texts are distant compared to the parallels with 1 Enoch and Jubilees.[151]

More generally, a tenuous relationship seems to have existed between the rabbinic and targumic works on the one hand, and the so-called "outside books" (הספרים החיצוניים; somewhat analogous to our concept of Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha) on the other. To the latter group belonged Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and perhaps other works like the Genesis Apocryphon.

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[144] García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 43; and M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 117.

[145] He includes the fragments in his "Appendix 1: Related Literature" in the second edition (*The Genesis Apocryphon* [1971], 187–92), but not the third (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 258–60).

[146] L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 196–213. Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 300–301.

[147] García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 101–102.

[148] Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 67–126.

[149] Ibid., 123. His examples include that Sarah was wise (Philo), Abraham wept and prayed after Sarah's abduction (*Tanhuma*, *Sefer ha-Yashar*), royal presents were given to Abraham after the return of Sarah, Hagar was a gift of Pharaoh (*Genesis Rabbah*, *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, *Sefer ha-Yashar*), and Salem is Jerusalem (targums, etc.).

[150] See G. Sarfatti, "Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon," *Tarbiz* 28 (1958–59): 258 [Hebrew]; idem, "An addition to 'Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon,'" *Tarbiz* 29 (1959–60): 192 [Hebrew]; and M. R. Lehmann, "1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim," 251.

[151] Sarfatti (following Theodor) has observed that the rabbis tend to distance themselves from exaltation of Enoch and Noah, who are considered to be of mixed character. See Sarfatti, "Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon," 258.

The rabbis often distanced themselves from these writings, and explicitly shied away from drawing on them in standard rabbinic biblical interpretation.[152] As with the texts mentioned in the preceding section, the relationships here belong primarily on the level of general exegetical phenomena, and not direct literary parallels. In fact, many of the parallels suggested in this category could be easily arrived at independently by different exegetes.[153]

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[152] Ibid. Sarfatti writes, "The question 'and was he [i.e. Lamech] a prophet?' was a rhetorical question, whose answer was, 'No.' Neither Lamech, nor his ancestor Enoch, were prophets, so argues the midrash, and this argument fits with the opinion of all the ancient midrashim, which did not want to accord Lamech the highly privileged status in keeping with that tradition which was gathered in the apocryphal books and later legends (see, for example, *Genesis Rabbah* 25:1 and the comments there of Theodor)." [translation mine]

[153] One example, cited by Lehmann ("1Q Genesis Apocryphon," 257), is Abram's similar statements in 1QapGen 19.10 and *Tanhuma* that Egypt is well-stocked with food. This can be derived by a simple syllogism: 1.) there is a famine in Canaan; 2.) Abram and Sarai make for Egypt; 3.) there must be food in Egypt. While it is plain that both texts reacted to the same exegetical issue, there is no reason to suppose that the two interpretations are related in a direct way. This particular example may also be influenced by the Joseph story (Gen 41:55 42:1), which recounts a similar scenario.

CHAPTER TWO

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

2.1. Introduction to The Present Edition

2.1.1. *History and Previous Editions*

Of the cache of scrolls discovered in Qumran Cave 1 the Genesis Apocryphon was the most badly damaged.[1] Because of this, the publication history of the scroll is lengthy and interesting, and deserves brief summary here. The following survey covers only major developments in the publication of the Aramaic text (i.e. transcription), and does not deal with the numerous translations available. Minor contributions, such as new readings suggested in book reviews or articles, will be mentioned only where appropriate.[2]

2.1.1.1. *Pre-publication History*

The Genesis Apocryphon was among the initial cache of seven scrolls discovered by a member of the Ta'amireh Bedouin tribe near the Dead Sea. It was one of the four manuscripts purchased from the Bedouin by Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the Syrian Metropolitan of Jerusalem, for approximately two hundred and fifty U.S. dollars.[3]

In late February, 1948, the Metropolitan's scrolls were wrapped in an Arabic newspaper, placed in a leather briefcase, and brought by a Syrian Orthodox monk and his brother from St. Mark's Monastery, in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City, to the American School of Oriental Research, outside Herod's Gate.[4] Here they were inspected and photographed by John Trever and William Brownlee, who first recognized the significance of the find. Around this time "a small leather fragment with disintegrated script," later called the "Trever fragment," separated from the Fourth Scroll and was photographed by Trever. This fragment provided the first hints that the scroll was written in Aramaic, rather than Hebrew.[5] Another small piece of the scroll's outer layer was soon after removed by Trever, but no positive identification of its contents could be made.[6] The three Hebrew scrolls were identified over the following weeks, but the leather of the Fourth Scroll was so brittle and bonded together that a decision was made to suspend further study until it could be unrolled by experts under the proper conditions.

Due to the tension in war-ravaged Jerusalem, the scrolls were temporarily moved by Mar Samuel to a bank vault in Beirut, and, in early 1949, arrived in New Jersey in Samuel's own possession. In April of that year, a much larger leaf from the outside of the scroll was removed by Trever, revealing enough text (26 partial lines) for him to conclude that it contained the previously lost "Book of Lamech," a title adopted in most early publications dealing with the Dead Sea Scrolls.[7] This leaf (later designated col. 2) and its transcription were supposed to be published in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, but never were.

In the January 30, 1950 issue of *Time* Magazine it was announced that the Fourth Scroll, "whose cracked leather surface looks like a dried cigar," would travel to the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University in order to be opened and read. The magazine quipped that the scroll would be "on the operating table" for six months, but these plans also never materialized. Due to ongoing intrigue over the provenance and ownership of the scrolls, the Fogg Museum made financial demands deemed unacceptable by Mar Samuel.

On June 1, 1954, frustrated by the growing controversy surrounding the scrolls and the dire plight of his parishioners in Jerusalem, Mar Samuel finally placed an advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal*.[8] The now famous first lines read: "Miscellaneous For Sale: THE FOUR DEAD SEA SCROLLS." All four scrolls were soon purchased by the fledgling State of Israel and brought to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem through the arrangement of Yigael Yadin and under the guise of a Chemical Bank and Trust Company official. The cost was $250,000.[9] Thus, the Genesis Apocryphon, yet unrolled, had travelled twice across the Atlantic Ocean only to finally rest approximately 14 miles from the site of its discovery.[10]

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[1] For an early description consult J. C. Trever, "Preliminary Observations on the Jerusalem Scrolls," *BASOR* 111 (1948): 3–16 [esp. 14–15].

[2] Many such contributions, however, are referenced in the notes accompanying the text.

[3] A lively autobiographical account of the purchase and resale of the four scrolls to the State of Israel may be found in A. Y. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), 141–201. The other three scrolls were sold to E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[4] The school is still under the auspices of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), but is now named the Albright Institute of Archeological Research. The Albright Institute is, appropriately, where the present text was prepared.

[5] For more information on the fragment see J. C. Trever, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 26, 43, 52, 57, 65.

[6] Trever, "Preliminary Observations," 14–16.

[7] Trever, "Identification of the Aramaic Fourth Scroll," 8–10. He notes, however, that Noah is "the real hero of the story."

2.1.1.2. *Milik (Mil)—1955*

In time more fragments were excavated from the cave that produced the first seven scrolls.[11] These were published by Oxford University as the first volume in a series dedicated to the Dead Sea Scrolls and other finds from the Judean Desert.[12] Included in this volume were eight small fragments, belonging to the fourth scroll, which were bought from a Bethlehem antiquities dealer nicknamed Kando and edited by J. T. Milik.[13] Milik named the work represented by these fragments *Apocalypse de Lamech*, based upon Trever's identification, and gave it the publication number 20, which eventuated in the entire Genesis Apocryphon being designated 1Q20 by Fitzmyer.[14]

Milik was only moderately successful in reading these badly deteriorated fragments, but his effort did add some meagre information to the content of the scroll.

2.1.1.3. *Avigad and Yadin (AY)—1956*

Once at the Hebrew University, the task of unrolling the Fourth Scroll was entrusted to J. Biberkraut, whose wife also took the earliest photographs of the manuscript as it was being opened. Biberkraut did a masterful job, facilitating an initial publication by Avigad and Yadin in 1956. In their preface, the authors specified that this was a "preliminary survey, dealing mainly with the last three columns which are very well preserved."[15] Elsewhere, they mentioned an upcoming final publication,[16] which never came to fruition.

Avigad and Yadin's edition includes plates, transcription, and translation (Hebrew and English) of cols. 2 and 19–22. Diacritical marks of either a single or double dash over the letter indicate uncertainty in readings. Their transcription was meticulously executed, and has stood up surprisingly well against subsequent re-readings and advances in photographic technology. The major limitation of this edition, of course, was that it presented only 5 of the 22 extant columns.[17] Brief descriptions of the unpublished columns were, nonetheless, provided, and at times these included excerpts of easily readable text. A major contribution of Avigad and Yadin was their observation that the material concerning Lamech constitutes but a small part of the narrative, and that the scroll included stories about a number of the patriarchs of Genesis, stretching from Enoch to Abram. In addition, several intriguing parallels with the books of 1 Enoch and Jubilees were identified. All of this, along with its obvious dependence on the biblical book of Genesis, led Avigad and Yadin to rename the text *A Genesis Apocryphon* (מגילה חיצונית לבראשית in Modern Hebrew). Several valuable corrections or alternate readings were provided by Kutscher (Kut)[18] and H. Ginsberg (Gin)[19] in response to this edition, and it was at this time that a definite article was added to the scroll's title.

In 1984, Yadin unexpectedly died of a heart attack, leaving the work of final publication to Avigad alone. Shortly thereafter (1988), Avigad handed over the responsibility for publication of the unpublished columns to the Israeli scholars Jonas Greenfield and Elisha Qimron.

2.1.1.4. *Fitzmyer—1966*

In 1966, Joseph Fitzmyer published a commentary on the Genesis Apocryphon, focusing largely on the language and exegetical traditions of the available text.[20] It included a transcription and English translation based primarily on the *editio princeps*, although the excerpts from the unpublished columns, mentioned by Avigad and Yadin only in their commentary section, were incorporated by Fitzmyer into the body of his text (i.e. small portions of cols. 1, 3, 5–7, 10–12 and 16–17). In addition, he included a number of emendations that had been suggested by subsequent reviewers, and offered fuller restorations in some places. The fragments published by Milik as 1Q20 were placed prior to col. 1, since they clearly came from the outside layer of the scroll, but Fitzmyer was not able to place them in any more specific context than this. Unfortunately, no diacritical marks were used to indicate the certainty of readings. It is clear that Fitzmyer's primary purpose was not to produce a new edition of the text, but simply to re-present and analyze what was already at his disposal.

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[8] This is according to Mar Samuel (*Treaure of Qumran*, 173–201). A less flattering account is given in Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 7.

[9] Ironically, $150,000 of this amount was donated by the Jewish philanthropist D. Samuel Gottesman, who held family connections to the ASOR, Jerusalem, where the scrolls were first inspected by Trever and Burrows (personal communication with Dr. S. Gitin).

[10] The scroll is currently stored in the vault at the Shrine of the Book (at the Israel Museum) in Jerusalem.

[11] See O. R. Sellers, "Excavation of the 'Manuscript' Cave at 'Ain Fashkha," *BASOR* 114 (1949): 5–9.

[12] Barthélemy and Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).

[13] Ibid., 4. It is unclear whether the Bedouin returned to the cave and excavated the fragments, or whether they had simply fallen off the scroll while in Kando's possession (Kando was one of Mar Samuel's parishioners, and had initially served as mediator between the Metropolitan and the Bedouin).

[14] Ibid., 86–87. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 15 n. 14.

[15] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 8.

[16] Ibid., 13.

[17] There are now thought to be 23 columns (cf. below).

[18] Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon.'"

[19] H. L. Ginsberg, "Notes on Some Old Aramaic Texts," *JNES* 18 (1959): 143–49 [esp. 145–48].

2.1.1.5. *Fitzmyer—1971*

Fitzmyer produced a second, revised edition of his commentary in 1971.[21] The revisions pertained almost solely to the introduction and commentary, although a few changes were also made in the transcription, translation, and reconstruction based upon reviews of his first edition by scholars such as Ginsberg (Gin^2).[22] Muraoka (Mu^1) followed this edition with a significant discussion of the scroll's syntax and morphology, but few new readings were offered.[23] Again, no diacritical marks were used.

2.1.1.6. *Jongeling, Labuschagne, and van der Woude (J)—1976*

The transcription and English translation of Bastiaan Jongeling, Casper Labuschagne and Adam van der Woude, produced in Groningen, the Netherlands, covers the columns first published by Avigad and Yadin (i.e. 2 and 19–22; without the other excerpts or 1Q20).[24] While agreeing largely with the editions of Avigad-Yadin and Fitzmyer, the editors must be commended for offering fresh readings at certain points, based on the photographic plates available in Avigad and Yadin's edition. Less laudable is the lack of diacritical marks, although the authors indicate that this is meant only as a study edition. An important review is that of Puech (Pu), who offered several new readings.[25]

2.1.1.7. *Beyer ($B^{1/2}$)—1984/1994*

In 1984, Klaus Beyer produced a transcription and German translation of the Genesis Apocryphon as part of his large collection of Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea.[26] His edition differs in several respects from its predecessors. First, Beyer uses a single diacritical sign (a circlet) for uncertain letters. This is a welcome addition and noteworthy improvement over Fitzmyer and Jongeling, Labuschagne, and van der Woude. Second, based on his many deviations from earlier editions it is clear that Beyer undertook an entirely fresh reading of the available photographs. A number of his new proposals are incorrect, but this is partially offset by those instances where a correct reading is offered, or attention is called to a previously unnoticed textual issue. Like Fitzmyer, Beyer incorporated the additional excerpts from Avigad and Yadin's commentary and Milik's 1Q20 fragments into his text, although this was done in an extremely confusing manner.[27] In a 1994 *Ergänzungsband*, Beyer updated a few readings in the text's early columns and incorporated col. 12, which had meanwhile been published by Greenfield and Qimron (see below). He also took into account Muraoka's second study on the scroll (Mu^2).[28]

2.1.1.8. *Wise and Zuckerman—1991*

In the early 1990's Michael Wise and Bruce Zuckerman endeavored to arrange the eight fragments of 1Q20 and the Trever Fragment into a more coherent order.[29] The result was a new reconstruction that has gained general acceptance by subsequent scholars working on the scroll, and will be followed in this edition. In their reconstruction, a good deal more of what are now called cols. 0 and 1 may be read, with Milik's 1Q20 mainly comprising parts of col. 0, and the Trever Fragment being placed in the lower portion of col. 1.

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[20] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Biblica et Orientalia 18; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966).

[21] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Biblica et Orientalia 18A; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971).

[22] Ginsberg, review of Fitzmyer.

[23] T. Muraoka, "Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon," *RevQ* 8 (1972–75): 7–51.

[24] B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschange, and A. S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Semitic Study Series 4; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 77–119.

[25] E. Puech, review of B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschange, and A. S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran, RevQ* 9 (1977–78): 589–91.

[26] K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairo Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 165–86 [*Ergänzungsband* (1994), 68–70].

[27] Particularly in his cols. 0–1. Cf. the textual notes to these columns, below.

[28] T. Muraoka, "Further Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 39–48.

[29] Unfortunately, their work has been published only in newsletters that are rather difficult to obtain (they are not, so far as I can tell, available on the internet). See M. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman, "New Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave

2.1.1.9. *Qimron (Qim$^{1/2}$)—1992/1999*

In 1992, Elisha Qimron published an article outlining a plan to complete the protracted publication of the remaining columns of the Genesis Apocryphon, which he and Greenfield had inherited from Avigad.[30] After a brief survey of previous editions, he offered eighteen useful textual notes, including some new readings, to cols. 2 and 19–22. These are presented as a sample of what the new edition will contain. In a 1999 article, following the untimely death of Professor Greenfield, Qimron reiterated these plans. The work was now to be completed with the help of a newly organized team of experts, including Matthew Morgenstern, Daniel Sivan, Gregory Bearman and Sheila Spiro.[31] This later article also includes a few new textual suggestions.

2.1.1.10. *Greenfield and Qimron (GQ)—1992*

The first major advance since Avigad and Yadin came in 1992, with the publication of col. 12 by Greenfield and Qimron.[32] Trailing the *editio princeps* by over 35 years, the authors provided a transcription with diacritical dots and circlets to indicate the certainty of readings, as well as an English translation. Textual notes, focused mainly on grammatical and lexical issues, accompanied the text. This article was intended as the first in a series dedicated to presenting the scroll's unpublished columns. Pending the publication of this new material, a comprehensive, revised, and annotated edition of the text was to be issued. Unfortunately, the untimely death of Greenfield in the spring of 1995 slowed this process, and a new team including M. Morgenstern and D. Sivan was formed by Qimron to complete the task.

2.1.1.11. *Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan (MQS)—1995*

The remainder of the unpublished columns appeared in 1995, although only in preliminary form.[33] Following a brief discussion of content, grammar and vocabulary, a transcription and partial English translation were provided for the readable portions of cols. 1, 3, 4–8, 10–11 and 13–17. In general, the readings presented are reliable, although there are places where improvements should be made and mistakes emended. Modeled on the publication of Greenfield and Qimron, diacritical dots and circlets were employed, as well as a supralinear dash to indicate ambiguity between the similar letters *yod* and *vav*. In contrast to the publication of col. 12, however, the authors did not include textual notes. Presumably, this was due to their admirable desire to publish the text as quickly as possible, since it was originally intended that a more complete edition would follow. It now appears that these plans have been abandoned.[34]

2.1.1.12. *García Martínez and Tigchelaar (GMT)—1997*

The most widely available compilation of texts from Qumran is undoubtedly Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar's *Study Edition*, which provides transcriptions and English translations of the non-biblical scrolls and fragments.[35] The project was to include a complete reevaluation of the available photographs for each text. For most of the Genesis Apocryphon, however, it appears that this was not done, likely due to difficulties obtaining photos for much of the text. Rather, the authors appear to have drawn heavily upon their academic forebears in Gron-

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One," *CAL-News* 12 (1996): 1–5. A photograph of the new arrangement may be found in B. Zuckerman and M. Lundberg, "Ancient Texts and Modern Technology: The West Semitic Research Project of the University of Southern California," *AJS Perspectives* (Fall/Winter 2002): 14. A drawing of col. 0 (1Q20) by Zuckerman is included in Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 115.

[30] E. Qimron, "Towards a New Edition of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JSP* 10 (1992): 11–18.

[31] E. Qimron, "Toward a New Edition of *1QGenesis Apocryphon*," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; eds D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 107–109. The paper, although published in 1999, was presented shortly before the publication of the outstanding columns in 1995.

[32] J. C. Greenfield and E. Qimron, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Abr-NahrainSup 3; 1992), 70–77.

[33] M. Morgenstern, E. Qimron, and D. Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon [with an appendix by G. Bearman and S. Spiro]," *Abr-Nahrain* 33 (1995): 30–54.

[34] In 1996, M. Morgenstern completed his (unpublished) M. A. thesis at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The thesis is published in Hebrew, but bears the same name as the 1995 article published along with Qimron and Sivan (העמודות שטרם התפרסמו מן מגילה חיצונית לבראשית). In it, a text nearly identical to that of the article is presented (although the copy at the National and University Library at the Givat Ram campus of the university contains multiple hand-written corrections by Morgenstern), along with much helpful material regarding the grammar and vocabulary of these new columns. Included is a concordance.

[35] F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1997–98), 1:28–49.

ingen (Jongeling, Labuschagne and van der Woude) for the initially published columns, and Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, and Sivan for the more recently published material. Milik's 1Q20 was presented apart from the text of the Genesis Apocryphon, although the Trever Fragment was incorporated into col. 1.[36] García Martínez and Tigchelaar's text contributes little in the way of novel readings and omits freely where there are not extended sections of coherent text. As such, this is not the best edition for those wishing to investigate seriously the scroll (as the editors themselves admit).[37] Still, it is apparent that they have weighed the various textual options while compiling their transcription, and for this reason they are included in my textual notes. Unfortunately, they do not employ diacritical marks.

2.1.1.13. *Fitzmyer (F)—2004*

A third edition of Fitzmyer's now standard commentary was issued in 2004.[38] Its main contribution, of course, was the inclusion of the newly available columns published by Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, and Sivan. It also incorporated cols. 0–1 as reconstructed by Wise and Zuckerman. The new portions of text were reproduced without significant revision, to the point of perpetuating a number of mistakes from previous editions. Again, this may be partially attributed to the fact that there was no easily accessible set of photographs for the more recently published columns. The revised edition also contains commentary on the new material, although it is generally of a less thorough nature than the comments brought over from previous editions. One step forward is the employment of a single, diacritical dot to mark uncertain letters, although these are simply imported from the editions on which this text relies. Fitzmyer appears to have done little fresh paleographic work, especially on the newer material, but has attended mainly to the presentation of a continuous text and comprehensive commentary. This is no slight contribution, and to date his text remains the best available. In the following textual notes I incorporate only the text from the third edition, since it seems best to use his most recent judgments on the matter. This has also kept the notes from becoming unwieldy.

2.1.1.14. *Beyer (B^3)—2004*

Recently, Beyer has added a *Band 2* to his *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*.[39] In it, he re-presents and updates some of his text of the Genesis Apocryphon in light of the publications of Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, Sivan, and others. Included are parts of cols. 1, 3–8, 10–17 and 19, again with a single, diacritical circlet for uncertain characters. The character of Beyer's transcription and German translation are similar to that of his earlier volumes—creative, but erratic. Due to the uneven, and sometimes contradictory, character of the portions of text included in each of Beyer's volumes (in contrast to Fitzmyer), all three are included in the textual notes.

2.1.1.15. *Abegg and Wise (AW)—2005*

Martin Abegg and Michael Wise's transcription and English translation of the Genesis Apocryphon is the most recent complete edition of the text.[40] Wise was responsible for transcribing cols. 0–1, and Abegg for the remainder of the scroll. Happily, they have employed diacritical dots and circlets throughout. Abegg notes that for cols. 2, 12 and 19–22 he relied mainly on García-Martínez and Tigchelaar, while cols. 3–8, 10–11 and 13–17 are based on Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan. The entire translation is that of Wise. This is among the least reliable editions of the scroll, especially in the early portions of the text and its translation. One is occasionally impressed that originality is being sought over accuracy, while previous mistakes are frequently followed and added to. In addition, the spacing of the transcription is regularly misleading.

2.1.1.16. *Falk (Flk)—2007*

Daniel Falk recently published an introduction to Jewish parabiblical literature from the second temple period (particularly the Dead Sea Scrolls) in which he included an extensive, detailed treatment of the Genesis Apocryphon.[41] Incorporated into his analysis are a number of new readings based upon an examination of some of the available photographs of the scroll. Several (but not all) of his proposals agree independently with my own, and at other junctures I have been persuaded to follow his reading. In general, it is clear that he has taken great care in his assessment of the text.

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[36] For 1Q20 see ibid., 26 7.

[37] Ibid., ix.

[38] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*.

[39] K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairo Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Band* 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 89 101.

[40] M. Abegg and M. Wise, "1Q20 (1QapGen ar)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Part 3. Parabiblical Texts* (eds D. W. Parry and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 2 35.

[41] D. K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts. Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; CQS 8; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 26 106.

2.1.1.17. *Other Commentators*

Occasionally, I have drawn upon the textual suggestions of various scholars who have dealt in some way with the Genesis Apocryphon, but were unmentioned in the preceding survey. These are incorporated into my textual notes and catalogued below in the list of abbreviations.

2.1.2. *The Present Edition*

2.1.2.1. *The Need for a New Edition*

With so many editions available, why is there need for a new one? From the above survey it is clear that the "preliminary" editions of Avigad and Yadin, Greenfield and Qimron, and Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan have served as the basis for nearly every subsequent edition of the Apocryphon, typically with little revision. This significant interdependence of previous editions on each other, rather than being based on a close reading of the manuscript, is the main reason for my re-examination of the evidence. Admittedly, Beyer is a relatively independent voice, and frequently suggests original readings. However, many of these do not inspire confidence in his text as a whole, and leave one skeptical about whether it is an improvement over the preliminary publications.

For those columns first published by Avigad and Yadin, the far better condition of the text, numerous reviews, and successive editions have produced what may be satisfactorily called a "final form" of the text (keeping in mind, of course, that details can be quibbled over endlessly). The same is not true, however, for the columns published in the 1990's. These have been largely overlooked, textually and palaeographically speaking, by subsequent scholarship, and it was only through my perusal of some photographs of these columns (on the advice of professor VanderKam) that I realized the need to undertake a comprehensive rereading of the entire manuscript. This need may be illustrated by one of my first examinations of a photograph of the scroll, upon which I realized that the beginning of 14.17 could be filled in significantly in relation to the text presented by Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan. Hence, where they read מׄןׄ ○○○○ [א]רעא ○○○ לש֯מ֯אל ○○○ I now read חׄדׄ ליׄמׄין א֯רׄעא וחׄד לש֯מׄא֯ל א֯ר֯עׄהׄ. Many other such divergences are presented in the following edition.

There are other, more minor reasons to produce a new transcription of the scroll. For instance, there is no current edition which lays out, in an easily accessible format, the various and sundry transcriptional disagreements between all editions now available. It is for this reason that I include extensive textual notes. In addition, the spacing and relative line length of the manuscript are not adequately reflected in any of the previous publications, save that of Avigad and Yadin. I hope to have filled some of these voids in the present edition.

For the above reasons it seemed unwise to proceed to a study of the scroll's contents without gaining more confidence about what is written in it. Of course, the badly damaged nature of the scroll regularly mitigates against this, and I must stress that throughout my work I have been deeply indebted to the scholars listed in the survey above. Any contributions that my edition may make are merely adornments on the edifice they have constructed.

2.1.2.2. *Spacing*

As mentioned above, previous editions have regularly ignored the factors of proper spacing and line length in relation to the manuscript.[42] Because of this, I have tried to be as precise as possible regarding the spacing of words and lacunae, as well as the length of lines, in my transcription. Of course, absolute precision is impossible using a standardized font, so that at times line length has been slightly adjusted to accommodate the proper spacing of words or lacunae, and vice versa.

2.1.2.3. *Diacritical Marks*

I have chosen to use the same diacritical marks employed by the DJD series. This includes a dot (אׄ) to indicate that a letter is relatively sure, but partially missing or obscured, and a circlet (א֯), specifying that the letter is significantly missing or obscured, and that the reading is tentative. Readings of letters with supralinear circlets should, in fact, be viewed as no more than educated guesses. Where there is evidence of a letter, but no certain identification can be reasonably ventured, a circle (○) will be transcribed.

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[42] This is less of a problem in Avigad and Yadin, since they include plates alongside their transcription.

2.1.2.4. *Reconstruction and Tenuous Readings*

My approach to the reconstruction of missing text is conservative, limited mainly to the completion of phrases and expressions common elsewhere within the scroll. Use of brackets indicates both where the leather is completely eaten away and where leather remains but there is no legible text. This is somewhat unfortunate, but was done to avoid confusion between parts of the manuscript that were effaced by time and those that were originally left blank by the scribe. The latter are indicated by the Latin word *vacat*.

When one stares at a manuscript as long as an edition such as this requires, especially one as fragmentary and damaged as the Genesis Apocryphon, it becomes easy to imagine readings based on very little physical evidence. This makes it most difficult to decide when to include a less than certain reading. I have endeavored to tread the fine line between speculation and what I consider a valid suggestion to the best of my ability. Still, I must stress that letters with diacritical circlets are merely suggestive, and not authoritative, readings. It is my great hope that these readings will be tested by other scholars who take recourse to the photographs and manuscript. Eric Turner, speaking about the practice of paleography and its classification into "styles", has put his finger on one of the realities of reading ancient manuscripts:[43]

> ...paleography is neither a science nor an art, but works through a continual interaction of the methods appropriate to both approaches. And in the last resort a judgment has to be made—and judgment is fallible.

Such "last resorts" have been reached at a number of junctures during my work on the Apocryphon, and my own fallibility will undoubtedly be evidenced as others seriously engage the scroll.

2.1.2.5. *Translation*

In translating the Aramaic of the scroll I have aimed at correctness rather than originality, and have derived much from my predecessors. Fitzmyer deserves special mention in this regard, providing an exemplary translation that is often best left untouched. I am also heavily indebted to my mentor, James VanderKam, who made numerous translation suggestions and revisions. His expertise in such matters is indisputable, and has been happily received. Unlike the transcription, I have not attempted to reflect accurately the spacing and line length of the manuscript in the translation, since this seemed redundant and would take up much extra space. Translating is effectually an act of interpretation, since any word—especially a Semitic word—may bear several or more meanings. This is compounded in the Genesis Apocryphon, where the words are commonly partial or tenuous. In a certain sense, therefore, my own translation may be viewed as a commentary of sorts on the language and contents of the scroll.

2.1.3. *Textual Notes*

Due to the poor condition of a large portion of the manuscript, there have often been disagreements among previous editions over the reading of words and letters. This has necessitated a textual apparatus in which various readings are displayed, and my own readings defended. The notes are not exhaustive. Rather, I have sought to include only those differences which impact our understanding of the text. For instance, I have typically not included disagreements over letters in a context whose meaning would be unclear, whatever the reading. The notes are intended to be primarily "textual," and consequently deal with exegetical aspects of the text only where it proves useful for the establishment of a reading.

2.1.3.1. *Photographs*

I have availed myself of all obtainable photographs in order to produce the most reliable text possible. The ensuing list follows roughly the order of the scroll's columns:

– *DJD 1, Plate XVII*
The black and white photographic plate presented in DJD 1 is not exceedingly helpful, since the script is somewhat blurred. Later, infrared photographs are far more useful.

– *Inscriptifact Photographic Plates*
Among the photographs currently available to scholars on the Inscriptifact website (www.inscriptifact.com)[44] are a number of plates containing 1Q20 (i.e. cols. 0–1). These photographs are superb, and represent the gamut of photographic technology available, from black and white to color, natural light to narrowband infrared. They are significantly more useful than the

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[43] E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 24.

[44] As of summer 2006. The site is being added to continually and will hopefully contain all of the Genesis Apocryphon photographs in due time.

plate in DJD 1, and are denoted here by the prefix "ISF_DO_".

– *Avigad and Yadin Photographic Plates*

The black and white plates in the *editio princeps* are still among the most useful for the columns represented (2 and 19–22). They are taken in wideband infrared light, and present the parchment at the earliest recorded stage relative to the scroll's modern discovery, before its subsequent decomposition.

– *Israel Museum Negatives*

The Israel Museum in Jerusalem retains a number of negatives of the Genesis Apocryphon at the Shrine of the Book. Included in these are the original photographs for all of the columns, contemporary with those used by Avigad and Yadin. There are also more recent photos. A number of photographic technologies are represented. Among the most important of these photos for this project is the fine photograph of the Trever Fragment (IMneg. 6 × 6), while the many pictures of the scroll before and during its opening by Biberkraut are both charming and noteworthy. Photographs from this eclectic collection will be prefixed with "IMneg." or "IMneg. x" in the textual notes. The numbers are those assigned by the museum.

– *Bearman and Zuckerman Photographs*

In 1994 Gregory Bearman, from the Jet Propulsion Laboratory at NASA and the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California together with Bruce and Ken Zuckerman, from the West Semitic Research Project at the University of Southern California, produced a useful set of narrowband infrared photos of the Genesis Apocryphon. The photographs cover the standard columns of scroll (1–22), but do not include Milik's 1Q20 or the Trever Fragment. These photos are especially helpful for the columns published in the 1990's (i.e. not included in Avigad and Yadin). Photographs from this collection will be prefixed with "BZ" in the textual notes.

– *Bearman Photographs*

Gregory Bearman also took a different set of narrowband infrared photographs in 1997. These have been utilized in the few places where the BZ set was not available (i.e. cols. 7–8).

– *Note on Digital Enhancement*

All photographs, except the plates in DJD 1 and Avigad and Yadin, have been used in a digital format. Due to this, I have frequently enhanced portions of the manuscript in order to read its contents more easily. This entails manipulation of the size, contrast and brightness of a letter or word. Unfortunately, it has been impractical to recreate such enhancements for the reader, but I have tried to use these tools equitably, and have often called attention to their use in the textual notes.

2.1.3.2. *List of Abbreviations for Sources Consulted in the Textual Notes*

AW	Abegg and Wise, "The Genesis Apocryphon," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Parabiblical Texts*, 2 35.
AY	Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*.[45]
B^1	Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Band* 1 (1984), 165 86.
B^2	Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (1994), 68 70.
B^3	Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Band* 2 (2004), 89 101.
Bern	Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3:1 (1996): 37 57.
C	Caquot, "Suppléments Qumrâniens à la Genèse," *RHPR* 80 (2000): 339 58.
Ck	Cook, "The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty*, 359 78.
dMed	del Medico, *L'Enigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 515.
Du-So	Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte*, 298.
Esh	Eshel, "Isaiah 11:15: A New Interpretation Based on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *DSD* 13:1 (2006): 38 45.
Esh^2	Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Heavenly Tablets*, 111 31.
Flk	Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts. Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 36 87.
F	Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)* [3rd ed.].
Gin	Ginsberg, "Notes on Some Old Aramaic Texts," *JNES* 18 (1959): 146.
GMT	García-Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Vol. 1, 26 7 [1Q20] and 28 49 [1QapGen ar].
GQ	Greenfield and Qimron, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 70–77.
Gre	Grelot, "Parwaïm des Chroniques à l'Apocryphe de la Genèse," *VT* 11 (1961): 30 38.
J	Jongeling, Labuschagne, and van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, 77 119.
Kis	Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakha," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 583 86.
Kut	Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon': A Preliminary Study," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1 35.
M	Morgenstern, *The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon* [Hebrew], 13 26.[46]

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[45] Citations of readings offered in the introduction, rather than the main text, will be indicated by page numbers (for both the English and Hebrew introductions) in parentheses.

[46] This is Morgenstern's unpublished M.A. Thesis, completed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1996. The copy consulted was that available at the University and National Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Givat Ram campus. Most of the contributions from this work come from the marginal notes, which were added in handwriting by Morgenstern before submitting the thesis, and typically differ from (and improve on) the version published with Qimron. Such marginalia will be indicated by "(margin)" following the citation.

MBE	Milik, *The Books of Enoch*.
Mil	Milik, "20. Apocalypse de Lamech," in DJD 1, 86 7.
Mi-To	Michelini Tocci, *I manoscritti del Mar Morto*, 294.
MQS	Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon," *Abr-Nahrain* 33 (1996): 30 54.
Mu¹	Muraoka, "Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon," *RevQ* 8 (1972 75): 7 51.
Mu²	Muraoka, "Further Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *RevQ* 16 (1993 95): 39 48.
Pu	Puech, review of Jongeling, et al., *Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, *RevQ* 9 (1977 78): 589 91.
Qim¹	Qimron, "Towards a New Edition of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JSP* 10 (1992): 11 18.
Qim²	Qimron, "Toward a New Edition of *1Q Genesis Apocryphon*," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 107 109.
Ros	Rosenthal, review of Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *JNES* 18 (1959): 84.
Ste	Steiner, "The Heading of the Book of the Words of Noah on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost' Work," *DSD* 2 (1995): 66 71.
vdW	van der Woude, *Bijbelcommentaren en bijbelse verhalen*, 96.
VK	VanderKam, "The Textual Affinities of the Biblical Citations in the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 97:1 (1978): 45 55.

2.1.4. *The Manuscript*

2.1.4.1. *Description, Length, and Dimensions*

When discovered, the Genesis Apocryphon was somewhat flattened. It had a softer, more pliable side, and a brittle, more disintegrated side. Both ends were brittle and crumbling.[47] This unevenness in the scroll's preservation is likely due to its lying exposed (i.e. not inside a jar like some other scrolls) during its long tenure in Cave 1, during which one side was more susceptible to the environment. For this reason the unrolled scroll alternates between better and worse states of preservation. As expected, the manuscript condition improves near the center of the scroll (i.e. the higher numbered columns).

An extensive physical description of the parchment and script is provided by Avigad and Yadin, including a report of the strange, whitish material found covering the lower part of cols. 10–15.[48] Much of this material has now been removed by experts at the Israel Museum, facilitating the work of Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, and Sivan in publishing these columns in preliminary form.

The scroll currently contains four sheets of parchment, which are very finely executed. The tanning, ruling, joint stitching, and script are among the finest found in the eleven caves at Qumran. The final sheet of leather is worthy of note, since it is clear that another sheet was originally sewn to it, but that it was cut off with a sharp instrument in antiquity (it was at the center of the rolled scroll). The motive for this cut is unclear, and has been the cause of some speculation.[49] Whatever the reason, it is obvious that the scroll originally included at least one more parchment sheet of five or more columns. Logic would suggest that the scroll continued at least through the Abram and Sarai cycle.

In 1996 Morgenstern suggested that the beginning of the scroll would have included another 14 to 15 sheets (70–105 columns!) based on the letters פ, צ, and ק discovered at the top right corner of the last three sheets.[50] This proposal has not been widely accepted, and the letters might be better explained as part of the leather preparation process (and, therefore, having nothing to do with the content of the scroll).

2.1.4.2. *Present Condition*

On May 25, 2006, I had the opportunity to examine the manuscript in detail at the Shrine of the Book, the Israel Museum of Jerusalem.[51] To the naked eye the manuscript is now almost completely unreadable, rendering my attempts to clarify tenuous or problematic readings largely unsuccessful. In fact, the script has continued to deteriorate while in storage, even in comparison with the narrowband infrared photographs taken by Zuckerman and Bearman in the mid 1990's.

The ongoing deterioration of the script only (while much of the surrounding leather remains in-tact) may be linked to scribal use of a bronze inkwell instead of the more well-known ceramic models.[52] Other such inkwells are known from this region during the period, and even from Qumran.[53]

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[47] See the early report of Trever, "Preliminary Observations," 15. Also Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 12 13.

[48] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 12 13.

[49] The most widely proposed explanation seems to be manuscript repairs, although this is merely speculative. For a summary of the current views see E. Schuller, "Response to 'Patriarchs Who Worry about their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon,'" in *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* (2 vols.; JSJSup 80; eds J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:209 11.

[50] M. Morgenstern, "A New Clue to the Original Length of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JJS* 47 (1996): 345 47.

[51] I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Adolfo Roitman, current curator of the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Shrine of the Book, who allowed me access to the manuscript, and especially to Iréne Lewitt, who provided the most gracious of assistance (not to mention coffee) throughout my visits to the Shrine.

[52] This idea was first suggested to me in personal communication with Dr. Hanan Eshel, of Bar-Ilan University. High levels of copper (Cu) and lead (Pb) were found in inks from some of the scrolls at Qumran, as Y. Nir-El and M. Broshi have shown. They linked this phenomenon to the storage of ink in bronze, rather than ceramic, inkwells. See Y. Nir-El and M. Broshi, "The

The final and best preserved columns, published by Avigad and Yadin in 1956, are now in far worse condition than when the photographic plates for their *editio princeps* were taken. Portions of the scroll (most notably the left side of col. 17 and central parts of col. 13) have chemically broken down, turning into a reddish-black pitch type of material. The most well preserved areas of leather retain a medium chestnut color. Unfortunately, the continued corrosion of the scroll—especially its script—makes it unlikely that future technological advances in photography will help salvage more of the Genesis Apocryphon's text. Consequently, we must rely primarily on the sets of photographs that have already been taken.

Black Ink of the Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 3:2 (1996): 157–67 [esp. 161–62]. DeVaux found one such inkwell *in situ* in locus 30 at Qumran, while a second (now part of the Schøyen collection), more elaborate example is purported to have come from the site. See T. Elgvin in collaboration with S. J. Pfann, "An Incense Altar from Qumran?" *DSD* 9:1 (2002): 20–33. Ceramic inkwells from the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been found in Jerusalem, Meiron, Qumran, and elsewhere. See S. Goranson, "68. Inkwell," in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture* (eds R. Martin Nagy et al.; Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996), 202.

[53] N. I. Khairy, "Ink-wells of the Roman Period from Jordan," *Levant* 12 (1980): 155–62. S. Goranson, "Qumran—a Hub of Scribal Activity," *BAR* 20:5 (Sept./Oct. 1994): 36–39. Elgvin in collaboration with Pfann, "An Incense Altar from Qumran?" 21.

2.2. ARAMAIC TRANSCRIPTION WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Column 0

.1 [ ]◦כ̊◦◦ ו̊כ̊[ו]לנ̊א מ̇ן ◦למ̊◦◦
.2 [ ]די בכול נקבל גיו̇ר
.3 [ ]ד̇ *vacat*
.4 [כו]ל די ת̇מ̇◦ל◦
.5 [ ]ם̇ רגזך תתק̊ף ו̇תתקיא̇ם ומן הוא
.6 [די]ם̇ חמת רגזך *vacat*
.7 [פ]ת̊יא ומכיא ושפליא דאלין וזאעין
.8 [ ]ו̇כען הא אנח̇נא אסירין
.9 [ ]ל◦◦◦ ◦◦יה̊ ד̇נא

1. [ ]… and a[l]l of us from…
2. [ ]that in every (way) we might undertake an adulterous act
3. [ ] *vacat*
4. [al]l that you shall…
5. [ ]… you will intensify your anger and will be unrelenting, for who is there
6. [who…]… the heat of your anger *vacat*
7. [ ]the [sim]ple and the humble and the lowly ones quiver and tremble
8. [ ] And now we are prisoners!
9. [ ]…this

Column 0: This column has been tentatively reconstructed by B. Zuckerman and M. O. Wise, and was subsequently incorporated into F's commentary (3rd ed.). The fragments used were those originally published by Milik as 1Q20 in DJD 1. While I have followed the general placement of fragments in the reconstruction, I differ with some of the specific readings based on the excellent, scaleable set of photographs now available through Inscriptifact (www.inscriptifact.com). The original readings of Milik are incorporated into the notes where available, as are two re-readings of the 1Q20 fragments published prior to their reconstruction: GMT (listed as 1Q20, p. 26) and B^1 (listed as col. 0 of "Das Genesis-Apokryphon," p. 166). The material in B^1 is extremely confusing, since he includes under col. 0 the beginning of some lines from what is now termed col. 1 (= col. II in Milik!).

0.1: ו̊כ̊[ו]לנ̊א מ̇ן ◦למ̊◦◦ **]** Mil]◦◦◦נ̇א̇◦[ ] ◦◦◦◦; F/AW [ ] ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ל ◦כ̇א̇◦. In infrared photo ISF_DO_0067 the bottom of a *lamed* precedes what Milik read as a *nun* (I follow him, although the top of this letter is missing). The horizontal base stroke of a possible *mem* begins the next word, which is followed by a final *nun*. This letter is difficult to discern unless magnified, since it runs into the top of the *lamed* below it (line 2). In Zuckerman's drawing of the reconstructed column (cf. F, p. 115), the fragment containing the top margin (1Q20, frg. 6) is flipped over, so that the back side is viewed—a mistake pointed out to me by Daniel Falk. This seems to have skewed the placement of the *lamed* in the final word of the line, although a *lamed* is also present when the fragment is flipped back to the front (approx. 1 letter space closer to the margin line). When flipped back over, the placement of the earlier *lamed* is also confirmed.

0.2: בכול נקבל F/AW **]** Mil וכול ◦קבלא; B^1 וכול מ̊קבלא.

0.4: כו]ל די ת̇מ̇◦ל◦ **]** Mil]לדית̇ם̇ ◦[; B^1]לדית [; F/AW כו]ל די חמ̇[ד]. The fragment (1Q20, frg. 3) is torn at this spot, but when placed back together a *mem* and a *lamed* are clear in the final word. Milik's reading of a *tav* to begin this word seems best, based on the left upper and lower corners of the ink remains. Remnants of at least one letter follow the *lamed*.

0.5: תתק̊ף B^1/F/AW **]** Mil תת◦ך; GMT תתסך.

0.5: ו̇תתקיא̇ם B^1/F/AW **]** Mil ו̇ת̇תק◦◦ם; GMT ו̇תתקיים. The penultimate letter is too large to be a *yod*, and fits well the expected shape of an *aleph*.

0.5: ומן Mil/B^1/GMT/F **]** AW מן. The *vav* is clear on the original photos, as initially detected by Milik.

0.7: ומכיא B^1/AW **]** Mil/GMT/F וכביא. A crack runs from top right to bottom left of the first three letters. When enlarged, the left downstroke of the *mem* and lower right bend of the *kaph* are easily seen.

0.8: אנח̇נא B^1/F/AW **]** Mil/GMT אנ̇ית̇י. The outline of a final *aleph* is clear on ISF_DO_0665. In addition, the preceding two letters appear to be separated, making a penultimate *tav* unlikely.

10.]]○○○מ̊ר̊ץ̊ ו̊[ל]עד̇ה̇ מ̇ן ר̇גזך[[*vacat*
11.]]ב̊רגז̊ך̊ ○○ן̊ מן די̇ נ̊ה̇ך לבית נש̇[ק]ד̊ישא רבא
12.] ○[וכען קר̊י̊ב̊ה̊ י̊ד̊ך למ̇מחה ○○קד̊ך̊ א̇[ ]ו̊ל̊א̇עדיא כול
13.] ○○○א̇ו̇ בעד מלוה̇י סאף ב̊[עדנ]א די אסרנא̇[ ]○○ נ̊ו̇ר די אתחזי
14.]]ל̊[ ]ל̊[ ]○○י̊ד̊ ו̊○○○ש̊ו̇ קוד̊[ם מרה] שמי̊א̊ ○○ל̊○○ן̊
15.]]לה̊[ון] ומתמחין מן אחר̇הון ולא̊ עוד
16.] [*vacat*
17.]]○י̊ן מתח̇נ̇נ̇ין ו̊○○○○ מ̇ן מ̇ר̊ה̊ ע̊למ̊א̊
18.]]○ קודם מרה עלמא *vacat*
19.]]ל̊[ ]ל̊[]ל̊[ ]ל̊[[

.20–36?

10. [ ]…hasten (?), and [to] relent from your anger[ ] *vacat*
11. [ ]by your anger … since we will depart to the house of…[ ]the Great [H]oly One
12. [ ] And now your hand has drawn near to strike …[ ]and to do away with all
13. [ ]…because he ceased his words at the [time] of our imprisonment[ ]… a fire that has appeared
14. [ ]… befo[re the Lord of] Heaven…
15. [ ]th[em] and attacking from behind them. And no longer
16. [ ] *vacat*
17. [ ]… seeking favor and… from the Lord of Eternity
18. [ ]…before the Lord of Eternity. *vacat*

19–36(?).

Column 1

1.] הוו]א̊ נחת̇[י]ן̊ ועם נקבתא
2.]]○○ ו̊אף רז רשעא די

1. [wer]e descend[in]g, and with the women
2. [ ]…and also the mystery of wickedness, which

0.10: ○○○מ̊ר̊ץ̊ ו̊[ל]עד̇ה̇ מ̇ן **]** F/AW [ישח]ט ○ן. The reading of F/AW is problematic. First, there is a space of 6–8 letters between their final *nun* and the beginning of רגזך. Second, a large blank space (at least that of a word break) between the letter combinations *yod-shin* and *shin-het* would be required. Third, what they read as the right part of a *shin* is clearly an *ayin* in ISF_DO_00661 (the joint of the left and right strokes is visible). Finally, the faint remains of a final *nun* can be seen preceding רגזך.

0.13: נ̊ו̇ר די אתחזי F/AW **]** Mil ת̇י̇ה̇י̇○ ○○○○; B¹ אתוהי. The final word is quite certain, but the beginning of נ̊ו̇ר is obscured and may be directly preceded by other letters. It does, however, fit with the use of this word at several other points in the scroll.

0.15: אחר̇הון Mil/B¹/GMT/AW **]** F אחיהון. Although the *resh* is slightly obscured, the upper part of the letter is far too large to be that of a *yod*.

0.17: מתח̇נ̇ין **]** Mil/GMT מת○ת̊נין; B¹/F מתח̊תנין; AW מתחנגין. The end of this word is written compactly, making the fourth and fifth letters difficult to read. The *het* and *nun* (as separate letters) are quite clear on an enlargement of ISF_DO_00661, with the following letter being either a *gimel* (with the lower extension of its vertical stroke hidden by the bottom, horizontal stroke of the preceding *nun*), or a *nun*. I find a *nun* to be more likely based on physical remains, meaning, and context.

Column 1: This column has been pieced together from several disjoined pieces of the manuscript. The ends of lines 1–22 (i.e. the left edge of col. 1) are found along the right edge of the fragment containing col. 2. The beginning of lines 6–13 are preserved in Milik's 1Q20, frg. 1, Col. II. The so-called Trever Fragment accounts for the remainder of the column, from lines 23–29. Because several fragments are involved, this column has been the object of several critical mistakes in line numbering and word placement. These are noted below.

1.1: הוו]א̊ נחת̇[י]ן̊ ועם נקבתא **]** B¹ ו̊עם קפ̊ת̊א [...]; B³ [...] ן̊ ועם נצפ̊תא; MQS/F/AW ○○○א נחו○ן ו̊ע̊ם נ̇ק̇ב̇תא[; GMT ועם נצבתא [...]. The top of what MQS/F/AW read as a *vav* in נחו○ן is actually cut off, and is followed by a vertical stroke with a foot at the bottom. I have, therefore, read this as a *tav*, after which there is room for a *yod*, thus forming a *peal* pl. part. of נחת "descend." This fits well with contemporaneous stories surrounding the cohabitation of the "sons of God" with the "daughters of mankind," recounted in Gen 6:1–4 (cf. 1 En. 6–7; Jub. 4:15; 6:1–3). F notes the visible downstroke of the *qoph* in the word נקבתא (p. 120), which is clearly seen in IMneg. 3854. The readings of B¹/B³ are to be excluded on paleographic grounds.

.3]]עׄתין ורזא די
.4]]לׄ[א]נׄחׄנׄ[א]לׄאׄ מׄדעׄיׄן
.5]]○ לׄ֯אׄ
.6 מ]]○ ○רׄ֯א עׄד
.7 יום דׄ[י]רׄ֯זׄ֯א אן אנון
.8 כול בׄנׄיכׄון וׄ[ ]○○יׄ֯ן֯ רׄבׄ֯רׄבׄ֯יׄן
.9 סׄמין כׄשׄפׄין וׄחׄרׄ[שין]םׄ לׄ[ ]ן
.10 ארעא וׄדׄי אבׄעׄי ל○[ ]מׄן קצת
.11 עובדׄאׄ די עדׄ כׄ[ען]○○ דׄיׄ על
.12 יבישתא לׄמׄקׄ֯יׄ֯יׄ֯םׄ[ ] אׄרׄ֯יׄ
.13 יׄהׄבׄתׄ כׄ֯וׄלן [ ]וׄ֯אׄן
.14]]דׄ
.15–17

3. [ ]times, and the mystery that
4. [ ]w[e]did not make known
5. [ ]… not
6. …[ ]… until
7. the day whi[ch]the mystery, whether they
8. are all your sons, and[ ]… great…,
9. medicines, acts of sorcery, and divi[nations]…
10. the earth, and that I will seek to…[ ] part of
11. the deed that until n[ow]…which is upon
12. the dry land, to establish[ ] see,
13. I have given all of them [ ]and if
14–17.

1.3: עׄתין[ ] B¹ עׄתון[; B³ שתון[; MQS ן[; F ○תׄיׄן[; AW סתין[. The *ayin* is relatively clear on IMneg. 3854, although a *shin* should not be ruled out absolutely. It is certainly not a *samekh*, as transcribed by AW.

1.4: In MQS/F/AW, the letters ○שתון[precede לא תׄ/מׄדעׄיׄן. This is apparently a mistake first made by MQS, and followed by F and AW, in which letters belonging to the previous line were included on this line instead (i.e. my עׄתין[of the previous note). The mistake is apparently attributable to IMneg. 3853, on which a fragment from line 3 is askew, and appears to be part of this line. The correct placement is clear on all other photographs. Very little remains before the word לא, certainly not enough to read confidently the letters suggested.

1.4: מׄדעׄיׄן B¹/F] MQS/GMT/AW תדעון֯; B³ תרעון. The last word of this line is uncertain, despite the lack of indicators to this effect in some previous editions (neither B¹ nor F include diacritical marks above the final two letters). Only the top of the first letter remains, and it does not have the flat, horizontal stroke expected of a *tav*. The *dalet* and *ayin* are certain. The penultimate letter has a vertical tear through it, but appears to be a *yod*. Although the lower part of the final *nun* is difficult to discern, it is visible on IMneg. 3853 (which is the best photograph of this word).

1.7: MQS/F/AW have mistakenly skipped a line here. Their lines 6 and 8 (my line 7) clearly follow one another in the photographs, and account for a disagreement in our line numbering until 1.23 (cf. note below). B¹'s numbering is correct for those portions of col. 1 *not* originally included in Mil's 1Q20. However, B¹ inexplicably places Mil's col. II (the right side of col. 1 elsewhere) in his col. 0! The problem remains uncorrected in B³.

1.7: אן] B¹ הן; B³ ין[. The *aleph* is clear, especially on IMneg. 3853.

1.10: וׄדׄי אבׄעׄי ל○] Mil ת○○○○עׄ ל; B¹(0:26) ○○○ע ל; F תר○ע ○ל○○; AW תר○○○ע ל○. On ISF_DO_0067 several unidentified letters can be made out. What all others have read as a *tav* I have broken into a *vav* and *dalet*, since the initial vertical stroke is leaning to the left and does not have the left leg expected of a *tav*. The ink of this word appears very blurred on the original photos, but is clarified by infrared photography.

1.11: עובדׄאׄ GMT/F/AW] Mil עזבוׄגׄ; B¹(0:27) עוביא.

1.11: עדׄ כׄ[ען] F עבׄדׄ[ו. The three letters are close together, but the bottom of a *kaph* for the third letter is clear on ISF_DO_0067. There is no paleographic evidence for the bottom horizontal stroke of F's *bet*. Another possible reading is ערׄכׄ[ו "[they] arranged."

1.12: יבישתא לׄמׄקׄ֯יׄ֯יׄ֯םׄ] B¹(0:28) יבישתא למקםׄ; Mil/GMT/F/AW ובישתא לׄמׄקׄ○○ ○. Both ובישתא and יבישתא are paleographically possible, but the latter makes much better sense following the preposition על at the end of line 11. The final three letters of לׄמׄקׄ֯יׄ֯יׄ֯םׄ are uncertain, with only their very top portions remaining.

1.13: יׄהׄבׄתׄ כׄ֯וׄלן] Mil ו○○○○לׄ[; B¹(0:29)/F והאׄ כׄולׄ; AW וה○○○לׄן. There are horizontal rips through both words, making this reading far from sure. More letters are required than the readings of Mil/B¹/F provide, and it appears that two words should be read on ISF_DO_03796, 00661, and 00665. The letters with circlets are speculative, and the final *nun* certain.

.18]]◦ לפׄג֯שׄי֯ן
.19]]◦◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦[   ]◦ןׄ
.20]]◦   *vacat*
.21]]◦◦◦נוׄן אסיר תקיף
.22]]ל◦◦◦אׄ ש֯◦◦◦[   ]
.23]]◦יׄן פ֯◦◦ד֯ין ובׄש֯◦א֯ן ו֯מׄן
.24]]◦◦ר֯אׄ◦ ולקלל לכול בשרא
.25]]מ֯רׄה ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא
.26]]לארעא ולמׄחת להאימׄנה עמׄא
.27]]◦ין מא למׄעׄבׄד   אנשא לארעא
.28]]להׄון עבד ואף לכול בשרא
.29]]לׄ◦ ◦◦◦[   ]
.30–36?

18. [ ]… for (those) striking against (?)
19. [ ]
20. [ ] *vacat*
21. [ ]…them a strong bond
22. [ ]… …[ ]
23. [ ]… …and from
24. [ ]… and as a curse for all flesh
25. [ ]the Lord, and by messengers he sent to you
26. [ ]to the earth, and to go down to strengthen the people
27. [ ]…what to do. Mankind to the earth
28. [ ]he did to them, and also to all flesh
29–36(?).

1.18: לפׄג֯שׄי֯ן ◦[**]** MQS/F/AW אלפׄא ◦◦ן[; B^3] עׄלאיהון. F/AW have followed MQS without revision, but I see no evidence for either their initial *aleph*, or their word break, on any of the photographs. A partial letter stands before the *lamed*, but there appears to be enough room for a word break between the two. A *peh* is assured following the *lamed* (contra B^3), and in IMneg. 3853 and 3854#1 a *shin* is quite clear in the ante-penultimate position. The letter between the *peh* and *shin* is blurred, but appears to be a *gimel* in the same two photographs. B^3's reading is untenable.

1.23: Here begins the Trever fragment. The line numbering is uncertain from this point forward, since the fragment is a floating piece with no obvious join with the rest of the column. I have left one line between MQS/F's line 22 and 23, since the join there does not look correct, and the letter remains do not clearly line up (the *lamed* in particular). The same arrangement is employed by B^3. MQS/F have mistakenly left an empty line between lines 23 and 25, which directly follow one another on the fragment. Judging by the drawing on p. 116 of his commentary, it is surprising that F does not employ dots above any of the letters. My emendations of this and following lines are based on IMneg. 6 × 6.

1.24: ולקלל לכול בשרא GMT/F/B^3/AW **]** B^2 וקלל לה ל◦◦◦א. The reading is certain.

1.25: ובמשלחן לכון שלח F **]** MQS/GMT/AW ובמשלהן לכון שלה; B^3 ובכ֯שלהן לכון שלה. The *ḥet* is clear for both words on IMneg. 6 × 6, neither letter containing the short, leftward overhang of the top cross-stroke expected of a *heh*. B^3's *kaph* is undoubtedly a *mem*.

1.26: להאימׄנׄה **]** MQS/GMT/AW להא ◦ מ◦◦; F לה אינ◦◦.; B^3] להא. There is a crack running horizontally through the word, obscuring some of its letters. When IMneg. 6 × 6 is enlarged, however, most letters can be discerned with certainty.

1.27: ◦ין[**]** MQS/F/AW לׄא יד]עׄין; B^3 תנד]עון. The letter preceding *yod* does not have the left downstroke characteristic of an *ayin*. It appears instead to have the upper, horizontal stroke common of *resh* or *dalet*.

COLUMN 2

1. הא באדין חשׄבׄתׄ בלבי די מן עירין הריא֯תׄא ומן קדישין זׄרׄעׄאׄ ולנפיׄלׄ[ין [
2. ולבי עלי משתני על עולימא דנא *vacat*] [
3. באדין אנה למך אתבהלת וׄעלת על בתאנוש אנׄ֯תׄ֯תׄ֯י֯ וׄ֯אׄ[מרת לה [
4. ◦◦ אׄ֯נׄאׄ יׄעׄד בעליא במרה רבותא במלך כול עׄ[למים [
5. [חד מן] בני שמין עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני הןׄ[[
6. [בקושטא] תׄחׄוׄינני ולא בׄכדבין חדא ברׄא מׄ֯נׄ֯ךׄ[[
7. במלך כול עלׄמׄיׄם עד בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבׄיׄן [[
8. אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת ובכׄ֯תׄ[[
9. ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי דכׄר לך על עדינׄתי א◦◦ךׄ֯ ◦◦[[

1. Then suddenly it occurred to me that the conception was from Watchers, and the seed from Holy Ones, and to Nephil[in]
2. and my mind wavered concerning this infant. *vacat*
3. Then I, Lamech, was upset, so I approached Batenosh my wife and sa[id to her]
4. …I bear witness by the Most High, by the Mighty Lord, by the King of all A[ges]
5. [one of] the sons of Heaven, until you recount truthfully everything for me, whether[ ]
6. you must recount [truthfully] for me, without lies. The son (born) from you is unique (?) [ ]
7. by the King of all Ages until you will speak truthfully with me, without lies.[ ]
8. Then Batenosh my wife spoke with me very harshly, and wept[ ]
9. and she said, "O my brother and my husband, recall for yourself my pleasure…[ ]

Column 2: The first of the columns originally published by AY, col. 2 has been widely commented upon, accounting for the many sources cited in the textual notes. Col. 2 exists on a single leaf of parchment, detached from the "soft side" of the scroll by Trever in 1949. Photos for this column are found in the AY, IMneg., and BZ collections.

2.1: הריא֯תׄא AY/J/MBE/Pu/GMT/F/AW **]** Kut הריאנׄ֯תׄא; B^1 הרי{א}ונא; Qim^1 הריאו֯נ֯א. Kutscher's suggestion is impossible based on available space. Although Qimron's reading is attractive on linguistic grounds, the left leg of what I read as *tav* appears too close (and the foot too short) to the following *aleph* to be a *nun*. Since an Aramaic form similar to ours is known from 11QtgJob 4:9 (הריתהון), it seems that in this line we find the standard Aramaic word, while that employed in 2.15 (הריונא) is a Hebraism.

2.1: זׄרׄעׄאׄ Qim^1/F/AW **]** AY א[◦◦]ה; J/GMT הריא; MBE העׄדׄ֯י֯א; B^1 רׄ֯זׄ֯א; B^3 דינׄ֯א/רוא. The readings of B^1 and MBE are incorrect based simply on space considerations and the letter remains. B^3 is no improvement. Qimron was the first to point out that what is read by AY/J/GMT as a *heh* is actually the combination *zayin-resh*. Indeed, the upper horizontal stoke of the *resh* is visible on BZ1 2T, as is the following *ayin*, which is split apart by a crack in the leather.

2.4: אׄ֯נׄאׄ יׄעׄד **]** AY/F אׄ֯נׄאׄ וׄעׄד; Pu איעד[ו] ת◦מ[◦]◦; B^1 ועד א◦◦; J/GMT/AW אנה מועד. The reading of J/GMT/AW is the least likely, since what they transcribe as *mem* does not have the horizontal bottom stroke required of that letter in BZ1 2T or IMneg. 3853 (their reading seems to favor grammatical considerations over the physical evidence). Puech reads the *aleph* as part of the following word (i.e. a 1 sg. *aph'el* imperf.), which is grammatically possible. However, the word break discerned by all others is quite clear, and the imperfect would seem strange in this context (direct speech to Batenosh). The preceding letters of his reading also do not look correct to me. I largely agree with the readings of AY/F/B^1, but opt for a *yod* instead of *vav* in יעד. F noted the enigmatic nature of this form, which he leaves untranslated, and argues that the preceding letters אׄ֯נׄ֯א cannot be the 1 sg. pers. pro. (as J/GMT/AW and I read), since in this period it always ends with *heh*. In his discussion of orthography (p. 263), however, he notes the substitution of *aleph* for an expected *heh* in numerous other places, raising the possibility that this was a scribal slip based on phonetics. The form אנא is widespread in subsequent Palestinian Aramaic (cf. Sokoloff, DJPA, p. 64). F also observed that "some word like 'swear to me' is expected before בעליא." I tentatively take יעד to be a (unique) denominative part. related to the noun עד "witness, bearer of testimony."

2.6: חדא **]** AY/J/GMT/F/AW הדא; B^3 חדר. The final two letters are very clear on the plate of AY and IMneg. 3854#1. The top of the initial *ḥet* is clearly visible in IMneg. 3854 and 3854#1, but is difficult to discern in AY's plate. The letters following this word can be seen on the IMneg. photos.

2.9: דכׄר לך **]** AY/J/F/GMT/AW דכׄרלך; B^1 רכילך. What all others have read as one word may justifiably be split into two based on the very close spacing between words elsewhere in the scroll (e.g. וׄעלת על in 2.3 and לאׄ֯רׄ֯ךׄ֯ מׄ֯ת in 2.23). The right horn of the *dalet* is clear in BZ1 2T.

2.10: בׄ֯חׄ֯וׄ֯ם J/Pu/F/GMT/AW **]** B^1 קׄ֯וׄ֯דׄ֯ם. Either reading is possible, since the text is badly damaged here (although one would not gather this from J/GMT). Yet, the overall ink remains seem to fit בחום slightly better. The best photograph is IMneg. 3854#1, in which the downstroke of a *qoph* appears tenable in the first position. It may well be that neither suggestion is correct.

10. בׄחׄום ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא ואנה בקושט כולאׄ אׄ[חוין]ךׄ ○○○[ ]
11. [ ]דׄאׄ בׄכׄולאׄ ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני vacat [ ]
12. וכדי חזת בׄתׄאנוש אנתתי די אשתני אנפי עלי בׄר֯גׄ[זי]
13. באדין אנסׄתׄ רוחׄהא ועמי תמלל ולי תאמר יא מרי ויאׄ אׄח֯יׄ[ ]
14. עדינתי יאמיא אנה לך בקדישא רבא במלך ש[מיא]
15. די מנך זרעא דן ומנך הריונא דן ומנך נצבת פריאׄ[דן]
16. ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול עירין ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין למא צלם]
17. אנפיך כדנא עליך שנא ושחת ורוחך כדן עליכׄא ○[אנה]
18. בקושט ממללאׄ עמך vacat [ ]
רטתׄ
19. באדין אנה למך על מתושלח אבי וכולא להׄ[ח]ו֯י֯[ת לחנוך]
20. אבוהי וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע בדי הוא רחים ור○○[ועם קדשיא]
21. עדׄבׄה פליג ולה מחוין כולא וכדי שמע מתושל[ח אבי]
22. רׄטׄ עׄל חׄנוך אבוהי למנדע מנה כולא בקושׄטׄאׄ[ ]

10. in the heat of the moment, and my panting breath! I [am telling] you everything truthfully…[ ]
11. [ ]… entirely." Then my mind wavered greatly within me. *vacat*
12. Now when Batenosh my wife saw that my demeanor had changed because of [my] ang[er]
13. Then she controlled her emotions and continued speaking with me. She was saying to me, "O my husband and my brother,[ ]
14. my pleasure. I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the King of He[aven]
15. that this seed is from you, and from you this conception, and from you the planting of [this] fruit[ ]
16. and not from any stranger, nor from any of the Watchers, nor from any of the sons of Hea[ven. Why is the appearance of]
17. your face changed and contorted like this, and your spirit…[ ]upon you like this? [I]
18. am speaking truthfully with you. *vacat* [ ]
19. Then I, Lamech, ran to Methuselah my father and [t]ol[d] him everything[to Enoch]
20. his father in order to learn everything from him with certainty, since he is a beloved and …[and with the Holy Ones]
21. is his lot apportioned, for they make everything known to him. When Methusel[ah my father] heard[ ]
22. he ran to Enoch his father to learn everything truthfully from him[ ]

2.11: [ ]דׄאׄ בׄכׄולאׄ **]** AY ולאׄ○ [; J ולו○○[; Pu/B^1/F מולדא [. When enlarged, IMneg. 3854 and 3854#1 show clearly that there is no letter between the *lamed* and *aleph* at the end of the word. The first two letters of the last word have the long, horizontal base strokes expected of a *bet, kaph*, or *mem*. Puech asserts that this word is "précédé sans doute" by עד, although the negative imprint of an *aleph* is quite plain.

2.17: עליכׄא **]** AY/J/B^1/GMT/F/AW עליבא. I am convinced that the penultimate letter is a *kaph*, and not a *bet*. עליכׄא seems paleographically preferable when IMneg. 3854 and 3854#1 are enlarged (although a *bet* cannot be ruled out absolutely), and mirrors the syntax used earlier in the line. A *plene* spelling is also used for this suffix in 5.9 (where it is subsequently corrected) and 20.26 (with a *heh*), showing that it was pronounced "*kha*" by the scribe/community who wrote or copied the scroll. This type of ending is common in Qumran Hebrew (see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 58–9).

2.20: ור○○[**]** AY ורׄ [; J/GMT/AW ורׄעׄ֯י֯; B^1 ור[; F ורׄ[גיג. At least one letter can be seen following the *resh*, but the ink is blurred severely. Puech noted that J/GMT/AW's reading "est une lecture paléographiquement exclue," with which I agree. There is not the sweeping right to left downward stroke expected of an *ayin*, but a more vertical stroke (possibly the *gimel* suggested by F). In any case, the basic idea suggested by both J and F seems plausible (i.e. a word roughly parallel to רחים).

2.22: רׄטׄ עׄל חׄנוך F/B$^{2/3}$ **]** AY [לחׄנוך; J/GMT/AW רׄטׄ לחׄנוך. Two facts are fairly clear: 1) there is a space between the *lamed* and חנוך; 2) there are at least four letters preceding חנוך at the beginning of the line. This rules out the readings of AY/J/GMT/AW, while leaving F/B^2's proposal quite tenable. The *ayin* is more easily discerned than the preceding 2 (or 3) letters, which are highly speculative.

23. רׄעותה ואזל לאׄרׄךׄ מׄת לפרוין ותמן אשכחה לקץ א֯[רעא   [
24. [ו]אׄמׄר לחׄנוך אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי די אנה לךׄ א֯תׄ[ית   [
25. [ ]◦◦ ליׄ֯ ואׄמׄר לך דׄאׄל תׄרׄגז עלי די לתׄנׄא אתית לבׄ[עי]ךׄ֯[[
26. דחיל לעליך [[
27. לׄ◦ ל◦◦◦[[
28–36?.

23. his will. And he went through the length of the land of Parvain, and there he found the end of [the] ea[rth]
24. [and] he said to Enoch his father, "O my father and my lord, I have co[me] to you[ ]
25. [ ]…to me, and I say to you, do not to be angry that I came here to s[eek] you[out]
26. fearful of you[ ]
27–36(?).

Column 3

1.]   [לא֯
2.]   [כׄ֯ול צׄ֯◦◦ן֯ ולא לאורׄכא
3.]   ]ארי ביומי ירד אבי

1. [ ] not
2. [ ] all … and not for the length
3. [ ]for in the days of Jared my father

2.23: לאׄרׄךׄ מׄת J/B^1/F **]** AY לא֯רׄ֯ד֯מׄ֯ת; Du-So/Gre לה קדמת; dMed לארץ מת; MBE לארדבת; GMT לארקבת; AW לארכבׄת. The readings of GMT and AW are easily dismissed on physical grounds, since more than one letter would be required between the *qoph* and *tav* of GMT, and the lower extension of a final letter form is seen clearly in the third or fourth space (contra AW). It appears that AW have strictly followed MBE's (p. 41, n. 1) suggestion that these letters represent the word לארכבת "the upper layer, stratum (of the three)." Not even Milik, however, ignored the final *kaph*, confessing that his reading was "in spite of the final form of the Kaph in the middle of a word (which does occur occasionally in the script of the Qumran manuscripts)." He ignored to mention, however, that this practice never occurs elsewhere in the Genesis Apocryphon, which may have caused GMT to propose the even less plausible לארקבת. The other readings (except for AY; cf. note on 2.9 above) are also paleographically untenable, in addition to being unlikely on other grounds (cf. Ligneé, *Textes*, pp. 223 5; and F, p. 137 for discussion). These words are fairly clear on IMneg. 3854#1, and F's interpretation remains the most reasonable.

2.23: לפרוין AY/J/B^1/F/GMT/AW **]** vdW לפריון. See F, pp. 136–7 for discussion.

2.23: לקץ א֯[רעא **]** AY] ל; J/F/GMT/AW לחנוך [אבוהי; B^1] לואתׄ. The word קץ is surprisingly clear at the end of this line in BZ1 2T. Although לחנוך makes good sense here, it is surprising that this reading has been perpetuated, since even the plates of AY show it to be untenable on paleographic grounds. My reading is supported by the parallel in 1 En. 106:8, "And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me at the ends of the earth."

2.25: ליׄ֯ ואׄמׄר **]** AY/F ואׄמׄר[ ]ל[; J/GMT ואמר[; B^1 ב]ךׄ֯ דׄ֯י אמר; AW ד]י אמר. The *lamed* is much closer to ואמר than it seems in the transcriptions of AY and F, with only one small letter separating them. This also renders the proposals of B^1 and AW untenable.

2.25: דׄאׄל Gin/J/GMT/F/AW **]** AY דׄבׄל; B^1 ואל. Both דבל and דאל are materially possible, but the latter is preferable on grammatical grounds. B^1's proposal may stem from his misreading of the preceding ואמר (without the *vav* and following די), which then forced him to provide a *vav*, rather than a *dalet*, to make sense of the phrase. Here the *dalet* introduces direct discourse (cf. F, p. 138). Ginsberg argues that this word is written *junctim* with the following תרגז, but this is quite unlikely.

2.25: לתׄ֯נׄא B^1/Qim^1/F **]** AY/J/GMT/AW להׄ֯כׄא. Qimron finds this reading materially preferable, although the word is blurred and difficult to read. His suggestion finds support in the תנה of 22.28. It is truly remarkable that those including diacritical marks in their text do not make use of them here. Happily, the meaning remains the same in either case.

2.25: לבׄ֯[עי]ךׄ֯ **]** AY] ל; J ◦◦◦◦ל; B^1 לא֯רׄךׄ; GMT/AW ◦◦◦ךל; F ל]ך. The readings of B^1 and F can be excluded with certainty, since the second letter has a bottom, horizontal stroke not characteristic of an *aleph* or final *kaph*. The extended downstroke of the last letter assures that it is a final form.

Column 3: This column is very badly damaged, with the most helpful photos being the BZ set. There are a number of lines in the lower portion of this column (cf. BZ3 4B or IMneg. x 86 4447) that have not been transcribed by MQS, F, AW, or B^3. They contain little readable text.

4. [ ]ל[ ]◦◦◦ו֯◦◦ יתׄבין בני
5. [שמין] *vacat*
6. [ ]◦◦◦◦ ע֯ד֯ י֯ו֯ם
7. [ ]ל֯◦◦◦ ל֯◦◦◦ין ◦◦א֯ ◦צ֯◦◦ו ולך֯ לה֯ו֯ן
8. [ ]◦◦◦א֯ ב֯ת֯י֯ א֯נש֯[א] ◦ה֯◦ם֯[ ]ו֯ע֯ל֯ ◦◦◦◦◦
9. [ ]◦◦◦◦ לה֯וה֯ על ארעא כולה֯א
10. [ ]◦◦◦◦ ב֯א֯ר֯עי לימ֯א ד֯ן֯
11. [ ]א֯ון כולה֯א פ֯ר֯יא֯ ח֯ד֯א֯ ישים א֯ר֯ע֯א
12. [ ]◦◦ו֯ת֯ ארעא ◦◦◦ קר֯י ע֯מ֯ה֯ וכען אזל
13. [ ]◦ה֯◦◦א בקשוט די לא֯ ב֯כ֯דב֯ין֯
14. [ ]◦ל ל◦◦[ ]◦◦◦[ ]◦ ל◦◦◦ין
15. [ ]◦◦ ו֯ד֯ב֯ק ד֯א֯ ◦◦ן ב֯ע֯י֯ן֯ ל֯◦◦◦ ◦◦א֯י֯ן ◦ל◦◦◦ל◦
16. [ ]◦◦◦◦◦ למ֯◦◦ כ֯ול֯א֯ ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ן ע֯ם
17. [ ]ה֯ו֯א֯ ד֯י֯ יפלג כ֯ו֯ל ארעא וע֯ם ◦◦◦מ֯ין
18. [ ] *vacat*
19–23.

4. [ ]…the sons of
5. [Heaven] (were) dwelling [ ] *vacat*
6. [ ]…until the day of
7. [ ]… … and they will be for you
8. [ ]…the houses of manki[nd]…[ ]and upon…
9. [ ]…will be over all the earth
10. [ ]…in my land to that sea
11. [ ]…he will place all of it as one fruit. The earth
12. [ ]…the earth…he called his people. Now go
13. [ ]… …truthfully that without lies
14. [ ]…[ ]…[ ]…
15. [ ]… And… reaches as a spring to… …
16. [ ]… everything …with
17. [ ] he is the one who will divide the entire earth, and with…
18. [ ] *vacat*
19–23.

3.4: יתׄבין בני] MQS/F/AW]ין בני; B^{3}]הון בני. The *bet* of my יתׄבין is easily discernable on BZ3 4T, ruling out the transcription of B^{3}.

3.10: ב֯א֯ר֯עי לימ֯א] MQS/AW ◦א֯ר֯ע֯י לימ֯א֯; F ◦א֯ר֯ע֯א֯ לימ֯א֯; B^{3}]א ועול ימא. The *yod* at the end of the first word is quite clear when enlarged, and there is not enough room to accommodate an *aleph* before the following *lamed* (contra F). The question remains as to what this word may mean. MQS does not translate it, and AW's translation, "lower for this sea," fails to convince. I believe that it must either be the noun ארע "land, earth" plus the 1 sg. possessive suffix ("my land"), or a *peal* inf. const. of the verb ארע "visit, happen upon," also followed by the 1 sg. suffix (lit. "in my happening upon"). I have opted for the former because of the frequent use of ארעא throughout this section and the scroll in general. The following דן is used alternately as both the near ("this") and far ("that") demonstrative pronoun in the scroll. B^{3}'s suggestion is not plausible.

3.11: ישים א֯ר֯ע֯א MQS/F/AW] B^{3}]שם ארעא. All four letters of ישים are read with confidence on IMneg. x 86–4447, 4453.

3.12: ע֯מ֯ה֯] B^{3} ארעא. B^{3}'s reading is not correct. Perhaps he is referring to the clear ארעא earlier in the line?

3.15: ד֯א֯ ◦◦ן ב֯ע֯י֯ן֯ ל֯◦◦◦ ◦◦א֯י֯ן ◦ל◦◦◦ל◦] B^{3} מן לו֯א֯תה֯ו֯ן֯ ות֯א֯זל ב֯שלם. The text is in very poor shape here. Apart from the initial מן, the only word of B^{3} containing any plausibility is the last. His overall reading falls several letters short of the number required by the available space.

3.17: יפלג כ֯ו֯ל ארעא וע֯ם ◦◦◦◦◦מ֯ין] MQS/F/AW]פלג כ֯ו֯ל ארעא ◦◦ם ◦◦◦◦ן; B^{3} ומ֯לא כול ארעא בדם מת◦◦◦ין. Scrutiny of BZ3 4M and IMneg. x 86 4447, 4453 reveals that B^{3} has read the first word incorrectly. The *gimel* is especially decisive in this regard. The *ayin* of וע֯ם is also quite clear, and the *bet* and *dalet* of B^{3} may be dismissed on material grounds there is no base stroke for the first letter, while the second clearly has a break in the top (i.e. the valley between the two strokes of my *ayin*).

.24]]○ב֯ין ○○○א ולמ֯אכ֯ל ○○○נ֯ן֯
.25] [
.26]]נ֯ר ○○ יהב למת֯ו֯ש֯[לח ברה [
.27] ויהב למתו]של֯ח֯ ב֯ר֯ה֯ שכל ו֯○י֯[ ]ש[[
.28]]○○ת֯ לחל֯○[ ]לה֯ ד֯[י] ב֯כל י֯ם[[
.29] ינתן]ל[ה] מ֯ר֯ה֯ לש֯ם֯ ק֯י֯[י]ם֯ ○○○○○○ב֯ ליער֯ין ○○○[[
.30]]○○ן ועד ד֯[י [
.31]]○○ם ○○○ [מ]ן֯ מע֯א֯ ○○ל֯ ○○○○○○ין ○○○○[[
.32]]ע֯ד֯ ○○א֯ ועל֯ ○○ו֯ה֯י֯ שמ֯○ ○○[ ]ל֯מ֯○○ ○○○ין ויהב֯ ל֯○[[
.33–36

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24. [ ]… and for food…
25. [ ]
26. [ ]… he gave to Methus[elah his son]
27. [and he gave to Methu]selah his son understanding and…[ ]…[ ]
28. [ ]… …[ ]to him th[at] in every sea[ ]
29. [ ]the Lord[will give]to [him] for an ever[las]ting name… … forests …[ ]
30. [ ]…and unt[il]
31. [ ]… [fr]om the womb… …[ ]
32. [ ]until…and on his… name (?)…[ ]… and he gave to…[ ]
33–36.

Column 4

.1 ו֯כ֯ען ○ה֯○○ ○○○○[ ]○○○○ ש֯ג֯י יהרגשון
.2 וש○○ג֯א ○ב֯○ע֯א ○ב֯ג֯ ○○מ֯י֯○[ ]ה֯ ו֯ל֯מ֯א֯ מ֯○○[ ] ○○ל○○○[ ]ל֯[ ]ל֯[ ]
.3 לעל֯ ○○ל[ ]○○ל[ ]ע֯ד֯ לכול עלמים א○○○ ש֯ג֯י ו֯ב֯א֯י֯ש֯ת֯א
.4–10

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1. Now… …[ ]… they will cause much trouble
2. and… …[ ]… and why…[ ]… …[ ]
3. above… [ ]…[ ]… for all ages… …much, and the evil
4–10.

3.24: ○○○נ֯ן֯ ולמ֯אכ֯ל] MQS/F/AW ולע֯מ֯ל֯ה֯ו֯ן֯. The reading of MQS/F/AW cannot be correct. It is clear on BZ3 4M that there are three letters between the two *lameds*, and there is far too much space for the second *lamed* to be followed by the pronominal suffix הון- alone. The *mem* and *aleph* are quite clear, while the *kaph* could also be a *bet*.

3.29: ליער֯ין] This word is very clear on BZ3 4B, with the only question being whether the final letters are ר֯ין or ת֯ן (I first read the latter, but the foot of the left leg required by a *tav* seems to be missing). I have settled tentatively on the former, which I translate as the plural of יער "forest, reed marsh," and which may again allude to the dominion over creation given to Noah. The latter option (i.e. with a *tav*) would comprise a suffixed verbal form from לעי "study, work" (i.e. "I studied them"), also possible in this context. Reading לי ער֯ין as two words ("…to me cities") is unlikely, since the *yod/vav* runs directly into the *ayin*.

Column 4: This is another poorly preserved column, of which only some parts along the outer edges remain. It is the last column of the present sheet of parchment. By following the left margin we are able to determine that, like the next sheet, it contained 36 lines per column. The BZ photos and IMneg. 3838 are most helpful.

4.1: ו֯כ֯ען] MQS/AW מ֯ן○; F מ֯ן. There is clearly a letter before what I read as a *kaph* (and the others as a *mem*), contra F. Due to a crack in the leather running through the word in BZ3 4T, the tops and bottoms of the letter are unaligned. However, the sloping line on the left side of MQS/F/AW's *mem* has a noticeable convex shape to it, suggesting that it is, rather, the right stroke of an *ayin*. Indeed, the top of the *ayin*'s left stroke can be seen next to the top of the final *nun* in the photographs.

4.1: ש֯ג֯י] B^3 שוי. Either reading is possible, but it is astonishing that B^3 has not included any diacritical marks. The second letter is almost completely missing in every available photograph, yet the remaining right, slanting stroke appears to me to be that of a *gimel*.

11. חזית למעבד דין ו֯מ֯[שפט] ע֯ל֯ [ ]○○ן֯ ○○○ן֯ שם
12. די֯ ק֯[ד]י֯ש֯א רבא וקץ [ ]○ ל֯ה֯ו֯ן֯ מ֯ן אנפי ארעא
13. לא֯ ל֯ן֯[ ]○○○○○○
14. [ ]ע֯ליהון ○○○○ל֯○○
15–36.

11. I decided to enact judgment and ju[stice] upon [ ]… the name
12. of the Great H[o]ly One, and an end [ ]…them from the face of the earth
13. not..[ ]… …
14. [ ] upon them…
15–36.

Column 5

1. וכתב כ֯ולהון ב֯מ֯ג֯י֯לא֯ ל֯ז֯כ֯י֯ר֯ן֯ כול ○○○○[ ]
2. *vacat* ולך מתושלח ב[רי]ל די עולי֯מ֯א֯
3. דן הא֯ כדי אנה ח֯נ֯ו֯ך֯ ○○○○[ ]ל֯[א] מן בני
4. שמין להן מן למך ב֯ר֯ך֯ [ ]○
5. ו֯בדמא לא הוו֯א֯ ○○[ ]
6. ולא ○○○○[ ]מן
7. חזוה דחל למך ברך וא֯ף֯ מ֯ן ○○○○[ ]ו֯ב֯ק֯ו֯ש֯ט֯ ○○○[ ]

1. He wrote all of them in the scroll as a remembrance, all…[ ]
2. *vacat* Now to you, Methuselah [my] so[n]… of this
3. child, for when I, Enoch,… [ ]n[ot] from the sons
4. of Heaven, but from Lamech your son [ ]…
5. and in resemblance he is not…[ ]
6. and not… [because of]
7. his appearance your son Lamech was afraid, and also from… [ ]and truly… [ ]

4.11: למעבד MQS/F/AW] B^3 לעבד. B^3 has not transcribed the *mem*, which is evident on all photographs.

4.12: ל֯ה֯ו֯ן֯ מ֯ן] MQS/F/AW ל֯[; B^3 הון מן[. The lower stroke of a final letter at the end of the second word is readily seen on IMneg. 3838.

Column 5: This column begins a new sheet of parchment containing columns of 36 lines. The majority of preserved text for this column adjoins the right margin. A small *peh*, written in a different scribal hand, may be seen in the top, righthand corner of the sheet. This, along with similar markings in the same corner of cols. 10 and 17 (both also at the beginning of new parchment sheets), must have been part of the manuscript preparation process. All three letters were written rather crudely in comparison to the neat hand of the scribe(s) of this manuscript, and were first noted by M. Morgenstern, "A New Clue to the Original Length of the Genesis Apocryphon," 34–47. I do not see a need to presume that the sheets comprising this manuscript began with the letter *aleph*, as Morgenstern claims. It seems more likely that the letters were by penned by those who initially prepared the leather, in order to assure proper joinery. One might envision a large stack of such sheets from which some were taken (beginning with the next letter in the stack) when a new manuscript was commissioned. For more on the manuscript preparation process see Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, pp. 14–16, 33 43.

5.1: וכתב כ֯ולהון] MQS/F/AW וכתב ○○ל[; B^3 וכתבת עליהון. The reading of B^3 is implausible for two reasons: 1) where he has the combination *tav*-space-*ayin* there is clearly a letter with a flat, horizontal base stroke (my *kaph*), followed by a *yod/vav*; 2) there is no *yod* between the *lamed* and *heh*.

5.1: ב֯מ֯ג֯י֯לא֯ ל֯ז֯כ֯י֯ר֯ן֯] This is a highly speculative reading, since there is a crack running through the entire phrase in BZ4–5T and the correct alignment of letters is difficult to ascertain. Further work on this line may yield more certain results.

5.3: ח֯נ֯ו֯ך֯] I follow the reading of AY (18), B^1 et al. with some reservation. In support of this proposal, the 1 sg. pronoun is typically followed by a proper name (but cf. 5.9).

5.5: ו֯בדמא B^3] MQS/GMT/F/AW ו֯מ֯דמא. The horizontal top stroke of the *bet* (as opposed to sloping stroke of a *mem*) is clear on BZ4–5T.

5.7: ו֯ב֯ק֯ו֯ש֯ט֯ B^3] Although I follow B^3 here, the reading is extremely tenuous (more than B^3's transcription suggests). His foregoing words, הריונ֯[א דן], appear unlikely.

8. בקושט מהימן די ◦◦◦◦ *vacat* [ ]
אד֯י֯ן
9. וכען לכ{אׄ} אנה אמ֯ר ברי ולך אנ֯ה מ֯חו֯ה֯ כ֯ו֯ל֯ ד֯[י]ל◦◦ בקושט ◦◦◦◦[ ]
10. אזל אמ֯רׄ ללמך ברך[די]מ֯ן ל֯ך֯[עו]ל[ימא בק]ו֯[ש]ט֯[ו]ל֯[א]מ֯ן ב֯נ֯י֯ [שמין]
11. ו֯ר֯מ֯והי בארעא וכול עובד שו֯פ֯ט֯ א֯ה֯ב֯ לה֯ ◦[ ]
12. לאנפוהי נסבא ב֯י ודנחא עינוהי כשמ֯[שא]
13. עולימ֯א דן נור וה֯וא ל◦◦◦◦◦ ל֯[ ]
14. ז֯ר֯ע֯א֯ מן ז֯ר֯ [ ]
15. א֯ב֯◦ם֯ ◦◦◦◦[ ]
16. הא באדין ישתבשון וי֯ת֯כ֯לון [ ]
17. עלמא יהב֯ין כ֯ט֯מ֯א֯ת֯ה֯ון֯ למ֯◦◦ק֯◦◦[ ]
18. ע֯בדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די֯[ ]
19. ישלקון וכול ש֯ב֯י֯ל֯י֯ ח֯מ֯ס֯ ◦◦◦ מ֯ן֯ ◦◦◦[ ]

8. truly trusting that… *vacat* [ ]
9. Now I am talking to you, my son, and making known to you all th[at], then truthfully… [ ]
10. Go, say to Lamech your son,["The chi]l[d is t]r[ul]y from you [and]n[ot] from the sons[of Heaven…"]
11. and his heights (?) on the earth, and every act of judgment I will entrust to him…[ ]
12. he lifted his face to me and his eyes shone like [the] su[n]
13. this child is a light, and he…[ ]
14. the seed from a stranger[ ]
15. … [ ]
16. Then they will be ensnared and destroyed [ ]
17. forever, giving according to their impurity to… …[ ]
18. doing much violence, they will act (thus) until[ ]
19. they will boil over, and every path of violence… from…[ ]

5.8: ◦◦◦◦ MQS/F/AW **]** B^3 ח֯ז֯י֯ת֯. The letters have a large, horizontal crack running through them, and are unreadable. At best, B^3's reading should be viewed as a reconstruction.

5.9: מ֯חו֯ה֯ כ֯ו֯ל֯ ד֯[י]ל◦◦ אד֯י֯ן בקושט **]** MQS/AW מ֯ח֯ו֯ה֯ אד֯י֯ן בקושט; F מ֯חו֯ה֯ אד֯י֯ן בקושט; B^3 מחוה כ֯ו֯ל ד[י שאי]ל אדין בקושט. The transcription of F is misleading, since there are at least two intervening words between מ֯חו֯ה֯ and בקושט (not including the supralinear אדין). B^3 is incorrect in reconstructing שאי]ל, since there are clearly one or two letters placed between the *lamed* and בקושט.

5.11: שו֯פ֯ט֯ א֯ה֯ב֯ לה֯ ◦[**]** MQS/F/AW [בני שמין]; B^3 עזיזיא וחבל יחד֯[י]א֯ל. The initial *shin* is plainly visible in BZ4-5M and IMneg. x 86 4445, ruling out the reconstruction of MQS/F/AW. B^3's confident reading is unwarranted, and a simple letter count proves it incorrect. It is relatively clear that the first word contains the letters for שופט, although the *peh* is least certain. The following words are less sure—the *aleph* may actually belong with שופט, the *bet* could also be a *peh*, and there may be a word break after the *lamed*. Whatever the case, the initial word indicates a different implication for this line than that first suggested by MQS or B^3, revealing that Noah, not the giants or Watchers, is the subject.

5.12: ב֯י MQS/F/AW **]** B^3 בה֯. The second letter is certainly a *yod*/*vav*. See IMneg. x 86 4445.

5.14: ז֯ר֯ע֯א֯ מן ז֯ר֯ **]** B^3 [מן ◦◦◦כא. For a similar expression see 2.15 16.

5.16: ישתבשון וי֯ת֯כ֯לון M (margin) **]** MQS/F/AW א֯שתבשון וא֯ת֯כ֯לון; B^3 ישתבשון ויתב֯ה֯ל֯ו֯ן. Examining IMneg. x 86 4445, it is clear that M (followed independently by B^3) is correct in transcribing a *yod* rather than an *aleph* for the imperfect prefixes of these two verbs. There is not enough room, however, for both *bet* and *heh* between the *tav* and *lamed* of B^3's ויתב֯ה֯ל֯ו֯ן.

5.17: כ֯ט֯מ֯א֯ת֯ה֯ו֯ן **]** MQS/F/AW ◦◦◦בש֯; B^3 בטמאתהון. B^3's reading is pleographically plausible, but remains far from certain. The first letter appears to be a *kaph* rather than a *bet*.

5.18: שגי GMT/B^3 **]** MQS/F/AW שגיא֯. In BZ4–5M the *yod* of שגי has a vertical crack running through it, and is also blurred, making it appear larger than a typical *yod*. This has resulted in MQS/F/AW's tenuous *aleph*.

5.19: ישלקון B^3 **]** MQS/F/AW ו֯ס֯ל֯ק֯י֯ן. The suggestion of B^3 is confirmed by IMneg. x 86–4445, where the tops of all of the letters are discernible. Especially notable is the top of the *shin*, where the join between the left, upright stroke and the short, intermediate stroke is visible. A question lingers regarding a noticeable basestroke standing between the *lamed* and *qoph*, which remains unaccounted for in my transcription.

20. וכען לך אנה מ̊חוה ב̇ר̊י̇ ◦◦◦◦[ללמך]
21. ברך אחוי בר̇זא ד̇נ̇א כ̊ו̊ל̊[די]
22. ביומ̇ו̊ה̊י̊ יתע̇בד ו̇ה̇א ◦◦[ ]
23. מברך למרה כולא ה◦[ ]
24. וכדי שמע מ̇תושלח מ̊[לי]
25. ועם למך ברה ברז מ̇לל̊[ ]
26. ו̊כ̊ד̇י א̇נה למך ש̊[מעת]
27. ח̇ד̇י̊ די מנ̊י̇ א̊נ̊פ̇יק מ̊ר̊[ה]
28. *vacat* [ ]
29. [פר]ש̊[ג]ן̊ כתב מלי נ̇ו̇ח̇ [ ]
30. [ ]◦לי̇ ◦◦[ ]
31–36.

20. And now I am making known to you, my son, …[to Lamech]
21. your son make known by this mystery all…[that]
22. will be done in his days. And look,…[ ]
23. blessing the Lord of All…[ ]
24. When Methuselah heard [my] w[ords]
25. and he spoke with Lamech his son of a mystery[ ]
26. And when I, Lamech, h[eard]
27. rejoicing that from me [the] Lor[d of …] had brought forth[ ]
28. *vacat* [ ]
29. A [c]o[p]y of the book of the words of Noah [ ]
30–36.

5.20: ב̇ר̊י̇ F/B^3] MQS/GMT/C/AW ב̇ר̊ז. The *resh* is relatively sure on both BZ4–5M and IMneg. x 86 4445. However, what MQS/GMT/AW read as *zayin* appears to be more plausibly a *yod* based on the larger head and shorter downward extension typical of the latter. ב̇ר̊י̇ also fits better the normal syntax of the scroll.

5.22: יתע̇בד ו̇ה̇א] MQS/F/AW ◦ת ע̇ו̇בד ו̇ה̇א; B^3 ◦ת עובדא דנא. BZ4–5M reveals that the illegible letter of MQS/F/AW/B^3 is a *yod*. According to their reading, this would have to be the definite object marker ית, which is not found elsewhere in the scroll. It is preferable to read this as a 3 m. sg. impf. *itpe'el* from עבד "be done." B^3's reading is incorrect, since there is undoubtedly a space after the *dalet* of יתע̇בד, and no evidence for the base stroke of his *nun*.

5.24: מ̊[לי] MQS/F/AW ל̊[; B^3 ב[רה. No *lamed* is visible on BZ4-5M or IMneg. x 86 4445. Rather, the right, lower corner of what may be a *mem, bet*, or *kaph* appears less than one full letter space after מתושלח. Consequently, the reading of MQS/F/AW may be ruled out, while my and B^3's suggestions remain speculative.

5.27: ח̇ד̇י̊ די B^3] MQS/F/AW ח̇ז̇י̊ די; B^1 די; GMT ◦◦◦ די. B^1 has missed the first word here, although the mistake is remedied in B^3. The *dalet* of B^3 appears to be correct on IMneg. x 86 4445, and fits the context well.

5.27: א̊נ̊פ̇יק מ̊ר̊[ה] AY (19/טז) …אנפק; MQS/F/AW]◦◦ א̊נ̊פ̇יק מ̇; GMT]◦◦◦ א̊נ̊פ̇יק; B^1 אנפק [בר; B^3 אנפק ב̊ר̊ [. The *yod* of א̊נ̊פ̇יק is quite clear in the photographs, but has been overlooked by AY and B^1/B^3. The first letter of the following word is tentative, both *mem* and *bet* fitting the scant ink remains.

5.29: [פר]ש̊[ג]ן̊ כתב מלי נ̇ו̇ח̇] Ste/GMT [ ] כתב מלי נוח; MQS/F/AW [פרשגן] כתב מלי נ̇ו̇ח̇; B^3 [מתושל]ח̊ כתב מלי נ̊[וח ברה. The central words כתב מלי are easily read on the infrared photographs. The surrounding words, however, are more difficult to discern because of an additional layer of parchment covering them. The name נוח is assured based on the work of Bearman and Zuckerman, even though the word cannot be seen on the plates available to me (cf. Ste, 66). The photographic evidence, however, may be found in VanderKam's popular work, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, opposite p. 83. The initial word is almost completely obscured by the overlaying piece of leather, and so no conclusion can be reached with certainty. Nevertheless, in BZ4–5B some ink traces can be seen through this layer, appearing to represent the upper, left corner of a *shin* (in the ante-penultimate position) and perhaps a final *nun*. If we reconstruct the name מתושלח based on its occurrence five lines earlier, it is approximately 1.5 letters too long for the space available between the right margin and כתב. This renders B^3's suggestion unlikely. The word פרשגן, on the other hand, fits much better, and agrees with usage in roughly contemporaneous Aramiac texts (4Q543 1a c.1; and 4Q545 1 ai 1; cf. 4Q203 8.3).

COLUMN 6

1. מן עול ובכור ה֯ו֯רתי יעית לקושט וכדי נ֯פקת מן מע֯י א֯מי לקושט נצ֯יב֯ת
2. וקושטא כול יומי דברת והוית מהלך בשבי֯לי אמת עלמא וער֯מ֯י ק֯דיש֯[א] ל֯ה֯[ ]
ב
3. מסל֯י֯ א֯ר֯ח֯ת קושט ולא֯זה֯רות֯ני מן נ֯ת֯יב שקר די אזלן לחשוך ע֯למ֯א֯ ו֯ל֯[ח]ש֯ב֯ ה֯ן֯
4. א֯◦לא֯ מ֯ר֯א וחצי אסרת בחזון קושטא וחכמתא ב֯מעיל ז֯ע֯ק֯א ו֯◦◦◦[ ]
5. [ ]ל[ ]◦◦ כול שבילי חמס *vacat*
6. ב֯[א]ד֯י֯[ן] הוית אנה נוח גבר ו֯א֯חדת בקושטא ו֯א֯תקפת ב֯ח֯כ֯מ֯ת֯א֯ א֯[ ]

---

1. from infancy, and through the uterus of she who bore me I burst forth for uprightness, and when I emerged from my mother's womb I was planted for righteousness.
2. All of my days I conducted myself uprightly, continually walking in the paths of everlasting truth. For [the] Holy One had instructed me (?) to…[ ]
3. in the ways of the paths of truth and to keep myself away from the highway of deceit, which lead to everlasting darkness, and to c[ons]ider whether
4. I would… the Lord. So I girded my loins in the vision of truth and wisdom, in the robe of supplication, and…[ ]
5. [ ]…[ ]… all the paths of violence. *vacat*
6. T[h]e[n] I, Noah, became a grown man. I held fast to righteousness and strengthened myself in wisdom …[ ]

Column 6: The IMneg. and BZ sets of infrared photographs provide useful data for reading this column. The column begins with full lines at the top and with the right margin preserved, but slowly tapers toward the bottom, gradually losing text from the beginning and end of its lines.

6.1: I follow Bernstein's reading *'ul* rather than *'avel* for the second word of the line.

6.1: נצ֯יב֯ת MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 נצח֯ת. The *bet* is discernible on BZ6T when it is enlarged and the contrast is enhanced. Neither the ink remains nor spacing fit the reading of B^3.

6.2: אמת MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 דת. The word אמת is abundantly clear on BZ6T.

6.2: וער֯מ֯י] MQS/GMT/F/AW ועמ֯י; B^3 ושקרא֯. This word is somewhat stretched and distorted on BZ6T, but the vertical stroke of another letter is clearly visible between the *ayin* and *mem* (especially when enlarged), and the upper, horizontal stroke of a *resh* fits suitably the ink remains. A suffixed verb would make good sense in the present context (cf. ולאזהרותני in the following line, which presumes an antecedent verb with the Holy One as its subject), although we should expect a *nun* preceding the *yod* for my translation to be correct. We might also expect the *aphel* rather than a *peal* or *pael* conjugation based on known usage of this verb. A verbal form also helps make sense of the next line, the syntax of which is difficult (cf. following notes). B^3's proposal may be ruled out based on the physical remains (e.g. the second letter is clearly an *ayin*). The verb ערם is also found in 4Q534 1 i 6, but in a non-transitive sense. As is plain from the difficulties outlined here, the meaning of these words is still far from certain. The paleographic evidence shows conclusively, however, that earlier readings must be emended.

6.3: ^{ב}מסל֯י֯ MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 כמטלי. It is not impossible that the initial letter is *kaph* instead of *bet*, but the latter makes better sense in connection with the noun מסל "path." There is no doubt regarding the *samekh*, which is especially clear on BZ6T.

6.3: א֯ר֯ח֯ת B^3] MQS/GMT/F/AW אוחת. Previous attempts to interpret the beginning of this line have provided as many difficulties as solutions. First, we should expect an infinitive to precede the phrase במסלי based on the related, following expression, ולאזהרותני "and to put me on guard." We might supply ל֯ה֯[לך] at the end of line 2 for this reason, although the specific form of the word is far from certain (especially given that we should expect a *pael* here when considering other Aramaic dialects). As for א֯ר֯ח֯ת, the area where the downstroke of a *yod/vav* would be expected (based on the placement of its head in relation to neighboring letters) is entirely blank, while the thin vertical downstroke of what must be a *resh* or *dalet* can be seen plainly clinging to the left side of the *aleph*. This reading is further supported by its better contextual sense. I take א֯ר֯ח֯ת to be part of an extended construct chain (so also B^3; for this form cf. Dan. 4:34, 5:23), although the defective spelling is uncharacteristic, and the indefinite קושט seems odd (but cf. the following נ֯ת֯יב שקר, which must be translated as definite to make sense). A 1 sg. *peal* verb is also conceivable, but is difficult to make sense of in relation to the following phrase …ולאזהרותני. B^3 and I arrived at this reading independently.

6.3: קושט MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 קושטא. B^3 reads *aleph* in place of the prefixed *vav* of the following word, which is simply incorrect.

6.3: נ֯ת֯יב GMT/F] MQS/AW ◦◦יב; B^3 אורב. The ink remains fit נתיב well (see especially BZ6T). The penultimate letter has the indisputable head of a *yod/vav*, not a *resh* (contra B^3).

6.3: ע֯למ֯א֯ F] MQS/AW ו֯ל֯◦◦; B^3 ול֯ט֯[עו. While the *ayin* is not certain, a *vav* may be ruled out based on ink remains and spacing. The fact that B^3 does not include a circlet over his *vav* undermines significantly confidence in his reading.

6.4: ז֯ע֯ק֯א] B^3 כה֯נ֯יא. Although intriguing, I cannot reconcile the reading of B^3 with the physical evidence. The second letter (my *ayin*) is especially decisive, as is the upper loop of what appears to be a *qoph*. BZ6T is the best photo here.

6.6: ב֯ח֯כ֯מ֯ת֯א֯ B^3] Here I follow the reading of B^3, which fits suitably the letter remains and narrative context.

7. ב֯◦◦◦ל֯ א֯ז֯לת֯ ולאמזרע֯ ברתה לי לאנתה נסבת ו֯הרת מני וילדת֯ לי ב֯נ֯ין֯ תל֯[ת]ה֯
8. [ובנן נקבן]ב֯א֯ד֯י֯ן֯ לבני נשין נסבת מן בנת אחי ובנתי לבני אח֯י֯ יה֯ב֯ת כדת חוק עלמא
9. [די יהב מ]ר֯ה עלמ֯א לבני אנשא *vacat* וביומי כדי שלמו֯ לי לחשבון די חשב֯ת֯
10. [ ]שא יובלין עשרה באדין שלם לבני למ֯ס֯ב֯ להון נשין לא֯נ֯ת֯ו֯

ת

11. [ואתחזי לי מרה] שמ֯י֯א בחזיון ח֯ז֯י֯ת֯ וא֯ח֯וא֯ ואודעת בעובד בני שמין ומ֯א֯ כ֯ו֯ל
12. [ ] שמ֯י֯א וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי ולכול אנוש לא א֯ח֯ויתה *vacat*

7. ...I went and took Emzera his daughter as my wife. She conceived by way of me and gave birth to th[r]ee sons,
8. [and daughters.] Then I took wives for my sons from among the daughters of my brothers, and my daughters I gave to the sons of my brothers, according to the custom of the eternal statute
9. [that] the [Lo]rd of Eternity [gave] to humanity. *vacat* During my days, when there were completed for me, according to the calculation by which I reckoned,
10. [ ]... ten jubilees. Then the time of my sons taking women for themselves in marriage came to a close,
11. [and the Lord of] Heaven [appeared to me] in a vision. I looked and was shown and informed about the conduct of sons of Heaven, and how all
12. [ ] heaven. I hid this mystery within my heart, and did not make it known to anyone. *vacat*

6.7: ב֯◦◦◦ל֯ א֯ז֯לת֯ **]** MQS/AW ◦ת֯י֯ א֯לֹ◦◦; Qim^2 א֯ז֯לת֯ [אבי]; F [בר]ק֯יא֯ל; B^3 דדי אזלת. These words have a large horizontal crack running through them, making them very difficult to read. F's proposal cannot be correct, since it is clear that a letter with a horizontal top stroke follows the *lamed*, and that he has too few letters within his brackets (there must be at least 8 letters overall). The individual characters suggested by MQS/AW are not impossible, but their reading also contains too few letters. Qimron's initial proposal of אזלת for the second word fits the ink remains well and is followed here (as well as by B^3). On BZ6T, the possible negative imprint of a *lamed* (now eroded away) precedes אזלת, making it quite possible that some form of the name of Emzera's father once stood here. Unfortunately, it is now impossible to tell the precise combination of letters, since only the very tops remain. F's ברקיאל can be ruled out based on available space, but remaining possibilities are בקיאל, רקיאל (cf. Jub. 4:33), ברקאל, or something similar. Qimron reconstructed [בקיאל אחי] at the end of line 6 and [אבי] preceding אזלת ("Bakiel, brother of my father"), but this is unlikely based on the space and ink remains at the beginning of this line. B^3's suggested דדי/[רעואל...] "meinem Onkel [Raguel?]" is impossible based on the word דדי alone, since it falls at least two letters short of the available space. His omission of diacritical marks is utterly nonplussing.

6.8: [ובנן נקבן] **]** MQS/F/B^3 [נקבן]; AW [ונקבן]. MQS/F/AW/B^3 (as well as Qim^2) place ובנן at the end of the preceding line, but two factors make this improbable. First, there is no final *nun* visible where it would be expected in line 7 (this line appears to be shorter than line 8). Second, there is far too much space for the word נקבן alone before the ב֯א֯ד֯י֯ן֯ in line 8 (there is space for 7–10 letters). AW's ונקבן does not make sense grammatically, and is presumably an error.

6.9: [די יהב מ]ר֯ה **]** MQS/AW [די]ה; Qim^2 די יהב אלה; F [די יהב]ה; B^3 [כלקובל די פק]ד֯ה (אמר֯ה?). BZ6T reveals that the letter preceding *heh* cannot be a *bet* (as F suggests), but should be either a *dalet* or *resh*. There is also far too much space for [די יהב] alone to fill out the beginning of the line. Qimron must have meant to include brackets (or ghosted letters) for די יהב אל, since the leather is completely missing for these words in all of the photographs. For the grammatical problems with Qimron's suggestion cf. F, pp. 147–8. My own suggestion is uncertain, and remains slightly too short to fill the available space. Nonetheless, something of similar import is called for.

6.9: עלמ֯א **]** Qim^2/MQS/GMT/F/AW/B^3 על֯י֯א;. The *mem* of עלמ֯א is obscured, but the nearly effaced bottom stroke is discernible on BZ6T (for the *theologumenon* מרה עלמא cf. 0.18). I refer those who might argue that there is not enough space for a *mem* (as I first assumed), to the occurrence of עלמא in line 2, where the letter is pinched and overlaps the ensuing *aleph*.

6.11: וא֯ח֯וא֯ת MQS/GMT/F/AW **]** B^3 ואחוי{ו}ת. The descending, diagonal cross-stroke of the second *aleph* is visible on BZ6T and IMneg. x 86–4447, 4452. The superscripted *tav* is written in a different hand and, apparently, with a different composition of ink (it has not eaten away the leather like the original script).

6.11: ומ֯א֯ כ֯ו֯ל GMT/F **]** MQS/AW ומ֯א֯ ◦◦ל; B^3 וב֯אב֯ל. The downstroke of a probable *yod/vav* can be seen preceding the *lamed* in IMneg. x 86–4447, 4452 (the *lamed* cannot be seen on BZ6T), making B^3's proposal unacceptable. The *kaph* of כ֯ו֯ל fits the scant ink remains well.

ע
13. [ ]אׄ עׄלׄי ועיׄרׄא רבא לי בציר ובמשלחת קדׄישׄא רׄבׄאׄ עׄלׄי֯
14. [ ] אׄ[ח]וׄהׄ ובׄחזיון עמי מׄלל ולקובלי קׄם וׄכׄבׄדׄ אׄמׄרׄ ◦◦ לׄךׄ יׄאׄ נׄוׄ[ח]
15. [ובמ]שׄלׄחׄת קדישׄא רׄבׄא לׄי קל אשמע לך אמרין יא נׄוח ◦◦
16. [ ]לׄ קׄודמי וׄחׄשבׄת כׄול לׄכׄת בני ארׄעׄא יׄדׄעת וחזׄית כול[ ]
17. [ ]◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦◦קל יׄצׄלחׄוׄןׄ וׄבׄחׄרׄוׄ בׄאׄנׄוׄןׄ ◦◦◦[ ]
18. [ ]◦ שבועין תרין ובאדין מסתם יבׄ◦◦[ ]

13. [ ]... to me, and the great Watcher to me through an errand, and by an emissary of the great Holy One to me[ ]
14. [ ] he r[ev]ealed, and he spoke with me in a vision. He stood before me and said loudly (?), "To you, O No[ah]
15. [And through an em]issary of the great Holy One to me a voice proclaimed, "To you they are speaking, O Noah, ...
16. [ ]... before me. So I considered all the behavior of the sons of the earth. I understood and saw all of[ ]
17. [ ]... ...they would succeed, and they chose among them... [ ]
18. [ ]...two weeks. Then was sealed up... [ ]

6.13: ועיׄרׄא MQS/AW/B^3] GMT/F בעיׄרׄא. The *bet* of GMT/F is incorrect, as plainly seen on all photographs. It appears that this line contains a poetic triplet of corresponding phrases, describing who is speaking to Noah in his vision. In this configuration, each figure is paired with a descriptive nominal clause ("on/by a...") and the suffixed preposition עלי, all of which must have been preceded by a (now lost) verb at the beginning of the line. This explanation alleviates much of the trouble previous commentators have had making sense of the line. It should be noted that AW has misplaced the superscripted *ayin* of the second עלי.

6.13: רבא MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 רמא. Although the letters *mem* and *bet* often look similar in this scroll, the second letter is better read as a *bet* (see especially BZ6T).

6.13: בציר MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 בצור. B^3's interpretation of צור (which is paleographically possible) as the city "Tyros" (Tyre) is very unlikely given the similarity in meaning between ציר "errand" and the following משלחת "visitation, sending," and the general structure of this line (see note to 6.13: ועיׄרׄא, above).

6.13: ובמשׁלחת MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 ומשׁ֯לחת. B^3 has mistakenly omitted the preposition *bet*, which is clearly seen on BZ6T (although it is less clear on the other photographs).

6.13: רׄבׄאׄ עׄלׄי֯] B^3 רבא לי. There is an intervening letter after רבא and preceding B^3's לי. A sweeping right to left stroke, discernible on BZ6T, suggests the possibility of an *ayin*.

6.14: וׄכׄבׄדׄ] This could also be read וׄכׄבׄרׄ. The meaning is uncertain, and may be meant to serve as either an adverb (i.e. "solemnly, loudly"), or a subject (cf. קל in the following line).

6.15: קל אשמע] I (along with AW) take this as a subject followed by the 3 m. sg. *aphel* of שמע, which makes better sense of the line than other suggestions.

6.16: לׄ קׄודמי[ ] MQS/F/AW ◦רׄמו [; B^3 ורמו [. The right horn of the *dalet* is clear in BZ6B, as are slight ink remains of the lower extension of the *qoph* and the upper extension of the *lamed*. The final letter could also be a *vav*, although the 1 sg. suffix makes better sense in this context.

6.16: וׄחׄשבׄת כׄול] MQS/AW כׄול ◦◦ וׄחׄשׁבׄת; GMT/F וׄחׄשׁבׄת בׄיׄ כׄול; B^3 וחשׁ֯בׄת די כול. There is a large crack running vertically between these words in BZ6B and IMneg. x 86 4447, but neither the space nor ink remains suggest two additional letters here.

6.16: לׄכׄת MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 לבת. Although not impossible, B^3's reading is paeographically and contextually less satisfying than the initial transcription of MQS.

6.16: וחזׄית M (margin)] MQS/GMT/F/AW/B^3 וחויׄת. The third letter is quite clearly a *zayin*, as noted by M.

6.17: וׄבׄחׄרׄוׄ בׄאׄנׄוׄןׄ] MQS/F/AW ◦אׄנׄוׄןׄ ◦וׄבׄחׄ֯רׄ. A single, vertical line can be plainly seen following the *resh* in BZ6B. The bottom portion of a *bet*, or similar letter, is also clear at the beginning of the following word. A *bet* is to be preferred, since in Hebrew the verb בחר regularly takes this preposition with the direct object when meaning "choose, select" (perhaps another Hebraism; cf. Jastrow I, p. 155).

6.18: מסתם MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 מחתם. The second letter is clearly read as a *samekh* on BZ6B and IMneg. x 86 4447. This word may indeed be based on the verbal root סתם "seal, close up," as suggested by MQS/GMT/F/AW (most likely as a *pael* act. part. [AW], and not the assimilated preposition מן plus the pass. part. [F]). In this context, however, it is also possible that we have a phonetic parallel to the biblical and Qumran Hebrew noun משטמה "hostility, hatred, enemy." This noun is used only twice in the Hebrew Bible (Hos 9:7 8) to describe the sin of the adulterous and idolatrous Israelites, who by their deeds have brought near the day of God's vengeance. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls the word enjoys wider usage, both as a general noun (e.g. 1QS 3:23; 1QM 13:4; 4Q286 frg. 7 ii:2) and a proper noun (e.g. 1QM 13:11; 4Q390 1:11; cf. also Jub. 11:3 7, 19:28). The form משטם is found in 4Q475, line 5. (Cf. DDD, 1033 35).

עד די ק[ ]
.19 [ ] מעיד֯ דמא די אשדו נפיליא שפׄית וקוית ◦◦ל◦◦ ◦י֯ ◦◦ל
.20 [ ]בׄ◦◦ ◦◦ ◦◦אׄ ◦◦ ◦◦◦הׄאׄ קדישין֯ די עם בנת אנושׁ[א]
.21 [ ]בׄקסמׄא א[ט]מׄהׄ וׄאׄזלתׄ [לחד] מׄנׄהׄן ואמׄרׄ לךׄ ◦[ ]
.22 [ ]◦◦◦ בׄ◦י֯◦ וׄחׄקׄרׄיׄן יהׄוׄ◦[ ]
.23 [ ]וׄאׄ[ש]כׄחׄת אׄנׄהׄ נוח חן רׄבׄוׄ וׄקׄושׁׄטׄהׄ בׄעׄיׄנׄ[י] מׄ[רה]
.24 [ ]◦ן וׄ◦ל◦◦ עׄמׄאׄ עׄלמׄא ודם קׄ[י]נׄ[א] עׄליׄאׄ דׄיׄ קׄ◦◦[ ]
.25 [ ]וׄלׄקׄ◦◦מׄהׄ ◦◦ןׄ עד תרעי שמׄיׄאׄ דׄמׄלׄ[ד] כׄ[ו]לׄ[עלמיא]
.26 [ ]◦◦◦ לׄאנשא וׄלׄבׄעׄיׄרא ולחיותׄא וׄלעופא וׄלׄ[ ]
.27 [כו]ל עׄבׄדׄאׄ וׄ[כו]ל ◦◦◦ ◦[ ]
.28–36

19. [ ] bearing witness to the blood that the Nephilin had poured out. I was silent, and waited until…[ ]… …
20. [ ]… … …holy ones, who with the daughters of me[n]
21. [ ] making (it) un[cl]ean by the divinatory arts. And I approached [one] of them and he said, "To you… [ ]
22. [ ]… and examining …[ ]
23. [ ]But I, Noah, f[o]und grace, prominence, and justification in the eye[s] of [the] L[ord of…]
24. [ ]… And … the eternal people, and the blood of je[al]o[usy] the Most High, who …[ ]
25. [ ]… …unto the gates of heaven, which the Kin[g] of a[l]l [Ages]
26. [ ]… to humans and cattle and wild animals and birds and[ ]
27. [ ]the[enti]re deed, and [ever]y… [ ]
28–36.

6.19: מעיד֯] MQS/F/AW מעיו◦; B³ מטו. I find no evidence for a fifth letter in this word. The lower part of the vertical stroke that others read as a *vav* should be read as a *dalet* or *resh*, since an upper, horizontal stroke is visible on IMneg. x 86 4447, 4452. This also rules out B³'s suggestion. Here Noah is referred to as a witness to the bloodshed set in motion by the Watchers.

6.19: שפׄית MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ שכית. A horizontal crack runs through the word on all photos, but a *peh* appears to fit the upper remains of the letter better than a *kaph*.

6.21: קסמׄא] MQS/F/AW קס◦א; B³ קטפ֯א. The *samekh* is clear in all photographs, while a *peh* remains paleographically possible (along with *nun*) in the penultimate position.

6.21: א[ט]מ֯ה֯] This word is uncertain, but makes sense in conjunction with the preceding קסמא. If correct, this is an irregular usage of the root טמי/א in the *aphel*, perhaps with an object suffix.

6.21: ואמ֯ר֯ לך֯] MQS/F/AW ואל◦ן; B³ אי֯לן. The *vav, aleph*, and *lamed* are the only sure letters in this reading. I admit that for my proposal to be correct the leather would have to be shrunken (as is often the case near the end of lines in this column), or the two words placed very close together, since there does not appear to be enough room for these words as typically written and spaced. The final letter does not have the curved tail typical of a final *nun* in this scroll.

6.23: רׄבׄוׄ וׄקׄושׁׄטׄהׄ בׄעׄיׄנׄ[י]] MQS/F/AW רׄבׄוׄ וקׄושׁׄטׄ ◦◦◦[; B³ שׂׄגׄיׄ קודם קדׄישׁׄאׄ [רבא]. The reading is very difficult, and remains tentative. The first word (and especially the first letter), however, disprove the proposal of B³. Additionally, there is no sign in any of the photographs of his second *qoph*.

6.24: עׄמׄאׄ עׄלמׄא ודם קׄ[י]נׄ[א] עׄליׄאׄ] MQS/F/AW עׄליׄאׄ יום ק◦ל; B³ שמעׄ עׄליא ודם קטיליא די. The reading of MQS/F/AW is surprising for several reasons, not least the certainty ascribed to their final two words, both of which cannot be correct. Their יום is actually ודם, with the top of the *dalet* visible in BZ6B. What they read as three letters following this word can be no less than five, with the *lamed* followed directly by *yod* and *aleph*. Both MQS/F/AW and B³ have the *lamed* following the *qoph* too closely. My suggested קינא is quite uncertain, but it seems that a noun in construct relationship with ודם is needed. The expression דם חמה וקנְאָה "blood of anger and jealousy" is found in Ezek 16:38 to express the coming judgment of God on Israel the harlot (זונה). The bottom stroke a *mem*, or similar letter, can be seen in the third position of MQS/F/AW/B³'s עׄל֯יׄאׄ. My later עׄליׄאׄ may refer to burnt offerings sacrificed by Noah rather than the Most High, in which case the following words may be reconstructed די קרבת.

6.25: וׄלׄקׄ[ ] MQS/F/AW ל֯ךׄ[. The extended downstroke appears too far left of the *lamed* to be a final *kaph*.

COLUMN 7

1. [ ]○○○ [תש]ל֯[ט] ע֯ליהון ארעא וכול די עליהא בימיא ובטוריא
2. [ ] ○○○ ○ל֯דא כול מזלת שמיא שמשא שהרא וכוכב֯י֯א֯ וע֯יריא
3. [ ]○○י֯ ו֯ב֯כ֯ו֯ל ש֯נ֯א֯ ד֯נ֯ה֯ ו֯י֯ו֯ב֯ל֯א֯ ושנין ע֯ו֯ב֯[ד]ה֯ון ו֯י֯○○מן
4. [ ]○○○ש֯ בדיל ○○○○○ ל֯ך֯ ו֯ל○○○○ ○○○ מ֯ן֯ כ֯ו֯ל֯ה֯ו֯ן֯
5. [ ]○○ י֯ק֯ר֯ ו֯א֯ג֯ר֯י֯ אנה מ֯שלם לך
6. [ ] *vacat*
7. [ ]○○ט֯ ל֯ק֯ד֯י֯ש֯א רבא וחדית למלי מרה שמיא ואציחת
8. [ ]○ל֯○ש֯ת֯ ○○ל֯ב֯ן֯ וכולא וע֯ם֯ ש֯א֯○○ל○ ○○○○○○ת֯ על דנ֯ה֯
9. [ ]ד֯שנני ו֯ע֯ד֯ה֯ ל֯י֯ *vacat*
10. [ ]○○○ ע֯ד֯ מ֯ללו֯ כ֯○○ב֯ ד֯מ֯א֯

1. [ ]… [you shall r]u[le] over them: the earth and all that is upon it, in the seas and on the mountains
2. [ ]… …every heavenly body: the sun, the moon and the stars, and the Watchers
3. [ ]… and throughout this entire year, and the jubilee, and changing their activ[ity] and …
4. [ ]… on account of… …to you and to… …from all of them
5. [ ]… honor, and my reward I am paying to you
6. [ ] *vacat*
7. [ ]… the great Holy One. Then I rejoiced at the words of the Lord of Heaven, and I cried out
8. [ ]… and everything, and with… …concerning this
9. [ ]he caused me to prosper and testified (?) to me. *vacat*
10. [ ]… until they proclaimed… the blood

Column 7: This column is missing much of its righthand side. The piece of parchment containing what remains of col. 7 also preserves most of the top and left margins, in addition to the right edge of col. 8. There are no BZ photographs for this column, and so I have relied primarily on the IMneg. set. These are quite good in all parts save the leftmost edge of the column, where they are slightly blurred.

7.2: ○ל֯דא] MQS/GMT/F/AW ○○דא; B^3 [ויחשוכון] בה ב֯מ֯ועדא. There certainly existed more at the beginning of this line than allowed by the reconstruction of B^3. I do not find convincing evidence for his בה ב֯מ֯ועדא, especially for his *ayin*, which appears to me to be the lower portion of a *lamed*.

7.2: וע֯יריא] GMT/F/AW/B^3 begin a new sentence with this word, which is certainly possible. However, for the conflated relationship between the stars and Watchers in Enochic literature cf. 1 En. 18:14–16, 21:1–6.

7.3: ע֯ו֯ב֯[ד]ה֯ון] ע֯ו֯ב֯[ר]ה֯ון ("their passing/course") would also make good sense here.

7.4: כ֯ו֯ל֯ה֯ו֯ן֯] MQS/F/AW ע֯ל֯י֯ה֯ו֯ן֯. Either reading is paleographically tenable, but I favor כ֯ו֯ל֯ה֯ו֯ן֯ based on the ink remains at the beginning of the word.

7.5: ו֯א֯ג֯ר֯י֯ MQS/F/AW] B^3 די.

7.8: ○○ל֯ב֯ן֯ וכולא] MQS/F/AW ל֯כולא ○○○. There are clearly other letters between the *lamed* and the word כולא (that is, if MQS/F/AW are referring to the same *lamed* as read in my preceding word—I see evidence of no other).

7.9: ד֯שנני] I have taken this as a verbal form (with suffix) from the root דשן "he caused me to prosper." It may also be a 3 m. sg. *peal* perfect verb from שנן, followed by a 1 sg. pronominal suffix and preceded by the relative ד, although this seems less likely given the more regular use of the full form די in the early columns of the scroll. The most common meaning of this verb is "to be sharp," but it can also mean "to teach diligently, speak distinctly, memorize" (cf. Jastrow II, 1607).

7.9: ו֯ע֯ד֯ה֯] Both the reading and meaning of this word are far from certain. I have translated it as a denominative *peal/pael* verb from the noun(s) עדה/עד "witness/testimony." This, however, is typically a Hebrew word only, with my proposed meaning found only in the *hiphil* conjugation.

7.10: מ֯ללו֯ כ֯○○ב֯ ד֯מ֯א֯] MQS/F/AW/B^3 מללת. I do not find the *tav* of MQS/F/AW's מללת convincing, since there appears to be only one vertical stroke at the end of the word. If the following word once read כתיב/כתב, this could be connected to a "Book of Noah" mentioned in the Greek Mt. Athos ms. of the Aramaic Levi Document, "For thus my father Abraham commanded me, for thus he found in the writing of the book of Noah concerning the blood." (Cf. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, pp. 90–91, 180).

11.] [
12.]]○ יז֯כ֯ה ד֯א ז֯כ֯י֯ בד֯מ֯א ע֯ל ○○○○○
13.] ע]מ֯ה֯ להוה֯ ○○○○○ לה֯ ש֯○○○○
14.]]○ לכ֯ול א֯נשא בך ○○
15.] [*vacat*
16.]]○ ○○○ת ל֯ך֯ [ ]○ ○○א֯ שגי֯
17.]]ל○○ ו֯ת֯ו֯○○○[ ]ו֯ב֯ע֯○○○א֯ ב֯ו֯צלין די ב֯עי֯
18.]]○○ ודי יחד֯ק לה֯ ל○[ ]○○○י֯א֯ ח֯○ לחד שפ֯ירא
19.]]שמיא֯ לח֯דא וקצי֯ ○[ ]○○ ○○ל֯ם֯ לס֯עדותי ולמבנה
20.] ד]י֯ ח֯למת וב֯רכת֯ קד֯[י]שא֯ ר֯בא֯ ו֯○○○ שכלותא
21.]]○○ ו֯מ֯○צ֯ית כול עוב֯ד
22.] מ]לל ע֯מ֯י ואח֯[וה] לי ולמ֯ג֯לא כול
23.]] אל○ ○○○יה֯ו֯ן ו֯ב֯נ֯יה֯ון וכנישת
24–36.

11. [ ]
12. [ ]...he will render this pure by the blood upon... ...
13. [wi]th him will be ... for him... ...
14. [ ]... to all humanity through you ...
15. [ ] *vacat*
16. [ ]... to you [ ]... much
17. [ ]... ...[ ]... ...branching off (?), which he sought
18. [ ]...and who will force him to...[ ]... ...the beautiful one immensely (?)
19. [ ]the heavens very much, and the ends of...[ ]... to assist me and to build
20. [concerning wh]at I dreamt. So I blessed the great Hol[y O]ne, and...the insight
21. [ ]...and I... every deed of
22. [sp]oke with me and made k[nown] to me, and revealing all
23. [ ]... ... and their sons, and the assembly of
24–36.

7.17: ב֯ו֯צלין] B^3 דיכלון [. The first letter is obscured, but the lower stroke of what may be a *bet* is visible in IMneg. x 86 4444 and 4446. The third letter is almost certainly a *tsade*, with the small, upper stroke also perceptible in these photos. The second letter could also be a *zayin*. Although very tentative, I take this word as a 3 m. participle from the root בצל "split, divide, branch off." If this were the case, the use of *vav* would constitute a Hebraism.

7.17: ב֯עי֯] An alternative meaning of this root (בעי) in Hebrew is "lay bare," which makes good sense in this context but is typically found only in the *hiphil*.

7.18: ח֯○ לחד שפ֯ירא] MQS/F/AW לח֯ד ש֯פ֯י֯ר֯א; B^3 חד לחד ו֯טורא. Without better context it is unclear how to understand this phrase. לחד may be an irregular form of the adverb לחדא (cf. the following line), in which case it should be preceded by a verb. I have translated as such (following F), but we would typically expect the object (apparently שפירא) to precede the adverb (cf. 13.15; 20.33; 22.32), since לחדא regularly stands at the end of a phrase. Perhaps שפירא begins a new phrase. It is also possible that לחד and שפירא stand in a partitive relationship ("to one of the beautiful ones"), although we would expect an intermediate מן if this were the case (cf. 10.12; 19.11; 22.1, 33). MQS/AW translate שפירא as an adjective modifying חד in לחד ("one beautiful"), but this seems unlikely. B^3's initial חד is quite plausible (which would change the dynamics of the phrase's meaning), although his final word ו֯טורא is not correct (the first letter is not a *vav*, but has the sloping right stroke of a *shin*, or, less likely, an *ayin*).

7.19: לס֯עדותי] MQS/F/AW להעדיתני; B^3 לסעדותני. The *samekh* of B^3 is probable in the second position (providing the meaning "to help/assist me"; cf. 22.31) based on the right, sloping side of the letter seen in IMneg. x 86 4444 and 4446. A penultimate *nun*, however, is not present on either photograph the *yod* directly follows the *tav*. Presumably, the final *yod* is still a (defective) form of the 1 sg. pronominal suffix.

7.20: ד]י֯ ח֯למת] B^3 ואח֯למת. One very obscured letter may be seen preceding the possible *het*, but I see no evidence to support the overconfident reading of B^3.

7.20: שכלותא MQS/F/AW] B^3 שפלותא. Although its top slightly overlaps the following *lamed*, the second letter is quite clearly a *kaph*.

7.21: ו֯מ֯○צ֯ית] B^3 ו֯נצחת. The *tsade* and *tav* are very close together, leaving too little space for a *het*.

7.22: ואח֯[וה]] B^3 א֯ל֯ה֯א֯. A horizontal crack runs through the word, but a *vav* can be seen preceding the *aleph* in IMneg. x 86 4444. There is no *lamed* present. I adopt B^3's following למ֯גלא, although with some reservation.

7.23: ו֯ב֯נ֯יה֯ון] B^3 ר֯פ֯יהון. In this and the following word I have used the narrowband infrared photograph of Gregory Bearman #0325 (1997), which gives a much clearer reading than the IMneg. set. A letter, probably *vav*, precedes B^3's *resh* (my *bet*), which might also be read as a *dalet*.

7.23: וכנישת MQS/F/AW] B^3 וכנישא. The *tav* is very clear in Bearman #0325 (cf. previous note), although it could be easily mistaken for an *aleph* in the IMneg. set.

COLUMN 8

1. אנתתה בתרה ח◦מ֯ר ב֯◦◦◦[ ]◦ש֯ שת ע֯שרה והוא כ֯ו֯ל
2. ב֯◦◦◦◦ ל֯ק֯ץ֯[ ]ל֯◦ ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦
3. א֯ד֯י֯[ן אנ]ה֯[נוח]
4. עלמא ◦[ ]
5. דא֯[ ]

6–8.

9. ובכול מב֯ו֯ל֯א֯ ◦◦◦◦[ ]
10. ◦◦ ד֯י֯ ◦◦נ֯ך֯ ב֯מלך ש֯מ֯י֯[א]
11. ב֯ך֯ ו֯ע֯מ֯י֯ ◦◦◦[ ]
12. ◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ ד֯ן֯ ו֯כ֯ו֯ל֯[ ]
13. ו֯ה֯ר֯א֯ ◦◦◦ ◦◦[ ]
14. ו֯ה֯ו֯◦◦ א֯מ֯◦[ ]
15. ◦◦◦◦◦◦◦[ ]
16. ב֯שבעת֯כם א֯ל֯[ ]

1. its mate after it,… …[ ]…[ ]… sixteen, and each was
2. in… to the end of[ ]… …
3. The[n I, Noah,]
4. forever …[ ]
5–8.
9. and throughout the entire flood …[ ]
10. … that … you by the King of Heav[en]
11. by you. And with me…[ ]
12. … this… and all[ ]
13. and he showed (?)… [ ]
14. and… …[ ]
15. … …[ ]
16. in your week …[ ]

Column 8: Very little is preserved of this column and the script is badly disintegrated. A few words cling to the right margin of the fragment containing partial remains of col. 7. For this portion I have used Bearman #0324 and the IMneg. photographs. A bit of text from the upper two lines adjoins the left margin of the column on a separate piece of parchment, containing remains of col. 9. The same is true of eight lines in the lower portion of the column. The BZ set of photographs are extraordinarily clear for what remains of the upper portion of this side, while the lower eight lines are preserved only on the IMneg. photos. It should be noted that Flk's numbering is off by one line following 8.9.

8.1: אנתתה בתרה **]** It is quite possible that this is a reference to the animals entering the ark, rather than to Noah and his wife (as F and Flk assume). In Gen 7:2 the phrase איש ואשתו is used twice to speak of an animal and its mate.

8.1: ח◦מ֯ר ב֯◦◦◦[**]** Flk ח◦[ ]מ֯ר ו֯מ֯ה֯א֯[. This area is badly effaced and very difficult to read with any certainty.

8.1:]◦ש֯ שת ע֯שרה והוא כ֯ו֯ל **]** MQS/F/AW]ן◦ ה והואת֯; B^3 והואת; Flk]ב֯ג֯ר֯[ ]ע֯ש שת ע֯שרה והואת֯. I have changed substantially my original reading based on the perceptive suggestion of Flk. What MQS/F/AW read as the lower extension of a final *nun* (and I originally as a *qoph*, based on the slanting stroke of the *ayin*) appears to be a slight scratch/mark in the leather, as under the preceding *tav*. The *tav* suggested by others at the end of הואת֯ is very unlikely. Rather, this letter has the base stroke of a *kaph/mem/tsade*. The negative impression of a *lamed* is plainly seen to the left of the margin line in BZ8 9, prompting my reading כ֯ו֯ל. On a possible connection with Jub. 5:23 cf. Flk, p. 36.

8.9: מב֯ו֯ל֯א֯ **]** MQS/F/AW/B^3/Flk מש[. This reading is uncertain, and would require the *bet* to be contorted somewhat by the shrunken leather. An *aleph* at the end of the word appears quite tenable based on Bearman #0324, and the possible traces of a *lamed* may be discerned on IMneg. 3839#1.

8.16: ב֯שבעת֯כם א֯ל֯[**]** Flk (8.17) א֯שת֯ע֯י֯ ב֯ה֯ א[. This word, along with the following lines, can be read on both Bearman #0324 and IMneg. x 86 4444. It is also possible that the preposition here is a *kaph*, rather than a *bet*. Based on the content of the following lines apparently a teaching concerning the dispensation of weeks (cf. Jubilees) I understand this to be a defectively spelled form of שבוע "week" with a 2 m. pl. pronominal suffix (which is also a stark Hebraism). The m. form of the number seven (שְׁבעה) is another possibility, but it is difficult to make sense of with a suffix. It may alternatively derive from the roots שׁבע "to swear an oath" or שׂבע "to satiate, satisfy." I find Flk's *aleph* and *tav* very unlikely, and the final *mem* of my own reading determinative.

17. ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦[ ]◦ ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦[ ]
18. וכׄשבועה וכתיבׄהׄ דׄ[י]
19. שבו֯עׄהׄ ו֯◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦[ ]
20. וכתלת שׄבׄו֯עׄי֯ן֯ [ ]
21–28.
29. [ ]◦◦◦ לׄקׄ◦קׄ◦[ ] לׄ◦אׄ◦◦◦ ◦◦ל֯
30. [ ]לׄ◦◦[ ]◦ לכׄו֯ל ◦◦◦◦◦
31. [ ]◦◦◦ הלין ואׄ◦◦ בׄגׄן ו֯◦◦◦◦ל֯◦
32. [ ]◦◦דׄ צׄו֯קׄמׄ◦ קח לׄד ול◦◦◦◦דׄ
33. [ ]◦◦ לבׄנׄיׄךׄ מׄן בתרׄך לכול
34. [ ]◦◦ ◦◦◦ אׄל תׄדׄחל ואׄל תׄהׄךׄ
35. [ ]◦◦מׄין אׄדׄין אׄזׄלׄתׄ
36. [ ]◦◦אׄךׄ ◦◦◦◦

17. … …[ ]… …[ ]
18. and according to its week and a written account, wh[ich]
19. its week, and… …[ ]
20. and about three weeks [ ]
21–29.
30. [ ]…[ ]… to every…
31. [ ]… these, and… in a garden and…
32. [ ]… take for yourself and for your…
33. [ ]… to your sons after you for all
34. [ ]… do not fear and do not go
35. [ ]… Then I went
36. [ ]…

8.18: וכׄשבועה וכתיבׄהׄ] Flk (8.19) ◦◦◦ וכשבׄועה וכתיׄבׄיׄאׄ. While many letters in this phrase are clearly visible, some crucial ones are obscured. The prepositional *kaph* of the first word could equally be a *bet*, "and in its week," since the distinguishing lower right corner of the letter is blurred in Bearman #0324. The key fifth letter of the following word is now little more than a large smudge of ink, with the preceding letter certainly being a *yod* or *vav*. I had first read this as וכתו֯רׄהׄ, which would also make sense in this context, but the lower and upper horizontal strokes of a *bet* or *kaph* appear to be present on IMneg. x 86 4446. Flk has independently arrived at a very similar reading, although he translates the first word as "oath" (cf. preceding note).

8.20: וכתלת שׄבׄו֯עׄי֯ן֯] Flk (8.21)]◦◦◦עׄ ופׄתׄלת שׄנׄיׄתׄהׄ. Despite the opinion of Flk that "the first word is certain" I find a *kaph* (or, less likely, a *bet*) much more probable for the second letter. The *bet* in the second position of the following word is also relatively sure.

8.29: Here begin eight lines of text from a floating fragment which, according to its placement in IMneg. x 86 4444/4446 and IMneg. 3839/3839#1, belongs to the lower, lefthand portion of column 8, and should be attached to the right margin of col. 9. This portion of text was apparently available to B³, since he includes words and phrases from it in his edition. The line numbering is unsure, although the first line should be placed approximately here according to the fragment's position in the above mentioned photos. B³ begins his transcription at line 22, which does not appear to be correct. Bearman #0327, 0328 and 0329 also contain this fragment, although there the script is further disintegrated and more difficult to read.

8.33: לבׄנׄיׄךׄ ◦◦] B³ (8.26) כול בניך. A space is visible preceding the *lamed* in IMneg. x 86 4444 and 4446, while the *lamed* itself is touching the following *bet*.

8.34: תׄהׄךׄ] B³ (8.27) תהׄך. The first two letters are nearly imperceptible. I follow B³ with reservation.

8.35:]◦◦מׄין אׄדׄין אׄזׄלׄתׄ] B³ (8.28)]טן דכין חילת. B³'s *tet* and *het* may be ruled out based on the physical remains. The first two letters of my אׄדׄין are very difficult to read, and may be incorrect.

COLUMN 9

1. ◦ךׄ אׄב֯י֯כ֯ם֯ ◦◦◦ן ל◦מׄהׄ *vacat* [ ]◦◦◦◦◦ן֯ ◦◦◦◦א֯
2. ◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦ באׄ◦ כׄול לא יׄפׄצׄאׄ וׄאׄ◦◦ כׄוׄל ◦◦[ ]◦◦◦ ל̈◦◦◦ וׄל◦◦◦
3. [ ]ל̈◦◦ לךׄ [וי]הב אנה שׄלטנׄאׄ דׄנׄהׄ ל[ך]◦◦ל[ ]
4–9.
10. ◦◦◦◦א֯ ◦◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦ מׄןׄ אׄיא תחׄומׄאׄ ואׄ[ ]
11–37.

1. … your father… to his… *vacat* [ ]… …
2. … …all he will not save, and… all…[ ]… to… and to …
3. [ ]…to you, [and] I [am gi]ving this authority to[you] …[ ]
4–9.
10. … … from the coastlands. The border…[ ]
11–37.

COLUMN 10

1. רבא *vacat* באדין ברׄכׄ[ת] למׄרׄהׄ כׄולׄאׄ די מׄני מׄ◦◦בׄ◦ל וׄשׄלׄםׄ ◦◦[ ]
2. לנׄוׄח ◦◦אׄ ◦◦ל מׄלׄיׄן כׄוׄלׄהׄוׄ[ן] בׄ◦◦◦[ ]◦◦◦◦ *vacat*

1. great. *vacat* Then [I] blessed the Lord of All, who from me… and kept safe…[ ]
2. to Noah … words, all of th[em] in… [ ]… *vacat*

Column 9: This column is very badly damaged, and little of certainty can be recovered because of the advanced disintegration of its script. The only preserved portions are those segments attached to the upper right and left margins, adjoining the columns on either side. The best photo for most of the preserved text is IMneg. 3839, which has picked up the ink remains quite well. There appear to be 37 (rather than 36) lines in this column, based on a count along the fully preserved left margin.

9.3: לךׄ [וי]הב אנה שׄלטנׄאׄ דׄנׄהׄ ל[ך **]** Flk]לךׄ יׄהׄבׄ אנהׄ שלטנא ו[. I follow Flk in his correct reading of the word שלטנא, which I had originally read as חׄלטנׄאׄ. The ensuing דׄנׄהׄ is read with relative ease on IMneg. 3839. I find there to be too much space for a *yod* only at the beginning of יהב, hence my additional *vav*.

9.10: ◦◦◦◦◦ מׄןׄ אׄיא תחׄומׄאׄ ואׄ[**]** Flk]◦◦ךׄ גוׄא תהׄומׄאׄ וׄ[. What Flk transcribes as a finl *kaph* appears to me to be a final *nun* based on the characteristic bend of this letter toward the bottom of the stroke. It is preceded by a *mem, bet, kaph*, or *peh*. The first letter of the next word is an *aleph*, of which the top has shifted slightly rightward due to a crack in the leather (the bottom of *gimel* and *aleph* are nearly identical with this scribe), as seen on IMneg. 3839. This resolves Flk's difficulty with גוׄא being "otherwise spelled גו in 1QapGen." Given this reading, I prefer the following תחׄומׄאׄ (cf. 16.11, 17) as more plausible both contextually and paleographically. As in so many other parts of the scroll, geographic boundaries seem to be the concern here. Note that Noah's "dominion" in the preceding line is also combined with geographic information in 7.1 2 and 11.16.

Column 10: Portions of each margin are preserved for col. 10, although the center is in various stages of disintegration. A new sheet of parchment begins here, with the joint seam and scribal dots (to indicate where the manuscript preparer should inscribe lines) clearly seen in all photographs. The standard length of the columns on this sheet is 35 lines, and there is a very crudely written *tsade* (indeed, I continue to question whether it is a *tsade*) in the upper, righthand corner of the sheet (cf. cols 5 and 17).

10.1: רבא GMT/AW/B^3 **]** MQS/F רבה. The *aleph* is clear on BZ10T.

10.1: ברׄכׄ[ת] למׄרׄהׄ **]** MQS/F/AW בׄ◦◦ל◦ת; B^3 בטל מׄבולא. There are at least three letters between the *bet* and *lamed*, the word ברכת fitting well the remaining traces of ink. Likewise, there is room for two letters between MQS/F/AW's *lamed* and *tav* (= my *heh*; I see no persuasive evidence for a *tav* in BZ10T). For a similar phrase cf. 5.23, מברך למרה כולא. B^3's reading is impossible based upon spacing alone.

10.1: מׄני B^3 **]** MQS/GMT/F/AW בׄני. The left, upper part of the *mem* is quite clear on IMneg. x 86–4451.

10.1: מׄ◦◦בׄ◦ל **]** MQS/F/AW מׄןׄ ◦◦◦ל; B^3 יומוהי אׄל. This part of the line bows downward and is very difficult to read. I see no grounds for B^3's proposal.

10.2: לנׄוׄח ◦◦אׄ ◦◦ל מׄלׄיׄן כׄוׄלׄהׄוׄ[ן **]** MQS/F/AW לנׄוׄח ◦◦ בׄלׄיׄלׄיׄאׄ ◦◦; B^3] להׄוה בה בליליא. While my reading is far from certain, the reading of MQS/F/AW/B^3 is impossible. First, between the end of לנׄוׄח (the last letter of which is undoubtedly a *het*) and the following *lamed* there are no less than four letters. Second, the letter between the two *lameds* of their בליליא is definitely not a *yod*, since in BZ10T a lower, horizontal stroke is readily apparent in this position (i.e. a *mem*, or similar letter). Finally, it is clear that there is a word break between the *nun* of my מׄלׄיׄן and the following letter. Following this phrase there appears to be a short segment of text (3 4 letters) which has been effaced.

3. בׄל֯י֯ל֯יׄאׄ ל◦ל◦◦◦ ל◦◦◦[ ]◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ן֯ באׄדׄיׄןׄ אׄזׄלׄ[ת]
4–6.
7. ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦כׄם ◦◦דׄ ל֯◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ [ ]
8. ואׄזׄלׄוׄ בׄ◦◦ן והללוׄ ושבחו ואׄרׄיׄ ◦◦יׄד בׄרׄיׄאׄ ◦◦◦[ ]מׄלׄ◦
9. וׄ◦מׄ◦יׄן [ע]דׄ דׄיׄ כׄול ◦◦◦◦יׄאׄ ◦◦◦◦ ושמׄעו לׄ◦[ ]כׄולכון למׄרכון וׄרׄ◦◦◦◦
10. למׄלך כׄול עלמׄיא לעלם ולעד עד כׄוׄל עׄלמים [ ] *vacat*
11. באדין הׄוׄוׄאׄ על אׄרׄעׄאׄ ◦◦◦◦◦ וׄנסבׄ מן ◦[ ]לׄ
12. משכח ארי במׄ[י]אׄ ◦◦◦ ◦ל◦דׄ טהׄ◦◦ על ◦נׄהׄ [ ]תבותא נחת חד מן טורי הוררט ונוׄר עלמׄאׄ ◦◦◦◦
13. ◦◦ לׄ◦ ◦◦◦◦לקדׄמׄהׄ ל[ ] ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת וׄראיש רׄמׄה עׄ[ל]
14. [שעיר]הׄ לקדמׄיׄן וׄבׄתׄרׄהׄ אׄתׄה עׄל ס◦◦לׄ ◦[ ]◦◦ ותרבה על נורא אׄקטרת ותניאנא ◦◦◦◦[ ]
א
15. [בא]דׄיׄןׄ ◦ל◦הׄ כׄוׄלהׄ דמהׄון ליסוד מדבחׄא ואשׄדׄ[ת ו]כול בשרהון על מדבחׄא אקטרת ותליתי לבני שׄפׄנׄיׄנׄאׄ

3. in the night… …[ ]… … Then [I] went[ ]
4–7.
8. Now (you all) go… and give praise and glory, for… the Creator… [ ]…
9. … [u]ntil all… …and listen to…[ ]all of you to your Lord, and…
10. to the King of all Ages forever and ever, unto all ages. [ ] *vacat*
11. Then (it) was on the earth… …and he took from…[ ]…
12. finding, for in the wa[ter]… …upon… [ ]the ark rested on one of the mountains of Ararat, and the eternal fire …
13. … …[ ]… and I atoned for all the earth in its entirety. To begin, the [he-goat] was
14. placed u[pon] first, and after it came upon… [ ]… and I burned the fat upon the fire. Second, …[ ]
15. [Th]en… all of their blood to the base of the altar and [I] poured (it) out, and all of their flesh I burned upon the altar. Third, I offered the young turtledoves

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10.3: בׄלׄיׄלׄיׄאׄ MQS/F/AW/B^3 **]** I follow the reading first offered by MQS with reservation. There appears to be too much space between the *lameds* for a *yod* alone, but BZ10T is very difficult to read here. Additionally, the *lameds* of בליליא in 20.12 are also spaced farther apart than one might expect.

10.8: ואׄרׄיׄ ◦◦יׄד בׄרׄיׄאׄ **]** MQS/F/AW ◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ךׄ בׄרׄכׄאׄ; B^3 יתׄ דׄכׄרון מרכו[ן. The transcription of B^3 may be safely ruled out based on ink remains and the fact that nowhere else does the scroll use the (later) definite object marker ית. The word בריא could also mean "sound, healthy."

10.9: ושמׄעו **]** MQS/AW וׄשׄקׄוׄטׄ; F וׄשׄקׄיׄטׄ; B^3 ושמשו. The final two letters are surprisingly plain on IMneg. 3840 (most notably the join of the *ayin*'s two strokes), but difficult to read on the other photographs.

10.9: למׄרכון MQS/F/AW/B^3 **]** The second letter is not absolutely clear on any of the photographs, and לבׄרכון "to your son" should not be ruled out completely.

10.9: וׄרׄ◦◦◦◦ **]** B^3 וׄרוממוׄ. B^3's reading is not impossible, but the word is too obscured to posit with any certainty.

10.11: הׄוׄוׄאׄ **]** MQS/F/AW ◦◦א; B^3 [תב]וׄתׄא. There is not enough space for B^3's reading.

10.11: הׄוׄוׄאׄ על אׄרׄעׄאׄ **]** If this phrase is correct, a subject would need to be supplied. Perhaps תבותא following אׄרׄעׄאׄ?

10.12: הורׄרט MQS *et al.* **]** AY (20/יז) הארךט. The second letter is clearly not *aleph*, but *vav* (cf. 12.8 for the same spelling).

10.13: ועל כול ארעא [MQS *et al.* **]** AY (20/יז) לכול ארעא.

10.13: וׄראיש MQS/F/AW **]** B^3 כׄראיש. The first letter is clearly a *vav* in all photographs, and is probably used here in its temporal sense.

10.13: רׄמׄה **]** MQS/F/AW ◦תׄהׄ; B^3 אׄתׄה. I read רׄמׄה because it makes good sense in the present, sacrificial context. The tops of the letters are eroded, so that the proper reading could also be רׄבׄה or דׄנׄה. The middle letter has the long base stroke of a *bet/mem/nun*, and not a *tav*, while the first letter has a single downstroke (contra B^3). The best photo here is IMneg. x 86–4451.

10.14: אׄתׄה עׄל **]** MQS/F/AW אׄתה ל. Although slightly obscured, it is clear in BZ10M that there is at least one other letter between the *heh* and *lamed*. In the IMneg. photos it is distinguished as an *ayin* with more certainty.

10.14: ס◦◦לׄ **]** B^3 אנ[פי. The *samekh* is unmistakeable in IMneg. 3840 and x 86 4451. The other letters are much more difficult to discern.

10.14: ותרבה B^3 **]** MQS/GMT/F/AW ותרבׄאׄ. The *heh* is clear in the IMneg. photos.

10.15: ◦ל◦הׄ כׄוׄלהׄ **]** MQS/F/AW ◦◦ל◦◦◦ לון; B^3 וׄלקׄוׄ[ב]להׄ. The reading is very uncertain, but B^3 cannot be correct based on the spacing of the *lameds* (to name only one reason).

10.15: לאיסוד **]** The superscripted *aleph* is of a different scribal hand.

16. עׄ[מ]הׄוׄן על מדבחא קרׄבׄתׄ דׄמהון וׄכׄולהון עלוׄהׄ[י] וׄיהבת סולת נשׄיׄפא פילא במשח עם לבונא למׄנׄחׄתׄהׄוׄן
17. ◦◦ן מׄנׄתׄ ◦◦◦◦ בׄרׄכׄתׄ וׄעׄם כולהון מׄלחא הוית יהב ורח מקטורתי ל[ש]מׄיׄא סלק *vacat*
18. באדיׄן עליׄאׄ בׄ[רך] ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦ל◦ לׄ[ ]
19–35.

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16. wi[th] them upon the altar; their blood and all (of the rest) of them upon it. I gave fine wheat flour, mixed together with oil containing incense, as their meal-offerings.
17. …portion of (?)… I said a blessing, and was putting salt on all of them, and the scent of my offering rose up to the [he]avens. *vacat*
18. Then the Most High b[lessed]… …[ ]
19–35.

Column 11

1. [ ] כׄ[ע]ןׄ אנה נׄוׄח הׄוׄית בתרע תיׄבותא בׄאׄרׄיׄא לקׄ[שו]
2–4.
5. [ ]◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦ דׄיׄ ◦◦◦אׄ ◦◦◦◦ וׄברי א◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦ בׄנׄיׄהוׄן[ ]
6–7.
8. [ ]◦◦ןׄ וׄ[כו]להׄוׄן ◦כׄוׄל ◦◦◦◦[ ]
9. [ ]◦◦◦א לטוריא ודמדברׄיא לעׄוׄבׄרׄיא ודאׄ[יא]כׄ[ו]ל ◦[ ]לׄ◦◦◦◦הׄ לאׄ

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1. [ ] N[o]w (as) I, Noah, was at the door of the ark the springs rec[eded…]
2–4.
5. [ ]… …which… …and my son… …their sons[ ]
6–7.
8. [ ]…and [al]l of them…all… [ ]
9. [ ]… the mountains and the wildernesses, the hinterlands and [the] co[astlands,]a[l]l…[ ]… … not

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10.16: קׄרׄבׄתׄ דׄמהון וׄכׄולהון] MQS/GMT/F/AW קׄרׄבׄנׄאׄ ◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦הון; B^3 קרבת ו[◦◦◦◦◦]הון. It is relatively clear that there are three words here, the last two ending with the 3 m. pl. suffix. Much of the phrase may be read with confidence on IMneg. 3840 and x 86 4451.

10.16: למׄנׄחׄתׄהׄוׄן] MQS/F/AW למׄנׄחׄאׄ; B^3 למנח]ה. In all available photos it appears that this word ends with a final letter form (i.e. an extended downstroke). It definitely contains at least two more letters than previous suggestions allow.

10.17: כׄולהון B^3] MQS/GMT/F/AW בׄכׄלׄהׄוׄן. The *vav* is placed above the extended base stroke of the *kaph*, giving the initial appearance of two letters with shorter base strokes.

10.18: בׄ[רך]] The lower horizontal stroke of a *bet* or similar letter is visible in BZ10M, but beyond this nothing is legible. In Gen 9:1 the Lord blesses (ויברך) Noah after he makes his offering.

Column 11: Col. 11 is attached to col. 12, and in quite similar condition (see below).

11.1: הׄוׄיׄת MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 חׄזית. Either reading is possible based on the scant ink remains, but the reading of MQS *et al.* makes better sense here.

11.1: תיׄבותאׄ] The superscripted *yod* appears to be in a different scribal hand than the surrounding script, having a much larger head than is typical.

11.1: בׄאׄרׄיׄא MQS/AW] F בׄאׄיׄרׄא; B^3 וארו אל[. The reading of MQS/AW is preferable to F, since the letters רׄיׄא are the most clearly distinguished of this difficult word. While I follow the transcription of MQS/AW, AW's translation "lion" does not seem plausible. The following letters may belong to a form of לקש "to relent, retard."

11.5: וׄברי א] MQS/F/AW בריא. The space between the *yod* and *aleph* appears rather large. While the reading of MQS and F may be correct, I find this rendering more compelling based on the very limited context (i.e. Noah speaking) and the following word בׄנׄיׄהוׄן. These letters may also be the latter part of the word מדבריא, which occurs in 11.9.

11.9: ודמדברׄיא MQS/AW/Flk] F/B^3 ומדברׄיא. The *dalet* is clear in BZ11T.

11.9: לעׄוׄבׄרׄיא F/Flk] MQS/AW לעׄ◦בריא; B^3 למעבריא. I follow F with hesitation, since the first few letters are very difficult to read on the photographs. F translated the word as "thickets," taking it to be related to the feminine noun עוברה ("branch, sprout"). This strikes me as unlikely, especially since the Aramaic words עובר ("transient, passerby") and עיבר ("traveler, border, side") might lend themselves to geographic extrapolations, such as my "intermediate regions/hinterlands" or some similar term (perhaps "plains"). B^3's transcription is not impossible, nor לברבריא (which may be materially preferable). In any case, this appears to be another topographic reference of some sort.

10. [ ]◦◦◦ אר֯ב֯ע֯ *vacat*
11. [אדין] א֯נ֯ה֯ נ֯ו֯ח֯ נפקת והלכת בארעא לאורכהא ולפותיה֯א֯[ ]◦◦ן
12. [ ]עליהא עדן ב֯עליהון ובאנ֯בהון וארעא כ֯ולהא מלי֯א דת֯א֯ ועשב ועבור אדין ברכת למ֯ר֯ה֯
13. [שמיא]ד֯י֯ שב֯ח֯ ע֯מ֯ד֯ לעלם הוא ולה תשב֯ח֯ת֯א֯ ו֯ת֯בת וברכת די רחם ע֯ל֯ א֯רע֯א֯ ודי אעדי ואב֯ד֯ מנהא
14. כ֯ו֯ל֯ ע֯ב֯ד֯י֯ חמסא ורשעא ושקרא ופלט֯ ל֯ג֯ב֯ר֯ צ֯ד֯י֯קא ל◦◦◦ ח֯ד֯ ו֯לכ֯ו֯ל קנה בדילה *vacat*
15. ו֯א֯[תחזי] ל֯י֯ ◦◦◦◦ מ֯ן֯ ש֯מ֯י֯א֯ מלל עמי ולי֯ א֯מ֯ר֯ א֯ל֯ ת֯ד֯ח֯ל יא נוח ע֯מ֯ך אנה ועם בניך די להון כואתך לעלמים

א

16. [פ]ר֯י֯ ו֯ש֯ג֯י֯ ו֯מלי ארעא ושלט בכולהון ב֯י֯מ֯יהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא ובכול די בהון והא אנה
17. [י]ה֯ב֯ לך ולב֯נ֯יך֯ כ֯ו֯ל֯א֯ למ֯א֯כ֯ל֯ בירקא ועשבא די ארעא ברם כול דם לא תאכלון אימתכון ודח֯ל֯ת֯כ֯ון
18. [ ]לעלמים אמר֯ ל◦◦◦ ◦◦[ ]◦◦◦י֯ן֯ ש֯נ֯י֯ן֯ [ ]

10. [ ]… four. *vacat*
11. [Then] I, Noah, went out and walked throughout the land, through its length and through its breadth, [ ]…
12. [ ]upon it; rejuvenation in their leaves and in their fruit. The entire land was full of grass, herbs, and grain. Then I blessed the Lord of
13. [Heaven,] whose praise endures forever, and to whom (be) the glory! Once again I blessed the one who had compassion on the land, and who removed and obliterated from it
14. all those doing violence and wickedness and deceit, but rescued the righteous man… one, and he obtained all for his sake. *vacat*
15. And … a[ppeared] to me from heaven, speaking with me and saying to me, "Do not fear, O Noah! I am with you and with those of your sons who will be like you forever.
16. [be fr]uitful and multiply, and fill the land. Rule over all of all of them; over its seas and over its wildernesses, over its mountains and over everything that is in them. I am now
17. [gi]ving to you and to your sons everything for food; that of the vegetation and herbs of the land. But you shall not eat any blood. The awe and fear of you
18. [ ]forever. He said to … [ ]… years [ ]

11.13: עׄמ֯ד֯] MQS/AW/Flk עׄב֯ד֯; F עׄב֯ר֯. MQS/AW's reading of the *dalet* appears correct (contra F), while the preceding two letters are very obscured. A *mem* is certainly possible in the second position (*mem* and *bet* are often remarkably similar in the scroll) and helps make sense of the phrase, which I take (with F) to be in a periphrastic relationship with the following הוא (part. + pron.).

11.14: לג֯ב֯ר֯ צ֯ד֯י֯קא MQS/F/AW] B^3 לעׄב֯ד֯ צדקא. The first word is too disintergrated to read with certainty. The bottom of the *yod* in צ֯ד֯י֯קא is perceptible in BZ11TM.

11.15: ל֯י֯ ◦◦◦◦ מ֯ן֯ ש֯מ֯י֯א֯] MQS/AW ל֯י֯ ◦◦◦◦◦ ש֯מ֯י֯א֯; F ל֯י֯ [מרה] ש֯מ֯י֯א֯; B^3 א֯ל֯ה֯א֯ ד֯י֯ מן שמיא. There is too much space between ל֯י֯ and ש֯מ֯י֯א֯ (approximately 6 letters, depending on which they are) for F's reconstruction to be correct. The words קדישא and עירא (cf. 6.13) seem equally implausible in this gap and would not be expected based on other usage of divine titles in the scroll (cf. Bernstein, "Divine Titles"). A possible *mem* stands before the word ש֯מ֯י֯א֯, but there is not enough room following it for both a *resh* and a *heh*. I have taken the following, faint, vertical stroke as a final *nun* (so also B^3), although this is far from certain. This מן would leave מרה as a possibility between it and ל֯י֯. AW follows F's translation but not his transcription.

11.16: פ]ר֯י֯ ו֯ש֯ג֯י֯א ו֯מלי ארעא] MQS/F/AW ◦ל◦◦◦ אר֯עא; B^3 [פרי ושגי] ו֯מלי כ֯ול ארעא; Flk [ואמר לי פושו] ו֯ס֯גו֯א ו֯מ֯לו ארעא. B^3's reconstruction is too short to start at the beginning of the line. In addition, it is clear in BZ11TM that the word ו֯מ֯לי directly precedes ארעא. Flk's suggested reading is more tenable, although a few of his letters are unlikely. Of special concern is the *lamed* of his לי, since the leather is fully preserved and there is no indication of the upper part of this letter (which is regularly found elsewhere). I also find his *samekh* doubtful paleographically (based on BZ11BM).

11.16: בכולהון MQS/GMT/F/AW/Flk] B^3 בכולהא֯. The suffix is prospective, referring to the following list of geographic features. It is best read in BZ11TM or BZ11BM.

11.16: ב֯י֯מ֯יהא] MQS ◦◦יהא; F י֯מ֯יהא, AW ◦◦◦יהא; B^3 בע֯פ֯רהא; Flk ב֯[ב]ר֯יהא. F's suggested reading fits the context and letter remains well, however there is too much space for a *yod* and *mem* only at the beginning of the word. A preceding *bet* fits the letter spacing well and mirrors the following prepositions. This word also begins the comparable list of 7.1. Flk admits the possibility of this reading, but prefers not to transcribe a *mem* in the third position. He has also not transcribed the following ובטוריהא (mountains), although the word is represented in his accompanying translation.

11.18: ל◦◦◦] Perhaps לנוח, as the second letter has the bottom portion of *nun*, *bet*, *kaph* or *peh*. Certainly not לי.

19.] [○○○ אנה לך ○○ בׄשנין בנ֯יך ○○] [
20–35.

19. [ ]… I am for you… through years (?) your children…[ ]
20–35.

Column 12

1.] [○○○○ ה֯אׄ ק֯שׄתׄיׄ [בענן י]ה֯ב֯תׄ ו֯ה֯ו֯אׄתׄ ל֯י֯ לאת בעננא ולמה֯ו֯הׄ ○○○אׄתׄ
2.] א]ר֯ע֯אׄ
3.]]שג֯י֯א֯ן ו֯○בע֯ אתחזיאת לי
4.]]○○ד למר֯ה֯ ○[ ]ל○מׄל○○○ ○○ל[ ]ת
5.] [
6.]]ן *vacat*
7.]]ה֯ ב֯ר֯י֯ ○○[ ]ב֯ט֯ו֯ר֯י֯
8. [הוררט]○○○ בטורי הוררט ומן בתר כן נחתת לשפ֯ו֯ל֯י֯ ט֯ו֯רא דן אנה ובני ובנינ֯א

1. [ ]… See, I [hav]e now placed my bow [in a cloud]; it has become a sign for me in the cloud, in order to be…
2. [ ]the [ea]rth
3. [ ]many. And… was revealed to me
4. [ ]… the Lord…[ ]… …[ ]…
5. [ ]
6. [ ]… *vacat*
7. [ ]… my son…[ ]on the mountains of
8. [Ararat]…on the mountains of Ararat. After this, I went down to the base of this mountain, my sons and I, and we built

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11.19: בׄשנין ○○] MQS/F/AW ישנין [די]. In BZ11BM there appears to be a horizontal top stroke before the *shin* of MQS/F/AW, suggesting that it is not a *yod/vav*. If בׄשנין is correct, it may refer to the period of time in which something occurred (i.e. "in the years of your sons"), as in 12.13 (לשנין ארבע; also cf. F, p. 161), although we might then expect a construct phrase. The *shin* may (less) possibly be a *tet*.

Column 12: Here begins the column first published by Greenfield and Qimron (hence the switch from MQS to GQ). The lefthand, central portion is its best preserved part, with much of the surrounding area being severely disintegrated. The BZ photographs are glossy, and are at times difficult to read.

12.1: [בענן י]ה֯ב֯ת֯ GQ/F] There does not appear to be room for all the letters suggested by GQ, nor is there any evidence of a final *nun*, even though the leather where it should be is in-tact. I follow their proposal with hearty reservation, although the general import is, no doubt, correct.

12.1: בעננא GQ/B$^{2/3}$/F] GMT/AW בעננה. The *aleph* is certain.

12.1: ולמה֯ו֯ה֯ ○○○את֯ GQ/F/AW] B^{3} ולמחזה ה֯ו֯את. Either reading is possible for the first word, with the crucial fourth letter being badly damaged. A horizontal crack runs through the final word, but there appear to be more than two letters preceding the *aleph*.

12.3: ו֯○בע֯] GQ/F ○בש֯. There seems to be space for at least two letters at the beginning of this word. The left downstroke of the *ayin* can be faintly seen, while a full *shin* would nearly overlap the following *aleph*.

12.7: ב֯ט֯ו֯ר֯י֯ GQ] F [הוררט] בׄטורׄי. There is not sufficient room for הוררט to be reconstructed at the end of this line.

12.8: ○○○ GMT/AW] GQ/F ת֯ כ֯ר֯ם; B$^{2/3}$ ם[. The leather has a wide, horizontal split in it, and the penultimate *kaph/nun* (?), along with a following letter (*resh/dalet*?) are easily mistaken for a final *mem* (so GQ/F/B$^{2/3}$). In BZ12T the letters preceding this are unreadable. The mention of a vineyard (כרם) here would be odd, given its introduction in line 13.

12.8: ובנינ֯א] GQ/B$^{2/3}$/GMT/F/AW ובני ב֯נ֯י֯; Flk ובנופא. The *aleph* is clear on BZ12T and IMneg. 3841, ruling out the reading of GQ *et al.* While the top of the penultimate letter is slightly obscured in the photos, it is almost surely a *nun*, or less likely a *kaph* or *peh*. The 2 m. sg. ending (-כא) is grammatically acceptable, but makes little sense in this context, and Flk's suggestion is also awkward. A *nun* seems preferable to me in all respects, thus representing a 1 pl. perf. form of the verb בני "we built" (for other examples of this form cf. 12.16, where the *nuns* are paleographically comparable to that found here) a reference to the more widespread tradition that Noah and his sons built a city/cities after leaving the ark (cf. Jub. 7:14–17, 35; 4Q244 frg. 8; and further the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* and *Book of the Bee*).

9. מ֯ד֯]ינא   ] א֯ר֯י צדותא הואת שגיא בארעא וי֯ל֯יד֯ו֯ ל[בני בני]ן֯[וב]נן מן בתר מבולא
10. ל֯[שם] ב֯ר֯י֯ ר֯בא יליד לה בר לקדמין ארפכשד תרתין שנין בתר מבולא֯ ו֯[הוו]א֯ כול בני שם כולהון
11. [עיל]ם ו֯א֯שור א֯ר֯פ֯כ֯שד֯ לוד ו֯א֯רם ובנן נקבן חמש   וב֯[ני חם כוש ומצרי]ן ו֯פוט וכנען ובנן
12. נ֯ק֯ב֯ן֯ שבע   ובני יפת גומ֯ר ומ֯גוג ומדי ויואן ות֯ו֯בל ומשוך ותירס֯ ובנן נ֯ק֯ב֯ן ארבע
13. [ו]שרית אנה ובני כולהון למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב בלובר טורא ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמר֯
14. ש֯ג֯י֯א֯ ו֯כול ח֯מ֯ר֯א֯ א֯י֯תת   *vacat*   וכדי א֯ת֯ה֯ רגלא קדמ֯יא ביום חד לרגלא קדמיא ד֯י֯ ב֯חודשא
15. [קדמיא   ]◦ ב֯כ֯ר֯מ֯י ובגו כרמי כ֯ומרא דן פתחת ושרית למשתה ביום חד לשתא חמ֯יש֯יא֯ת֯א
16. [בתר נצבה די]כ֯ר֯מ֯א֯ ב֯יו֯מ֯א֯ דן קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי כולנא ולבנתהון ואתכנשנא כחדא ואזלנא
17. [מדבח]א והוית מב֯רך למרה שמיא לאל עליון לקדישא רבא די פלטנא מן אבדנא

9. a ci[ty   ] for the devastation on the land was great. Then [son]s[and daugh]ters were born to[my sons] after the flood.
10. To my oldest son [Shem] was first born a son, Arpachshad, two years after the flood. And all the sons of Shem, all together, [wer]e
11. [Ela]m, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram, as well as five daughters. The s[ons of Ham (were) Cush, Mitzrai]n, Put, and Canaan, as well as
12. seven daughters. The sons of Japheth (were) Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras, as well as four daughters.
13. [Then] I, along with all of my sons, began to cultivate the earth. I planted a great vineyard on Mount Lubar, and in four years it produced abundant wine
14. for me, and I brought forth all of the wine. *vacat* When the first feast came, on the first day of the first feast, which is in the
15. [first] month,[   ]... in my vineyard, and inside of my vineyard I opened this vessel, and began to drink from it on the first day of the fifth year
16. [after the planting of]the vineyard. On that day I called together my sons, my grandsons, and all of our wives and their daughters. We gathered together and went
17. [   ]the[altar]. I was blessing the Lord of Heaven, the Most High God, the great Holy One, who saved us from the destruction

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12.9: ל[בני ובני]ן֯[וב]נן] GQ ב[נן ◦◦◦] ן֯[י בני]ל; GMT/AW ב[נן ◦◦◦]ל[; Bern ...ל[הון]; B^2/3^/F ל[בני בני]ן֯ [וב]נן. This area is badly damaged and any reconstruction is speculative. The suggestion of GMT/AW can be ruled out based on available space (at least 8–9 letters between the *lamed* and the final bracket), while the reconstruction of GQ makes little sense at this point in the narrative (Noah begets his sons and daughters already in col. 6!). B$^{2/3}$/F's proposal is attractive, and is essentially followed here, although the spacing for this phrase does not seem quite right (perhaps due to distortion of the leather). The phrase בנן נקבן, commonly employed in the scroll, is not possible based on space and remains. Bernstein's suggestion (p. 41) is based on the reading of GQ et al. at the end of the previous line (cf. preceding note), and is therefore doubtful.

12.14: ש֯ג֯י֯א֯ ו֯כול ח֯מ֯ר֯א֯ א֯י֯תת] GQ/GMT/AW ◦◦◦◦ כ֯ול ◦◦◦◦◦◦◦א֯ת֯ת; B$^{2/3}$ ש֯ג֯י֯ וכול ח֯מ֯ר֯א֯ א֯חתת; F ש֯ג֯י֯א֯ ו֯כ֯ול ח֯מ֯ר֯א֯ א֯חתת. In general, the reading first offered by B^{2} fits the slight ink remains quite well. F's addition of an *aleph* at the end of שגיא is speculative, since the very beginning of the line is gone. It is kept here only because it fits better the conventional orthography of the scroll. B$^{2/3}$/F's אחתת is unlikely based on available space and ink remains, although there may be one vertical stroke between the *aleph* and upper right corner of the penultimate *tav* (there is a tear in the leather here)—perhaps a *yod*. This word should probably be read as an *aphel* 1 sg. perf. form of אתי.

12.15: [קדמיא] Kis/B$^{2/3}$/F] GQ [שביעיא]. The reconstruction is based on Jub. 7:2 (cf. F, pp. 161–62 for discussion). GQ base their reconstruction on Jub. 7:1 instead.

12.15: ובגו כרמי] GQ/B$^{2/3}$/GMT/F/AW ד֯י֯ כ֯ר֯מי. The word ובגו (as well as the preceding בכרמי) are clearly visible on BZ12M, but blurred beyond recognition in the IMneg. photos.

12.15: חמ֯יש֯יא֯ת֯א] AY (21/יח)/GQ/B$^{2/3}$/GMT/F/AW חמ֯יש֯ית֯א. There would have to be at least 8 letters in this word if it includes two *yods*. The *aleph* preceding the *tav* is clear on BZ12M, and mirrors the morphology of תניאנא/י in 10.14 and 21.1.

12.16: [בתר נצבה די]כ֯ר֯מ֯א֯] GQ ◦◦◦◦ [די כרמי]; B$^{2/3}$/F [בתר מב]ו֯ל֯א֯. The letter remains do not support the suggestion of B$^{2/3}$/F. Most conspicuously absent is the *lamed*. The occurrence of כ֯ר֯מ֯א֯ here (best seen in BZ12M) also disproves GQ's reconstruction.

12.16: כחדא GQ *et al.*] AY (21/יח) בחדא. The bottom of the first letter plainly has the bend of a *kaph*, not the sharper joint of a *bet*. The same expression (with *kaph*) is found at 21.21, 25; 22.1.

12.16: ואזלנא GQ *et al.*] AY (21/יח) ואזלנה. There is no doubt that the word ends with an *aleph*, as is typical of this verbal form in the scroll.

18. [ ]○אׄ ○○ עׄ○○ ○○[ ]בׄר֯○○○ ○○נׄא ולכול ○○י֯○ ○○○○הי די אבותי אׄחדו ואשׄ○ב֯○○ עׄדׄ[ ]○○ ○○○○○
19. ○○ל֯ שׄפׄיר֯ א○○[ ]○○○○ בׄקׄשׄטׄיׄ ושכׄבת על֯ מׄשכׄבי ודמכ֯תׄ ○[ ]○○אׄ
20. [ ]נׄקׄ זכׄהׄ וז○○○ וׄ○[ ]
21. [ ]○שור [ ] מׄ○[ ]○יׄן וׄ○יׄבׄ ○○○[ ]○○תׄ מׄנׄדׄ דׄיׄ חׄ○ ○עׄלׄיׄ אׄל עׄלׄיׄוׄןׄ
22. [ ]מׄעׄירׄתׄ ○[ ]
23. [ ] דׄאׄנׄ[ה] נׄוׄחׄ ○[ ]
24. [ ]○ל○○○ל֯
25. [ ] *vacat*
26. [ ]
27. [ ] ל○○○י֯ כול שׄנׄהׄ בׄל○ ○○○○
28–35.

18. [ ]… …[ ]… us, and for all… his…, which my fathers hid and… until[ ]…
19. … beautiful…[ ]… by my righteousness. And I lay down upon my bed and fell asleep [ ]…
20. [ ]… pure and…[ ]
21. [ ]…[ ]…[ ]… …[ ] I… from you, who… the Most High God
22. [ ]I stirred…[ ]
23. [ ] which I, Noah, …[ ]
24. [ ]…
25. [ ] *vacat*
26. [ ]
27. [ ]… every year on… …
28–35.

Column 13

3. [ ]אׄ וׄלׄךׄ [ ] מׄלׄכׄא ושרי֯○[ ]
4–6.

3. [ ]… and to you [ ] the king, and… began[ ]
4–6.

12.17: א[מדבח] [ ] GQ א○○[לאתר מדבחא]; B$^{2/3}$ [למדבח מרה] שׄמיא; F א[לאתר מדבח]. None of the previously suggested reconstructions is satisfying. First, there is far too much space for any of them to fit as proposed somewhere between 15 and 20 letters. Furthermore, there is no trace of the top of a *lamed*, as reconstructed by GQ/B$^{2/3}$/F. I find no evidence for B$^{2/3}$'s שׄמיא. My own suggestion is speculative and based on context.

12.18: אבותי אׄחדו] GQ/F אבוהׄי שׄתׄיׄו. The base stroke of the left leg of the *tav*, as well as the letter combination *het-dalet-vav* of אׄחדו, are plain on BZ12M.

12.19: בׄקׄשׄטׄיׄ ושכׄבת על֯ מׄשכׄבי] GQ/F בי ○○○ ושפכת עלׄ ○○נׄיׄ. The first word is uncertain, although the *tet* is quite clear. Only the vertical stroke of the *qoph*, read by GQ/F as a final *nun*, remains. There does not appear to be room for a *vav* (i.e. full orthography) between the *qoph* and *shin*. Alternatively, it may read מׄן שׄטׄיׄ, which would have to mean either "my folly" or "my drinking" (spelled with a *tet* rather than the typical *tav*), but this seems unlikely. Remains of the upper, horizontal stroke of a *kaph* are faintly visible in ושכׄבת, as well as the tops of *shin* and *kaph* in מׄשכׄבי. The following ודמכ֯תׄ was kindly suggested to me by M. Bernstein, and fits the context and physical remains exceedingly well (I had first read וחׄמר֯אׄ).

12.27: שׄנׄהׄ בׄל○] GQ/F שׄנׄהׄ ול○. The bottom stroke of a letter other than *yod* can be distinguished preceding the *lamed* in BZ12B.

Column 13: Most of the right margin of this column is shared with the left side of col. 12, forming one, large leaf of parchment. Large portions of the upper and lower sections of the column are completely eaten away, leaving us to wonder about the full content of Noah's dream. In addition to the BZ photographs, IMneg. x 86 4449 is especially useful.

7. [ ]◦ ו֯אז֯ד֯א֯[ ]א א֯פ֯[ ]כ֯ה֯ ל֯כו֯ל
8. ◦[ ]א֯ע֯א֯ [ ]צ֯[עו]ף֯ ש֯מ֯יא וחיות ברא ו֯[בעי]ר֯ אדמ֯א֯ ורח֯ש יבישתא ה֯ל֯כ֯ין [ ]ן֯
9. [ ]א֯ ◦◦ א֯ב֯נ֯יא וחספיא הווה קצין ונסבין להון מנה   חזה ה֯וית לדהביא ו֯לכ֯ס֯[פי]א֯
10. ל֯◦◦◦◦א֯ ל֯פ֯רזלא ולאילניא כולהון קצין ונסב֯ין להו֯ן מ֯נ֯ה֯   ח֯זה הוית לשמשא ולשהר֯א֯
11 ו֯לכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה   חזה הוית עד די אסיפו֯ה֯י֯ ש֯רץ ארעא ושרץ מיא ו֯ס֯ף
12. מ֯יא וסף   *vacat*
13. ו֯אתפנית למחזה זיתא וארי֯ הא זיתא גבר ברומה ושען שגיאן בב֯ע֯י֯ ע֯נפיאן שגיאן ◦◦[ ]◦

הא

14. אנ֯[בא]ר֯ברב ושפי֯ר ומתחזה בהן   מתבונן הוית בזיתא דן וארי משגית עלו֯ה֯י֯[ ]י
15. [ ]כ֯ו֯ל֯א֯ ו֯ש֯די֯א֯ן קשרן בה והוית תמה֯ ע֯ל זיתא ד֯ן ו֯עלוהי שגי לחדא תמהת ע֯ד֯ ד֯י֯[ ]

7. [ ]... and the decree... [ ]... [ ]... to all
8. [ ]...the wood [the bir]ds of the heavens, the wild beasts of the field, the [livesto]ck of the soil, and the creeping things of the dry ground going... [ ]...
9. [ ]... the stones and the clay objects (they) were chopping and taking of it for themselves. As I continued watching, the gold, the sil[ver],
10. the..., the iron, and all of the trees (they) were chopping and taking of it for themselves. As I continued watching, the sun, the moon,
11. and the stars (they) were chopping and taking of it for themselves. I kept watching until they brought to an end the swarming creatures of the earth and the swarming creatures of the water.
12. So the water ceased, and it ended. *vacat*
13. I turned to see the olive tree, and how the olive tree had grown in height! [This continued] for many hours, with a bursting forth of many branches... [ ]...
14. good and beautiful fr[uit]... and appearing in them. I was pondering this olive tree, and the great abundance of its leaves[ ]...
15. [ ]everything, and tying ropes (?) onto it. Now I was very greatly astounded over this olive tree and its leaves. I continued staring in amazement until[ ]

13.8: א֯דמ֯א֯] B^{3} ארעא. The right horn of the *dalet* and base stroke of the *mem* are plainly seen on BZ13T.

13.8: ה֯ל֯כ֯ין] MQS/AW ח֯לפ֯ו֯ן; F/B^{3} ח֯לפ֯ין. The reading is very uncertain, but the *peh* of MQS/AW/F does not appear to me correct based on the fragmentary top portion of the letter.

13.11: שרץ ארעא ושרץ GMT/B^{3}] MQS/F/AW ש֯ר֯ין ארעא ושרין. The small, right strokes of the final *tsade*s are quite plain on IMneg. 3843, solving the interpretive conundrum of F (p. 164).

13.11–12: ו֯ס֯ף/מ֯יא MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^{3} ואף/עדה. The first two letters of the first word are almost entirely missing on the photographs, but the two legs expected of the lower portion of an *aleph* are absent. מ֯יא is more certain, with the left side of the *mem* and the full *yod* visible on IMneg. 3843.

13.13: ברומה M (margin)/B^{3}/AW] MQS/GMT/F ברומא. The *heh* is clear on BZ13TM and IMneg. 3843.

13.13: בב֯ע֯י֯ ע֯נפיאן] MQS ב֯זו֯י֯ ע֯ופיאן; GMT בעוב עופיאן; F ב֯זי֯ו֯ ע֯ופיאן; B^{3} אפרי עופיאן, AW ב֯זזי ע֯ופיאן. This phrase has obviously puzzled commentators, although much may be garnered from a careful study of the infrared photographs. The initial *bet* is abundantly clear on BZ13TM and IMneg. 3834, as is the base stroke of another *bet* following it. A full *ayin* may be discerned in the next position, the sloping lower line of which renders all previous proposals most unlikely. An obscured (but small) letter finishes the word, likely a *yod*, making it probable that here we have an infinitive construct (acting nominally) of בעי/בוע "a bursting forth." This makes good sense in the present context. The first letters of the next word are somewhat obscured, but the top of the second letter does not resemble a typical *vav/yod*, and a bottom stroke is visible running into the base of the following *peh* (cf. especially IMneg. 3834). The word ענפיאן "branches" also fits the context well (for use of this same root cf. line 16).

13.14: אנ֯[בא]ר֯ברב ושפי֯ר] MQS/AW א֯נ֯ ◦◦◦ ב֯ר֯ב֯ב֯ ◦◦◦◦ר֯; GMT...אנ[ב]ין ברב; F א֯נ֯[בן] ב֯ר֯ב֯ב֯ ◦◦◦◦ר; B^{3} ו֯מ֯[ת]רברב ושפ֯יר. Every letter of the word ושפיר except the *yod* is clear in BZ13TM. The letters ברב of my ר֯ברב are starkly visible in IMneg. 3834, although the area preceding these letters is mostly missing. F's reconstruction of אנבן works with the available space, despite the spacing proposed by MQS and B^{3} (the former with too much and the latter with too little). רברב is known as an alternate form of the adjective רב, but is often used as an *itpael* verbal form (so B^{3}), which should not be absolutely ruled out here.

13.15: ו֯ש֯די֯א֯ן] MQS/F/AW ◦◦◦י֯א֯ן; B^{3} ו֯ש֯ו֯כ֯ין. Significantly more text is preserved on IMneg. x 86-4449 than on the other available photographs, although the ink is somewhat blurred. The final letters of MQS/F/AW appear to be correct there, while the *vav-kaph* combination of B^{3} may be confidently ruled out. The meaning of this word is not entirely clear, although it may reflect a binding activity involving woven ropes or cords (cf. 1 En. 10:4), which fits the limited context well. Jastrow (II, p. 1524) cites the related meaning "yarn".

13.15: תמהת MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^{3} has apparently skipped this word by mistake. It is clear on BZ13TM.

16. [ארבע]רוחי שמיא נשבן בתקוף וחׄבלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה ויתברן לה לקדמין עׄבׄר֯תׄ [רוח] מׄן
17. ◦◦◦◦ם֯ מערב וחבטתה ואתרת מן עלוהי ומׄן אנבהׄ ובדרתה לרוחׄיׄא ובתרהׄ [עברת רוח] ◦ל◦
18. ו֯ר֯ו֯ח֯ צ֯פ֯ו֯ן מ֯ן֯[ ]◦י ומן אנב֯הׄ אׄ◦◦[ ]◦א֯
19. [ ]בׄ ◦א֯ הׄד֯ב֯◦ל לא֯[ ]
20. [ ]ב֯ ו֯אנבה֯[ ]
21. [ ]◦תנ◦◦[ ]
22. [ ]
23. [ ]
24. [ ]א֯ ל֯[ ]◦ה֯ עׄדׄ
25–35.

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16. the [four] winds of heaven blowing powerfully and violently against this olive tree, knocking off its branches and breaking it to pieces. First, [a wind] swelled up from…
17. … west. It struck it, caused some of its leaves and fruit to fall from it, and scattered it to the winds. And after this [a wind swelled up]…
18. and a northern wind from[ ]… and some of its fruit…[ ]…
19. [ ]
20. [ ]… and its fruit[ ]
21–35.

COLUMN 14

4. [ ]א֯נ֯ב֯[ה] ת֯ת֯ב֯ו֯נ֯ן֯ [א]ע֯א֯ ח֯ו֯ב֯ מ֯ע֯[נ]ף֯ מ֯ן֯
5. [ ]◦ת֯ג֯ן֯
6. [כו]ל֯ נ֯ו֯פ֯י[א] ו֯כ֯ו֯ל א֯[נב]י֯ ע֯ל֯ה֯
7. [ ]מׄא ר֯מ֯◦ ב֯◦◦ן֯[ ]ל◦◦◦◦ [א]נ֯ח֯נא ידע֯ין הל֯ו֯

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4. [its] fruit. You were contemplating the [wo]od, an upper part being knocked off from
5. [ ]…
6. [al]l of [the] boughs, and all the fr[ui]t of the foliage
7. [w]e know. Look!

13.16: מׄן [רוח] עׄבׄר֯תׄ] F [אתה]; B^3 עבר֯תׄ. B^3's reading seems correct based upon IMneg. x 86 4449, but he and others do not transcribe a number of other letters following this word. The final word appears to be מׄן, making it likely (but not certain) that the intervening word is רוח, and arguing against previous reconstructions of the beginning of the following line.

13.17: ◦◦◦◦◦ם֯ מערב] MQS/AW ◦◦◦◦◦ מערב; GMT רוחא מערב; F [רוחא מן] מערב; B^3 ר֯וחא מן מערב. The proposals of GMT, F and B^3 are incorrect, since the letter preceding מערב is neither *aleph* nor final *nun*. A final *mem* is more likely, but not assured. This line may begin with the word די.

13.18: ומן אנב֯ה אׄ◦◦[ ] MQS/F/AW ומן אנׄ◦◦א; B^3 ומן ארב֯עׄ ר֯וחי]א. The *nun* of אנב֯הׄ is fully preserved in IMneg. x 86 4449. The ink traces of the following word do not fit B^3's ר֯וחי]א.

Column 14: This column has no top, bottom, or right margins but is attached to col. 15 by its partially intact left margin. Even the available IMneg. photographs appear to have been taken some time after the unrolling of the scroll and are in an advanced state of deterioration. In general, the BZ set is superior for this column.

14.9: רבאׄ דׄיׄ הׄו֯א] MQS/AW ר֯בׄ◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦א; GMT …רב; F רׄבׄ]א וארז[א; B^3 רבא די ח֯ז֯י֯תא. The bottom of the word די, as well as the letter *heh*, are visible on BZ14T and BZ14M. There is insufficient room for the transcription of B^3.

14.9: בחלמך B^3] MQS/GMT/F/AW בחלם. The final *kaph* is plainly seen on BZ14T.

14.9: ט֯ו֯רׄים MQS/GMT/AW] F ט֯ו֯רׄיׄאׄ; B^3 טורא דן. Portions of the final *mem* (especially its right, lower bend and left, upper protrusion) are visible on BZ14T.

14.10: חׄלפ֯ת֯א B^3] MQS/GMT/F/AW ח֯לפׄא. If the letter following the *lamed* is a *peh* (which is not entirely clear), there must be another letter between it and the *aleph* based on spacing and ink remains. The left portion of an upper, horizontal stroke can be seen near the *aleph* in BZ14T, suggesting that this is probably the emphatic form of חלפא, as in lines 11, 14 and 15. A *tav* fits the existing ink remains well.

14.10: בנ֯י֯ן֯] MQS/GMT/F/AW ב֯[ני]ן; B^3 בניך. Either reading is possible, since the top of the final letter is missing.

14.10: מׄי֯א מ֯ן֯] MQS/GMT/F/AW כי א◦ך; M (margin) כואתׄך. The word מיא is relatively clear on BZ14T.

14.10: צׄי֯י֯ל֯ גׄ] Four letters appear in the middle of the margin separating cols 14 and 15 at this point. The last letter, which may have a space between it and the others, is a *gimel*. Might this be a mark from scribal preparation of the manuscript?

8. [ ]○○ בׄךׄ קׄחׄ מׄ○○ ○אׄק[ ]○ל○○ ○○○פׄה *vacat*
9. [וכען] אצתׄ ושמע אנתה הוא ארזׄא רבאׄ דׄי הׄוׄא קאם לקובלך בחלמך על ראיש טוׄרׄיׄםׄ
10. [ור]אׄמתׄ חׄלפׄתׄא די נפקא מנה וראמא עד רׄמה תלתת בניׄןׄ ○○○○○אׄ ○לׄלׄ○○ מׄיא מׄןׄ ○○○ אׄרׄעׄאׄ צׄיׄלׄ ג
11. [ ] וׄדׄיׄ חׄזׄיׄתׄהׄ לחלפתא קדמיתא דבקא בגדם ארׄזׄא וׄהׄאׄ פׄלׄיׄגׄאׄ חׄדׄה יׄצׄדׄדׄ ואעא מׄנׄהׄ ○○
12. [ה]אׄ בׄרׄ קׄדׄמׄיׄאׄ כׄוׄל יומוהי לא יפרש מנך ובזרעה יתקרה שׄמׄךׄ מׄן פׄלׄגׄהׄ כׄ[ו]ל בׄנׄיׄךׄ ○○○○○אׄ
13. וׄבׄהׄ ○○○תׄ ○○○ בׄרׄ [ק]דׄמׄיא יפוק לנצבת קושט לכול ○○○מׄןׄ יׄוׄמׄאׄ וׄפׄל○○○סׄ[ ]
14. [ ]○○הׄ קׄוׄם קׄיאם לעלמים ודי חזיתא לחלפתא דבקא בגׄ[ד]ם [ארזא]תׄ
15. [ ]○○○יׄתׄ ודי חזיתה לפׄסׄגׄתׄ חלפתא אחרנׄיׄתׄא דׄי ○○○ מׄנׄהׄ ○[ ]לׄ[ ]

8. [ ]… in you, take… [ ]… *vacat*
9. [Now] listen and hear! You are the great cedar tree that was standing before you on top of mountains in your dream,
10. [and] the shoot which emerged from it, gre[w h]igh, and was rising up to its height (concerns) three sons… …water from… the earth.
11. As for the fact that you saw the first shoot adhering to the cedar trunk, note too the one division branching off, and the wood from it…
12. [No]w the first son will not separate from you for all of his days, and among his seed shall your name be recalled. From his division a[l]l your sons…
13. and in him… the [fi]rst son shall come forth as a righteous planting for all… the day, and…
14. [ ]… standing fast forever. As for the fact that you saw the shoot adhering to the tr[un]k [of the cedar tree]…
15. [ ]… As for the fact that you saw the branch of the last shoot, which… from it… [ ]

14.11: בגדם MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 בגרם. The right horn of the *dalet* is easily seen on BZ14T and BZ14M.

14.12: [ה]אׄ בׄרׄ קׄדׄמׄיׄאׄ] MQS/F/AW ○○○○○○○○○○○○ך; B^3 [הא] בׄרך קׄדׄמׄיׄאׄ. Despite efforts, I am not able to find either of the final *kaph*s transcribed by MQS/F/AW and B^3 in any of the photographs. There is a gaping, horizontal tear in the leather here. I see possible evidence for only one extended downstroke preceding כׄוׄל, which I take to be the *qoph* of קׄדׄמׄיׄאׄ. This word is highly uncertain, but fits the available space reasonably well.

14.12: ובזרעה יתקרה שׄמׄךׄ] This phrase seems to be a conflation of the idiomatic Hebrew expressions in Gen 21:12 and 48:16. I thank Gary Anderson for drawing my attention to this feature.

14.12: שׄמׄךׄ מׄן פׄלׄגׄהׄ כׄ[ו]ל] MQS/AW שׄ○○ךׄ ○ל○○○ל; GMT ש[מ]ך; F שׄ[מ]ךׄ ○ל○○○ל; B^3 שמׄך וׄלא יׄפל [. The parchment is split and shrunken here, but it seems that there are actually two final letters very near to each other (my final *kaph* and final *nun*).

14.14: קׄוׄם קׄיאם] MQS/GMT/F/AW קׄוׄם קׄאׄם; B^3 יׄקום קאם. The word קׄיאם, along with its medial *yod/vav* is surprisingly clear on BZ14T. If the preceding קום is read correctly, this is apparently a rare usage of the infinitive absolute plus participle in order to add emphasis.

14.15: חזיתה לפׄסׄגׄתׄ חלפתא] MQS/F/AW חזיתה ל○○א חלפתא; GMT חזיתה לחלפתא; B^3 חזיתה לׄיׄדׄהׄא חלפתא. GMT's reading is incorrect. MQS/F/AW read an *aleph* preceding חלפתא, which is possible (and in which case I read פסגתא), but the ink remains actually overlap the following *het*, and seem more likely to be transferred or smeared ink. The *peh* and *samekh* of פסגת are relatively clear, with this word presumably standing in the construct state with חלפתא.

14.15: אחרנׄיׄתׄא] MQS/F/AW אׄחׄרׄ[ית]א; B^3 אחריתא. The base stroke of the *nun* is clear in BZ14M. This is a peculiar orthography, and the expected form (אחריתא) may have prejudiced previous readings. Perhaps here we see influence from the Hebrew אחרון?

14.15: דׄיׄ ○○○ מׄנׄהׄ] B^3 די נפקת מנה. There is a hole in the leather on the BZ photos where my circlets are placed, but there does not appear to be the space or ink remains to support the reading of B^3. IMneg. 3846 was taken before the leather split apart, but the ink is so blurred that the letters are illegible.

14.16: ומן מׄאׄפׄלׄאׄ○] MQS/F/AW מן ○אל○; GMT מן. My suggestion is tentative, but there does appear to be a letter between the *aleph* and *lamed* transcribed by MQS/F/AW. The conjunctive *vav* preceding מן is clear.

14.17: חׄד לׄימׄיׄןׄ אׄרׄעא וחׄד לשׄמׄאׄל אׄרׄעׄהׄ] MQS/GMT/F/AW ○○○ מׄן [א]רעא ○○○ לשׄמׄאׄל ○○○○; B^3] מן אׄרעא כדׄנׄאׄ לשׄמאׄל מׄדׄנׄחׄאׄ. This entire phrase is discerned with relative ease on BZ14T and BZ14M. The reading has been independently confirmed by the collaborative study of E. Eshel and M. Bernstein. B^3's proposal is definitely not correct.

14.18: יׄתבין] MQS/F/AW יׄהׄבין. The lower, left leg and foot of the *tav* are visible in BZ14T.

16. [ ] vacat ◦◦לׄ ◦מׄאׄפׄלׄאׄ ומן קצת נׄופׄהׄןׄ עׄלל בגו נוף קדמיתא תרין בנׄיׄןׄ ◦◦◦תה אׄנׄ◦◦ פׄיׄסׄ[גי]ׄםׄ
17. [ ]◦עׄ חׄדׄ לׄימׄיןׄ אׄרׄעא וחד לשׄמׄאׄל אׄרׄעׄהׄ ודׄי חזית מן קצת נופהן עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא
18. [ ]אׄ דחׄיׄלׄפתׄאׄ דׄאׄ הׄוׄוׄהׄ יׄתבין בארׄעׄהׄ וׄכׄלׄ אׄיׄאׄ ◦הׄ◦ל לׄיׄם רׄבׄא ולא [ ]◦ הׄ◦◦הׄ [י]תׄבׄוׄ בׄגׄאׄ [א]יׄאׄ
19. [ ]מׄ[ ]להׄשׄתכׄבׄל לרׄזא הׄוׄאׄ לׄדׄ סׄפׄ ◦◦◦◦◦מׄ◦תׄ תׄפׄלׄהׄ אׄ◦ןׄ ◦◦חׄוׄ ◦◦◦◦אׄ ◦מׄיׄאׄ די יב◦ךׄ ◦[ ]
20. [ ]◦◦◦[ ]ורׄזאׄ מׄ◦◦◦[ ]◦יׄאׄ◦◦ עׄלל בׄהׄ וקׄדׄמׄיׄתׄ[א] מׄ◦◦◦◦◦ לה כׄלׄ אלם דׄיׄ ◦◦לׄיׄןׄ ◦[ ]
21. [ ]לׄלׄ◦◦הׄ לׄבׄ◦אׄ לׄהׄ ◦◦אׄ ◦◦יׄעׄ בׄעדב באמׄנׄיׄאׄ יד עׄיׄלׄםׄ ◦◦ [י]מׄאׄ [ר]בׄהׄ מׄ[ ]
22. [ ]◦◦◦◦◦ ◦פׄלׄחׄ לׄקׄדמין שלחפׄאׄ עׄדׄבה לׄעׄדׄבׄ ◦◦◦[ ]קׄ◦◦[ ]
23. [ ]
24. [ ]
בפׄלׄ[א]
25. [ ]
וׄזרע
26. [ ]
27. [ ]לאׄרׄזא[ ]
28–34.

16. *vacat* … the darkness, and part of their bough entering into the midst of the bough of the first one, (concerns) two sons… its… …bra[nch]es
17. [ ]… one to the south of the earth and one to the north of the earth. As for the fact that you saw part of their bough entering into the midst of the bough of the first one
18. [ ]… of this shoot were settling in his land and all the coastlands… to the Great Sea, and not… …they [se]ttled in the midst of the [coas]tlands
19. [ ]…to comprehend the mystery, there will be for you an end… you will scatter (?)… …water which… …[ ]
20. [ ]and the mystery… …entering into it, and [the] first one… for himself their every god (?) which… [ ]
21. [ ]… for himself… …in an allotment in Amania, next to Elam… the [Gr]eat [S]ea …[ ]
22. [ ]…serve; first, exchanging his allotment for an allotment …[ ]
23–24.
25. [ ] by a mira[cle] …[ ]
26. [ ] and a seed [ ]
27. [ ]the cedar tree[ ]
28–34.

14.19: הׄוׄאׄ לׄהׄשׄתכׄבׄל לרׄזא] MQS/F/AW עׄדׄ לרׄזא [ה]חׄוׄיׄתׄ; M (margin) עׄדׄ לרׄזא [ה]חׄזׄיׄתׄ. This phrase is largely effaced on BZ14T and BZ14M, but, when contrast-enhanced, the remains of a *lamed* can be seen preceding the *lamed* of לרׄזא. In addition, the two rightmost, slanting arms of a *shin* are visible preceding the *tav* of לׄהׄשׄתכׄבׄל, making חויתה/חזיׄתה very improbable. Just as unlikely is the preposition עׄדׄ, proposed by MQS/F/AW. I must stress the uncertainty of my own proposal for this word, although the initial *heh* and *yod/vav* (the *heh* may even be preceded by a small additional letter) are fairly certain. The subsequent *lamed* of לׄדׄ is also unsure, and it is possible that these letters should be read as a suffix attached to the preceding word.

14.22: לׄקׄדמין שלחפׄאׄ] MQS/F/AW ◦◦ שלׄחׄ לׄקׄדמין. Two letters attached to the end of שלׄחׄ are visible in BZ14B, making it probable that this word is a form of the *shaphel* verb שלחף "to exchange, change."

Column 15

5. [ ]ברשע לׄכׄול מׄ∘∘ ∘∘תׄ[ ]
6. [ע]דׄ הוׄא ∘∘שׄחׄ בפׄ∘∘לׄ[ ]
7. רחׄמנא לרׄחׄ∘∘ מׄעׄ∘∘ מׄ∘∘אׄ דׄ ל∘∘∘∘∘ ∘∘∘צׄלׄ ל∘מׄ∘ ∘∘[ ]אׄלׄיׄן[ ]
8. ואנון לׄכׄול ה∘∘∘∘∘[ ]∘∘∘[ ]מנׄהׄון נׄבׄע און וישביׄן בׄ[אר]עׄדׄ[ ]
9. קׄצׄיׄ אׄרׄעׄאׄ ודי חזיתא כולהון יׄבׄבׄיׄן וסורין משגיתהון להון רשיעין ודי חׄזׄיׄתׄהׄ [ ]
10. לגׄבׄרׄאׄ רׄבׄא אׄתׄהׄ מׄן ימין ארעא מגלא בידה ונורא עמה ארציׄן כׄול ∘∘∘[ ]
11. רׄבׄ[ ]ל∘ ∘∘∘ וׄמׄרׄהׄ רׄבותא הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעׄאׄ[ ]∘∘∘∘ ∘∘הׄבׄ
12. [ ]לׄפׄדׄיׄאׄ וׄרשעא ורמי על נורא כול פש[עיא]
13. ויתחׄבׄון לדׄקׄיׄרׄתׄ וׄיׄשׄפׄיׄ[ ]רׄא ודי חזיתה עדרׄוׄ ∘[ ]יׄמׄיׄן

5. [ ]with evil to all… [ ]
6. [un]til there was… [ ]
7. the Merciful One to… …[ ]these[ ]
8. and them to all… [ ]from them a profusion of wrongdoing, and settling in your [lan]d…
9. the ends of the earth. As for the fact that you saw all of them crying out and turning away, the majority of them will be evil. As for the fact that you saw [ ]
10. the great warrior coming from the south of the earth, sickle in hand and fire with him, he has crushed all… [ ]
11. …[ ]… and the Mighty Lord, he is the one who will come from the south of the earth[ ]…
12. [ ]the torches (?) and the evil one. And he threw all [the] rebel[lious] ones onto the fire[ ]
13. and they will seal… (?), and… [ ]the… As for the fact that you saw (that) they plucked up…[ ]south

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Column 15: Although parts of each margin are preserved, this column is badly damaged and missing most of its upper and lower sections. Much of the text is eaten away by the corrosive ink in the available photographs (BZ and IMneg.; IMneg. 3844 and IMneg. x 86 4448 were taken when the column was in slightly better condition).

15.9: יׄבׄבׄיׄן] MQS/AW ןׄ[ ]; GMT ןׄ[…]; F ןׄ[ה]; B^3 עׄמׄיׄן. It is clear that there are at least four, and likely five, letters in this word. Two horizontal base strokes, belonging to two *bet*s or similar letters, are visible in BZ15T. In IMneg. 3844 the ink remains of the first letter rule out an *ayin* (contra B^3).

15.9: וסורין] MQS/GMT/F/AW יסורון; B^3 וקדירין. The reading of MQS/GMT/F/AW may, of course, be correct, but I have transcribed the word thus because of the preceding word, which is itself uncertain. In addition, there is a dot of ink above the penultimate *yod/vav*, which is likely only an accidental spill. B^3's transcription is simply incorrect.

15.9: משגיתהון MQS/GMT/F/AW] B^3 משגיניהון. B^3 has presumably transcribed this word incorrectly due to the ink at the top of the *tav* (and previous three letters) being eroded away. In fact, the base stroke of the left leg of the *tav* (B^3's *nun*) would instead require the transcription משגיינהון, and not that of B^3. The statement at the end of this line appears to have a parallel in 2 En. 35 (recension J).

15.10: לגׄבׄרׄאׄ רׄבׄא] MQS/GMT/F/AW/B^3 לגׄבׄרׄאׄ. There is simply too much space for לגברא alone to be written. This is most evident in IMneg. x 86 4448, where 8 9 letters are clearly discernible (even if some of them are difficult to read). The base stroke of the *bet* of רׄבׄא is visible in the same photo.

15.10: ארציׄן כׄול F] MQS/AW אׄרׄציׄן ∘ול; B^3 וׄמוזׄניא על כׄתׄ[פה. Even a casual glance at BZ15M and BZ15T shows that B^3's transcription is impossible (albeit creative), and that there can be no doubt about the proposal of MQS *et al.* The meaning of this word has troubled commentators (cf. the various translations, or lack thereof), but this must begin a descriptive phrase concerning the "great warrior" mentioned at the beginning of the line. The root רצץ can mean "squeeze, crush," and is translated by F as "oppress".

15.11: וׄמׄרׄהׄ רׄבותא] MQS/AW ∘∘∘∘∘בׄוׄתׄא; F ר[בותא למרה]; B^3 וׄדׄיׄנא [. Although F was correct in his reconstruction, he placed these words at the beginning of the line when there are at least three words preceding them. A letter directly preceding the *mem* of מׄרׄהׄ is visible in the photographs, but is too obscured to be read with certainty. B^3's suggestion is safely ruled out based upon the clear base stroke of the *bet* in רׄבותא.

15.12: ורמי M (margin)/B^3] MQS/F ירמו; GMT/AW ירמי. Although any of these options may potentially be correct, ורמי is preferable paleographically. The first letter extends even farther down than is typical for a *vav/yod*, while the final letter is particularly short.

15.13: ויתחׄבׄון לדׄקׄיׄרׄתׄ] MQS/GMT/F/AW ויתׄהׄ בין לקׄ∘; B^3 ויתחיבון לקושטא. These words are more difficult to read than they first appear. On IMneg. x 86 4448, the first seven letters appear to form one word. The important fourth and fifth letters are likely *het* and *bet*, although this is not absolutely certain (I see no evidence for an intervening *yod*, as transcribed by B^3). The second word definitely has one letter (*dalet* or *resh*) standing between the *lamed* and *qoph*, and ends with a *tav*. This argues against previous transcriptions, yet it remains unclear what this word is or means. There may be a base stroke (i.e. a *bet* or similar letter) in the penultimate position. I take the first word to be a 3 pl. imperf. *hitpe'al* from חבי.

14. ד֯[ ]○מ֯○י֯ן ○[ ]○○○פ֯י֯ן ב֯הון שור ארבעא מלאכ֯ין ר֯ב֯ר֯ב֯י֯ן[ ]
15. [ ]ל֯[ ]א֯ה להון שור מן כול ע֯מ֯מ֯י ארעא די לא ישלטו֯ן֯[ ]
מ
16. ל֯[ ]○ה֯ב֯○[ ] ב֯א֯[מ]ת֯נ֯ד֯דא ב֯י֯ע֯ן ה֯ל֯י֯כ֯ה֯ן ושגג֯ה֯ן ונופהן ב֯ג֯ד֯ף֯ שגי ואנבה֯ן ○○○ ○○
17. ○○ע֯○א֯ל ○לר֯○○○ל א֯י֯כ֯נה֯ י֯צ֯מ֯ד֯ ל֯ה֯ ע֯מ֯א ד֯ך֯ יקיץ ט֯ו֯ר֯ ש֯ג֯א֯י֯ ו֯מ֯נ֯ה֯ י֯נ֯ד֯ב֯ ו֯י֯ה֯ב֯ד֯ל ב֯י֯ן֯ ○[ ]
18. ל֯○ב֯ ○לא֯[ ]ל֯○○[ ]בין כול עממיא וכולהון להון פלחין ומשתבשין ○○י֯ן֯[ ]כ֯ו֯ל֯
19. *vacat* א֯נ֯ת֯ נ֯ו֯ח֯ אל ת֯תמה על ח֯למא ד֯ן ואל י֯ה֯י֯רבה֯ עלו֯ה֯י֯ [ ]
20. [ ]כולא בקושט אחויתך וכן כתיב֯ עלי֯ך֯[ ]
21. ו֯א֯ל֯[פ]ף֯ מ֯ע֯מ֯ך֯ לך֯ ○○○○ לך֯[ואתעירת א]נ֯א֯ נו֯ח֯ מן שנתי ושמשא ר֯מ֯ה֯ ו֯א֯נ֯ה֯ [נוח]
22. למ֯ב֯ר֯ך֯ א֯ל֯ ע֯למ֯א ו֯[ואז]ל֯י֯ת֯ א֯נ֯ה֯ לש֯ם֯ ברי וכולא אח֯ו֯[ת]ל֯[ה]
23. [ ]והד֯[ ]א֯ל֯ה֯ ל֯ך֯ לק֯○○ל֯ ל֯ך ○מ֯○ל֯מ֯○ צ֯ד֯יקא֯[ ]למ֯ח֯ו֯ה֯ ד֯י֯ א֯○○א֯ לך֯[ ]

14. …[ ]… a chain on them, four mighty angels[ ]
15. [ ]… for them a chain, from all the peoples of the earth who will not have power over[ ]
16. …[ ]the [ag]itated one because of their conduct, their inadvertent error, their wavering on account of much blaspheming, and their fruit…
17. … such that he may couple this people to himself. He will cut out a great mountain, and from it he will consecrate and separate between…
18. … [ ]between all the peoples, and all of them will be serving them and getting entangled…[ ]all
19. *vacat* You, Noah, do not be amazed at this dream, and may there not be added upon it [ ]
20. [ ]I have related everything to you in truth, and thus it is written concerning you[ ]
21. and I will j[oi]n some of your people to you… to you. [Then I], Noah, [awoke] from my sleep. The sun rose, and I, [Noah,]
22. to bless the Everlasting God. And[ ]I[we]nt to Shem, my son, and relat[ed] everything to [him]
23. [ ]… to you… …to you… the righteous one[ ]to make known what… to you[ ]

15.13: עדר֯ו֯] MQS/F/AW ○○עי֯ק; B^3 עיר֯א. The reading of MQS/F/AW is understandable when examining the manuscript. The head of the *dalet* has split apart on several of the photographs, making it look like the partial loop of a *qoph* (but see IMneg. x 86 4448, where the *dalet* is unmistakable). The downstroke of the following *resh*, which extends no further down than any of the other letters, was taken instead as belonging to the *qoph*. It is also conceivable that this should be read as the common prepositional phrase עד די.

15.14: שור MQS/F/AW] B^3 עוד. The *shin* and *resh* are abundantly clear on BZ15M.

15.15: ע֯מ֯מ֯י] There is a hole in the leather here, distorting all letters but the final *yod*. The two middle letters (which may even be the first and second of three) have base strokes typical of *mem*, *bet* or other such characters. Another possibility is ר֯ב֯ב֯י.

15.16: ושגג֯ה֯ן] MQS/F/AW ושגיאן; B^3 י֯ן֯ שגיאין[. The left leg of the second *gimel* is partially effaced, but the joint is very comparable to that preceding it (and is too low for the stroke interchange of a *yod*). The *heh* is also obscured, but discernible. Each photograph has proven helpful for this word, depending on which letter is being examined.

15.16: ב֯ᵐג֯ד֯ף֯] The superscripted *mem* is most visible on BZ15M.

15.18: ומשתבשין] B^3 ו֯מ֯ש֯מ֯ש֯י֯ן. This word is made out with certainty on BZ15M.

15.19: על ח֯למא ד֯ן B^3] MQS/F/AW עליה למאו○ן. B^3 is to be credited with this perceptive reading, which is most easily distinguished on IMneg. x 86 4448.

15.19: י֯ה֯י֯רבה֯] MQS/F/AW י֯ר֯בה֯ ○○; B^3 הא ירבה. The first three letters of this *aphel* verb are discernible in all of the photos, especially when the contrast is enhanced.

15.20: אחויתך B^3] MQS/F/AW אחוינך. The *tav* is clear in BZ15M.

15.22: לש֯ם֯ ברי וכולא M (margin)] MQS/F/AW ל○○○ בדי זכי○ לא. The best photograph here is BZ15B, where the reading of the last two words is relatively clear despite the damaged parchment. The word לשם was first suggested by M, and makes good sense in this context.

24. לך֯[ ]ל֯קח לך֯ א֯ל על[יון [

25–27.

28.]]מ֯נ֯ת֯ה֯ון ◦◦◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦◦[ ]ן ב֯ה֯

29–35.

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24. to you[ ]to take for yourself the Mo[st High] God[ ]

25–27.

28. [ ]their… [ ]… in it

29–35.

Column 16

8. [ ]כ֯ע֯י֯ן ב֯[מ]ע֯ר֯ב֯[עד] ד֯י֯ דב֯ק [ל]◦ל

9. ד֯י֯מ֯א די מן ביניהון ראיש מ֯ח֯ק ע֯ד ט֯י֯נ֯ה֯ [נ]הר֯א ועב֯ר֯ כעין או֯ר֯כ֯נ֯א

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8. [ ]as a spring in[w]est[un]til it reaches [ ]…

9. of the sea that is between them; the source of (the) Mahaq, up to the Tina [R]iver. It then passes as a spring the length

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Column 16: This column is the last of this sheet of parchment, and is significantly narrower than those surrounding it. Like the preceding columns, it is missing a sizable portion of its upper and lower parts. The BZ photos for this column are washed out in places, but remain very valuable in others. In general, the IMneg. set is read more easily.

16.9: ד֯י֯מ֯א] MQS/GMT/F/AW לש֯נ֯א; B^3 כ[פ֯י֯א; Esh לש֯נ֯י֯א[. Whatever the letter preceding the *aleph*, it does not appear to be a *nun* or *yod*. On BZ16M and IMneg. 3844 there is a clear upper, horizontal stroke, assuring that it is either a *kaph* or a *mem*. Graphically, the letter looks more like a typical *kaph*, but the following *mem* of מן looks very similar, and a *mem* makes better sense of the word. It is preceded by the bottom of a short, vertical stroke almost surely a *yod*. I see no clear evidence of a *lamed* at the beginning of the word in any of the photographs.

16.9: ביניהון MQS/GMT/F/B^3/AW] Esh ביניהן. The penultimate *vav* is visible on BZ16T, BZ16M, and IMneg. x 86 4450.

16.9: מ֯ח֯ק] MQS/F/AW/Esh ב֯ע֯ין; GMT מעין; B^3 מעון. Scrutiny of the photographs indicates that previous readings are not correct (this reading has been reached in consultation with J. VanderKam). First, the initial letter is almost certainly not a *bet* (contra MQS/F/AW/Esh), but quite plausibly a *mem*. In IMneg. x 86 4450 and BZ16M the upper part of this letter, with its characteristic upward slanting (from left to right) stroke and small horn in the upper, righthand corner, is plainly seen. This judgment is confirmed when closely compared with *mems* from this and surrounding lines. It appears that the slanting, upper stroke of this *mem* has been mistaken as the rightmost stroke of an *ayin* by others. Second, the last letter is not a final *nun*, as transcribed in previous editions, but a *qoph*. This is especially clear on IMneg. 3884, but can be discerned on any of the photographs by examining the letter's lower extension in comparison with surrounding *qophs* and final *nuns* (the *qoph* of דבק, almost directly under this word, provides the nearest example). The *nun* has a characteristic right to left curve at the end of the tail, while the *qoph* is straight throughout. When these factors are taken into account, it is most plausible that the central letter is a *heh* or *het*, the right leg of which has been taken by previous readers as the left stroke of the *ayin*. The left leg has been transcribed as a *yod/vav*. This is further confirmed by a horizontal stroke connecting the two legs at the top, visible in IMneg. 3845. Perhaps the most convincing refutation of the proposals בעין and מעין is a simple comparison with the assured occurrence of ב/כעין later in the line.

This leads to my proposed מ֯ח֯ק, which appears to be a parallel to the "Mauq Sea" of Jub. 8:22, 26 and exhibits a spelling similar to a Syriac Chronicle containing this portion of Jubilees (ܡܚܘܩ; cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1.266 and 2.54 [n. to 8:22], who argues for the Syriac being a better witness to the text at this point). When it is recognized that the Genesis Apocryphon is describing Japheth's allotment in the opposite direction as Jub. 8:25 29, it becomes clear that this reference fits nicely with the placement of the Mauq in Jubilees.

16.9: ועב֯ר֯] B^3 ועוד. The base stroke of the *bet* is seen clearly in IMneg. x 86 4450.

16.9: כעין M (margin)] MQS/GMT/F/AW/B^3/Esh בעין. The letters *bet* and *kaph* look very similar in this portion of the manuscript, and while the first letter of this word has an angular bend at its lower, right corner (presumably causing others to transcribe it as *bet*), there are nearby instances (e.g. כולהא in line 10) where an assured *kaph* has precisely the same attribute. In fact, if any single factor distinguishes *bet* from *kaph* in this section of the scroll it is the height of the letter—the *bet* being shorter and more compressed than the *kaph*. If this trait is taken into account, the present letter should certainly be read as a *kaph*. Furthermore, when compared to the word in line 17, transcribed by all as but Esh as כעין, one recognizes that almost no difference exists between the first letters of the two words. Whatever one judges this letter to be, the two occurrences should be read the same. In addition to these paleographic factors, I prefer *kaph* because a geographic adverb seems probable in both cases, and a translation such as "regarding sight" (cf. the use of כְּעֵין in Ezek 1, 8:2, 10:9 and Dan 10:6) or "as a spring" (so F) makes the best sense in this context. Notably, M has corrected his initial reading of בעין to כעין in the margin of the copy of his M.A. thesis (available in the Judaica Reading Room of the University and National Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Givat Ram).

16.9: או֯ר֯כ֯נ֯א] Another word plainly follows כעין at the end of the line in BZ16M, and especially BZ16T.

10. כול ארע צפונא כולהא עד די דבק לרׄאׄישׄ ◦[ ]וׄעׄדׄ אׄרׄ[ע]נׄאׄ
11. [ו]עׄבׄרׄ תחומא דן מי ימא רבא עד דׄיׄ דבק לג֯[ד]רׄא וׄ◦בׄ◦◦ל
12. ונׄוׄחׄ חׄלׄקׄ בעׄדׄבׄ ליפת ולבנוׄהׄיׄ למׄירׄתׄ ירׄותׄת עׄלׄמׄיׄםׄ *vacat*
13. *vacat*
14. לשם נפק עדבא תנׄיאנא למירת לה ולבנוׄהי ל֯[ירותת ע]לׄ[מים]לׄ[ ]
15. [ ]נׄפׄק מי טינה נהרא דׄנׄאׄ עׄדׄ בׄ◦אׄ[ ]◦כׄעׄיׄ֯ן֯[ ]
16. [ע]דׄ טׄיׄנׄהׄ נהרא דׄיׄ אׄ◦◦◦ בׄחׄ◦ל◦◦◦◦ בׄיׄםׄ מׄאׄיׄוׄתׄאׄ דׄיׄ דׄבׄקׄ ◦לשׄן
17. ים מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן כעין מי לשׄנׄאׄ דׄןׄ דׄ[י]◦◦
18. לׄאׄ◦◦ ◦◦◦◦[ ] עׄדׄ לשׄן ימא די פנה למצׄר֯[י]ן֯ ועבר ◦◦[ ]
19. [ ]◦◦◦[ ]◦◦◦◦[ ]מנׄ◦ עד דׄי דבק לעׄדׄבׄ ל֯[ ]עׄלׄמׄ[ ]באׄ◦יׄןׄ
20. יׄבׄ◦[ ]◦◦דׄמׄ◦ ◦◦◦דׄןׄ ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦◦[ ] למדנחא
21. [ ]כׄיׄעׄןׄ[בני]הׄון [כ]וׄל בׄנׄיׄ [נוח]יׄבין ◦◦◦

10. of the whole land of the north, in its entirety, until it reaches (the) source of [ ]and up to the lan[d]…
11. This boundary line crosses the waters of the Great Sea until it reaches Ga[de]ra, and …
12. And Noah divided (it) by lot for Japheth and his sons to receive as an everlasting inheritance.
13. *vacat*
14. For Shem emerged the second lot, for him and his sons to receive as[an ever]l[asting inheritance]…
15. [ ]the waters of this Tina River emerge, until… [ ]…as a spring[ ]
16. [up] to the Tina River, which… …the Maeota Sea, which reaches … the gulf of
17. the Great Salt Sea. And this boundary goes as a spring from this gulf, wh[ich]…
18. to… …[ ] up to the gulf of the sea that faces toward Eg[yp]t. It then passes… [ ]
19. [ ]…[ ]…[ ]… until it reaches the allotment of[ ]…[ ]…
20. …[ ]… …[ ] to the east
21. [ ]…[ ]their [sons], [a]ll the sons of [Noah]…

16.11: לג֯[ד]רׄא **]** MQS/AW לׄאׄ◦◦א; GMT/F לג֯[די]רׄא; B^3 לׄא[ר]עׄא; Esh לג֯דירׄא. The *gimel* and *resh* are badly damaged, but fit the remaining ink traces well. I do not find enough space for both *dalet* and *yod*, as reconstructed by GMT/F/Esh. The penultimate letter is definitely not an *ayin*, as transcribed by B^3. Esh has apparently forgotten to add brackets around the letters *dalet* and *yod*.

16.12: וׄנׄוׄחׄ חׄלׄקׄ **]** MQS/GMT/F/AW חׄלׄקׄ; B^3 [די] חלק. This reading was arrived at with the gracious and expert assistance of E. Eshel, and is attributable to her. There is a wide, horizontal crack running through these words, and the bottom portion has shrunk and shifted significantly in relation to the top. MQS *et al.* begin the line with חלק, but when looking below the crack it becomes obvious that other letters precede this word. Once this is recognized, the letters *nun*, *vav* and *het/heh* may be made out, thereby supplying the subject of the verb.

16.12: ירׄותׄת MQS/GMT/F/AW **]** B^3 ירתו֯ת. The order of the last three letters is evident in all of the photographs.

16.12: עׄלׄמׄיׄםׄ **]** Slight traces of an effaced *lamed* may precede this word.

16.15: עׄדׄ בׄ◦אׄ[**]** B^3 עד ד[י. The letter following the (uncertain) word עד has a base stroke, and should be read as a *bet* despite the frequent employment of the prepositional phrase עד די throughout this section.

16.17: ים B^3 **]** MQS/GMT/F/AW [ל]ים. There is a vertical split in the leather along the margin line, but I do not see evidence of a *lamed* preceding the word ים.

16.17: כעין MQS/GMT/F/AW/B^3 **]** Esh/Esh^2 בעין. See note to 16.9 above. Esh (41, n. 16) mentions כעין as F's reading alone, but it is also espoused by MQS and others. The initial letter, which she reads as *bet*, is indeed "clearly visible". That it is a *bet* is less sure, however. Like the same word in line 9, the letter is taller than a typical *bet* in this part of the scroll, and is almost certainly a *kaph*.

16.17: מי לשׄנׄאׄ **]** MQS/F/AW מן לשׄנׄאׄ; GMT מן…; B^3 מי לענה. B^3 is correct in transcribing מי, as seen especially on BZ16M. The join between the two leftmost strokes of the *shin* is visible on IMneg. 3845, especially when the contrast is enhanced.

16.18: לשׄן ימא **]** F [ואז]ל ת[ח]ומׄאׄ. F's reconstruction is untenable, since the final *nun* preceding ימא is plainly seen on BZ16M.

16.18: למצׄר֯[י]ן֯ **]** MQS/GMT/F/AW למׄעׄר֯בׄ; B^3/Esh^2 למד֯נ֯חׄא. This word is badly eroded, with only the very tops (and a few other bits) of its letters remaining. The best photo is IMneg. x 86 4450, where the top of the *tsade* is very clear, and too high relative to the surrounding letters to be the valley of an *ayin*. A "Branch of the Egyptian Sea" is mentioned in the parallel account of Jub. 8:14.

16.19: לעׄדׄבׄ ל֯[ ]עׄלׄמׄ[**]** Esh^2 קדמא ראש עלמא. While some letters of Esh^2's appear to be correct (particularly for עלמא) I do not find the reading as a whole to be tenable.

22. [ ]ל[נ]ו֯ח שׁא֯○
23. [ ]ואז֯ל֯
24. [ ]○○○○[ ]ד֯ בי֯ן֯[ ]אצ֯[ ]○○○[ ]ק֯○לן֯ ○[ ]
25. [ ]○ *vacat*
26. ו֯לחׄם֯[נפ]ק֯[עדבא תלת]יא֯ ○○○○○ למ֯י֯ר֯ת֯ לה֯[ו]ל[בנוהי עלמי]ן֯
27. [ע]ד֯ ג[יחו]ן֯ נהרא]צ֯○ ד֯בק ע֯ד֯ [דרו]ם֯
28. [ ]ל֯ד֯א֯○○○ לש֯ם֯
29–35.

22. [ ]to [N]oah…
23. [ ]and went
24. [ ]…[ ]… between[ ]…[ ]…[ ]… [ ]
25. [ ]… *vacat*
26. And for Ham[there eme]rged[the thi]rd[share]…to inherit for him[and his sons…everlasti]ng
27. [up]to the G[iho]n[River]… reaches to [the sou]th (of)
28. [ ]… Shem
29–35.

Column 17

5. [ ]למ֯שך֯ ו֯ב֯נ֯י֯[ ]
6. [ ]○ר֯ ○○○○ ○○○ ○[ ] *vacat*
7. [ו]ש֯ם֯ פ֯ל֯ג֯ [ח]לקה בין בנוהי ונפל לקד֯מין לע֯[י]ל֯ם֯ בצפונא ליד מי חדקל נ֯ה֯ר֯א֯ עד דדבק לימ֯א

5. [ ]to Meshech and the sons of (?)[ ]
6. [ ]… …[ ] *vacat*
7. [And] Shem divided his [po]rtion among his sons. There fell first to [E]lam (an area) in the north, along the waters of the Tigris River, until it reaches the Erythrean

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16.22: ל[נ]ו֯ח שׁא֯○ **]** Esh^2 קדמא. In this and the preceding note Esh^2 has provided a suggested reading without critical marks, which makes it difficult to gauge her certainty. I find her reading here unlikely.

Column 17: This column begins a new sheet of parchment containing 34-35 lines per column. It is in similar condition as col. 16, although less of the top and bottom margins remain. It is also among the wider columns of the scroll. A *qoph*, written in a scribal hand very different than that of the scroll's main text, is easily seen in the upper, righthand corner of this sheet. The BZ photos are again more washed out than the IMneg. set, but prove useful in several crucial areas.

17.5: למ֯שך֯ ו֯ב֯נ֯י֯ Esh^2 **]** I do not have access to the fragment on which this reading is based, but follow Esh^2 in her proposal (she has shown me the fragment and her reading of למשך appears quite certain). Because she only provides a translation the diacritical marks are merely a conservative guess. As argued in Esh^2 (pp. 116 117), this may actually be part of a description of Canaan's apportionment (across the Straits of Gibraltar).

17.7: פ֯ל֯ג֯ GMT/F **]** MQS/B^3/AW ב֯ר֯י֯. There is almost nothing left of these letters, save some slight ink remains from their lower parts. The first letter could be either *bet* or *peh*, while the others are too fragmentary to reach a definite conclusion. Supplying a verb, along with GMT/F, seems to me the better option (cf. Jub. 9:2a and F, 173).

17.7: לימ֯א GMT/F **]** MQS/AW לי[י]מ֯א ○; B^3 לי]מא ד[נ֯א. There is a vertical crack along the margin, and it appears that the word לימא has simply pulled apart at the *mem*.

8. שׁמ֯ו֯קא לראישה די בצפונא ובת֯[רה]למערבא לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא ◦[ ] ◦◦◦ ◦◦ל֯ ו֯בת֯ר֯ה֯
9. לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהריא עד די דבק לראיש טור הו֯ר֯[רט]בקרית דא֯ ובת֯רה֯ ללו֯ד ◦ט
10. נפל טור תורא דן ועבר חולקא דן למערבא עד דבק למג֯ו֯ג֯ כ֯ול ל[יד]לשׁ֯נ֯א֯ ◦◦◦◦◦ול ד֯י֯ ב֯ים מדנחא
11. ב֯צ֯פ֯ונא די מחען לשנא דן דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא לד֯רומ֯[א]דן לארפכשד ◦ל֯◦ ◦◦ל◦ ע֯[ד]ד֯ב֯ק֯
12. ל◦◦◦◦◦◦ די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא די משקה פורת וכול מ֯◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦[ ]ל◦◦◦ ◦◦

8. Sea, to its source which is in the north. And aft[er him](there fell) to Asshur (the area) toward the west, until it reaches the Tigris…[ ]… And after him
9. (there fell) to Aram the land that is between the two rivers until it reaches the peak of Mount Ar[arat], in that region. And after him to Lud…
10. fell this Mount Taurus. This portion passes to the west until it reaches Magog; everything al[ong]the… gulf that is by the Eastern Sea,
11. in the north, adjoining this gulf—that which is above the three portions to its south. For Arpachshad (there fell)… …un[til]it reaches
12. to… …which turns to the south; the entire land irrigated by the Euphrates, and all… [ ]…

17.8: [ובת֯[רה] MQS/GMT/F/AW וס֯חר; B^3 [וסג֯[ה. The second letter of this word does not resemble a *samekh*. The lower, right corner (which should be gently sloping from right to left if MQS *et al.* are correct) is clearly the angular corner of a *bet*, *mem*, *kaph*, or *nun*. Nor does the spacing favor reading וסגה/וסחר, which would fall short of filling the available space. Both the spacing and ink remains support reconstructing ובתרה, as we find at the end of the line and elsewhere in the column.

17.8: לחדקלא...ו֯ב֯ת֯ר֯ה֯] AY (22/יט) לחדקל...; MQS/F/AW לחדקל ◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦ ו֯ב֯ת֯ר֯ה֯; B^3 לחדקל נה֯[רא ובת]ר֯ה֯ [חל]ק עמ֯ה֯[ו]ן֯. The remaining ink traces and spacing do not correspond to B^3's suggested reading. The definite article (*aleph*) at the end of לחדקל is plain on BZ17T and IMneg. x 86 4450, making it unlikely that נהרא followed this word. ובתרה fits well the existing tops of the letters at the end of the line. This possibility is further strengthened by the following לארם, thus mirroring the repetitive syntax of this section.

17.9: [הו֯ר֯[רט] MQS/F/AW [אשור]. It is quite clear on BZ17T that the word following טור is not אשור. Rather, the word begins with two parallel vertical strokes (of which only the bottoms are visible), which I read as *heh*. This is followed by another vertical stroke, which appears to be a *resh* or *dalet*, making the designation הוררט likely. Ararat is mentioned as a range elsewhere in the scroll (cf. 10.12; 12.8), but as a single mountain here and in 17.14.

17.9: בקרית דא֯ ובת֯ר֯ה֯ ללו֯ד ◦ט] MQS/F/AW ◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦◦ ב֯ק◦ה֯ א֯ר֯ר֯ה֯ ל◦◦ט; B^3 [ב֯קר֯ה֯ [◦◦◦] ובתרה ליקט[ן֯]. The first two words close the description of Aram's portion, the word בקרית being especially clear on BZ17T. The end of this line solves the problem of where Lud fits into the apportionment among Shem's sons, and has been independently noted by Esh^2 (p. 118) in her recent translation of this section. In IMneg. x 86 4450 the final three words are read with much more confidence than in BZ17T, where the letters are badly skewed and blurred. There is no sign of a *qoph* (or final *nun*), as transcribed by B^3, which is one of several reasons that his proposal should be rejected. The letters following ללו֯ד, at the end of the line, are enigmatic and difficult to contextualize. The *tet* is quite certain, and I had first read ל֯ט, although it is unclear what this might mean. I continue to wonder if the scribe had begun a word (e.g. לטור note the phrase at the beginning of the next line), but then abandoned it for some reason.

17.10: דן למערבא B^3] MQS/F/GMT/AW ואז֯ל מערבא. These words are easily recognizable on BZ17T.

17.10: כ֯ול ל[יד]לשׁ֯נ֯א֯] MQS/F/AW ול◦◦; B^3 ולת֯[ו]ב֯ל. There seems to be too much space and ink for מגוג alone to precede the *yod/vav* of my כ֯ול. The *lamed* of כ֯ול is followed directly by another in BZ17T, although its upper portion is effaced. Mention of Tubal (B^3) makes very little sense at this point in the description, while the next line seems to require previous mention of a לשן hence, my לשׁ֯נ֯א֯. In general, the last half of this line is in very poor shape.

17.10: ...ול ד֯י֯ ב֯ים] MQS/F/AW ...ול◦◦◦ים; B^3 ולדר֯ו֯ם. While B^3's reading is not impossible (although the spacing does not seem quite right to me), it seems better to take this as mention of an "Eastern Sea." This would make better sense in connection with ב֯צ֯פ֯ונא at the beginning of the next line (what would the phrase "and to the southeast in the north" mean?). If correct, this must be a reference to the modern Caspian Sea.

17.11: דעל MQS *et al.*] AY (22/יט) ועל. Although irregular in the scroll's morphology, there is no doubt that here the relative pronoun די has elided with the preposition על (cf. also 17.7; 20.7; 21.29; 22.14, 21).

17.11: לד֯רומ֯[א]דן] MQS/GMT/F/AW לי֯ד֯י֯מ֯א֯ דן; B^3 לדרומ[ה]ון. B^3 is certainly correct in reading the second letter as a *dalet* rather than a *yod*, since the head of the letter (with its two horns) is easily seen on IMneg. x 86 4450. Hence, we must have here a reference to the direction "south." This makes good sense in describing Lud's portion, which we would expect to run along the north of the "three portions" (i.e. Aram, Asshur, and Arpachshad) mentioned in this line. MQS *et al.* appear to be correct, however, in reading the penultimate letter as a *dalet* (or *resh* the upper, righthand corner is missing) rather than *yod/vav*. This is best seen on IMneg. x 86-4450 and BZ17T.

17.12: ל◦◦◦◦◦◦] MQS/F/AW ל[תחומ]א֯; B^3 ל[תחומא]. The suggestion of MQS *et al.* does not fit the ink traces or the context particularly well. The spacing, however, is approximately correct for their reconstruction.

13. [   ]○○○ כׄ[ו]ל בׄקעאתא ומישריא די ביניהון ואיא די בגו לשנא דׄןׄ כׄ[ו]ל֯ ○○○○ עׄ[ד] דׄבקׄ ל֯[   ]○[ ]○
14. [   ] לאׄמׄנא דׄצׄמׄיׄדׄ טׄוׄרׄ הׄרׄרׄט ואמנא עׄדׄ דׄבׄקׄ לׄפׄוׄ[רת]○○○ ל֯[   ]○אׄ עׄדׄ די דׄ[בק ל   ]○○קׄאׄ
15. [   ] חׄולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה נוח אבוהי *vacat*
16. [ו]יׄפׄתׄ פלג בׄיׄן בנוהי לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא עד די דבק לטינה נהרא ובתרה למׄגוג ובתרה
17. למׄדׄיׄ וׄבתרה ליואן כול נגאותא די ליׄד לוד ובין לשנא דׄ[י] ל֯[י]דׄ לוׄדׄ ללשׁ[נא ת]נׄ֯יׄאנא לתׄובל דׄבׄעבר
18. ל[שנא]תׄנׄ֯יׄאׄנׄאׄ למשך ○○○○○[   ]ל֯[   ]ל[תירס] אׄרׄבׄעׄאׄ [נגאו]תׄ וׄעׄדׄ ○○○○אׄ לׄיד לה בגו
19. [ימא די דבק ליד חו]לׄק בני חם ○○○ל֯ [על]מׄיׄאׄ *vacat*
20. [   ]
21. [   ]אׄ די יׄהׄבׄ ○○○ [   ]○ כׄוׄ֯לׄ○[ ]
22. [   ]בני נׄוׄחׄ [ח]ל֯[קו] עׄדׄבׄ[י]הׄ[ו]ן בין בניהון [ ]

13. [   ]...a[l]l of the valleys and the plains that are between them, and the coastlands that are within this gulf; a[l]l... un[til] it reaches...[   ]...
14. [   ] to Amana, which abuts Mount Ararat, and (from) Amana until it reaches the Eup[hrates]...to[   ]... until it re[aches...   ]...
15. [   ] the portion that Noah, his father, divided for him and gave to him. *vacat*
16. [And] Japheth divided among his sons. First, he gave to Gomer (an area) in the north, until it reaches the Tina River. And after him (he gave) to Magog, and after him
17. to Madai, and after him to Javan; all the islands that are alongside Lud, and (that) between the gulf th[at] is n[ex]t to Lud and the [se]cond gu[lf]. To Tubal (he gave) that which is across
18. [the] second g[ulf]. To Meshech... [   ]. To [Tiras] (he gave) four [island]s, and up to the... alongside it, within
19. [the Sea that reaches alongside to the por]tion of the sons of Ham... [for]ever *vacat*
20. [   ]
21. [   ]... that he gave... [   ]... all...[ ]
22. [   ]the sons of Noah [di]vi[ded] th[eir] allotment[s among their sons   ]

17.13: ואיא די בגו לשנא MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ ומיא די בכול שנער. This entire phrase is abundantly clear on IMneg. x 86-4450 and BZ17M, despite B³'s confident suggestion.

17.14: לאׄמׄנא דׄצׄמׄיׄדׄ] MQS/F/AW/B³ לבׄנׄ֯יׄ גׄוׄמׄרׄ. I find the proposal of MQS *et al.* unconvincing. Following the *lamed*, a *mem* (possibly *bet*) can be made out, yet it is at least one letter space removed from the *lamed* (hence, my *aleph*). In addition, my *mem* is quite clearly followed by the letters *nun* and *aleph*. The following word is less certain, but the relatively sure הררט two words later makes a relational preposition or verb such as this plausible. דצמיד fits the remaining ink traces fairly well, although a possible vertical stroke before the *mem* continues to give me pause.

17.16: ובתרה MQS *et al.*] AY (22/יט) וכתרה. The word is בתרה, as elsewhere.

17.17: דׄבׄעבר] MQS/AW עׄבׄרׄ○○; F/B³ עׄבׄרׄ [די]. The initial letters *dalet* and *bet*/*mem* are discernible in BZ17M, ruling out the proposal of F/B³. Although the second letter may possibly be a *mem*, this does not greatly alter the meaning. The base word is apparently the noun עבר "border, side," preceded by a compound preposition, used in a manner similar to the biblical expression ב/מעבר "on the other side, beyond, across from." If correct, this phrase is paralleled in Jub. 9:11, where Tubal receives "the other side of the second branch." A defective *aphel* participle is less plausible, as is a *pael* form, which typically carries more idiomatic meanings (e.g. "be with child").

17.18: ל[שנא]תׄנׄ֯יׄאׄנׄאׄ למשך] MQS/F/AW בׄאׄרׄעׄאׄ וׄלמשך [; B³ ל[גוא] דׄאׄ֯רעא למשך. Very little remains of the first two words, and it must be admitted that any of the proposed readings is possible. My suggestion does not contradict the physical remains, and is based partially on Jub. 9:11. There is definitely no *vav* preceding the *lamed* of למשך.

17.18: אׄרׄבׄעׄ֯אׄ [נגאו]תׄ] My restoration is based in part on Jub. 9:13.

17.18: לׄיד לה] MQS/F/AW לׄשׁןׄ ○לׄ; B³ ב[כו]ל לשן. The *heh* of לה is clear in BZ17M, and I see no evidence for a final letter. In addition, it is obvious in all the photographs that there are one to two letters standing between the two *lameds*.

17.18: [ימא די דבק ליד חו]לׄק] MQS/AW [ימא די ליד ח]ל֯קׄ; F [ימא די ליד חו]לׄקׄ; B³ חו]לק. The reconstruction offered by MQS/AW and F would not adequately fill the damaged area of the manuscript, which is why I also reconstruct the word דבק. F/B³'s proposed חולק (versus MQS/AW's חלק) better conforms to the orthography of this word in the scroll.

17.19: על]מׄ֯יׄ֯אׄ] MQS/F/AW ○○ל֯אׄ[. This area is badly damaged, and the ink smeared. My reading accords with the parallel section ending at 16.12.

.23 [ ]○ ○○צ֯○

.24 [ ]○ וׄב֯נ֯ו֯ה֯י֯ ○○○ *vacat* [ ]○○○[ ]

.25–35

23. [ ]...
24. [ ]and his sons... *vacat* [ ]...[ ]

25–35.

Column 18

Column 19

.6 [ ]○○ד֯ ○○א֯ג֯○ה֯ [ ]אׄ [ ]○ ○אן֯ ח֯○○ ○ג֯ד֯

.7 [ ]ה֯[ ]ל֯ ○[ ]ח֯○ ○ק֯[ ]ל֯א֯ ○○○ין֯ וקרית תמן בשׁ[ם א]ל[הא] ואמרת אנתה הוא

.8 אׄלׄ○ ○○ ○ל○אׄ ומׄלךׄ עׄלׄמׄ[י]םׄ [ו]מׄלל עׄמי בליׄליׄאׄ ○○צׄ○ וׄחׄלמאׄ למאׄבד עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא קדישא ונגדת

6. [ ]... [ ]... ...
7. [ ]... ... I called there on the na[me of G]o[d], and I said, "You are
8. God... ...and King of Etern[i]ty." [And] he spoke with me in the night "... and take strength (?) to wander; up to now you have not reached the holy mountain." So I set out

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Column 18: While a significant portion of the middle of this column is partially extant, the leather where writing once was has been almost completely destroyed by the ink, leaving nothing but long shreds of uninscribed leather between each line. Consequently, there is nothing left to recover but stray letters here and there. The right and bottom margins are completely missing.

Column 19: This column resumes once again the columns first published by AY, and has, therefore, been commented upon by many more scholars than most of the preceding columns. It has been conventional to follow the line numbering of AY for this column, even though it was observed multiple times that their numbering is one line off (e.g. line 7 should actually be line 6). I have chosen to observe this convention in order to avoid confusion. The plate of this column in AY (i.e. IMneg. 3856) remains very useful, but recourse to the scaleable photos of the IMneg. and BZ sets has proven crucial at certain juntures. For the remaining columns the BZ photographs show the scroll with a netting over it, presumably intended to help keep the leather in-tact and prevent further disintegration.

19.7: ק֯[ ]ל֯א֯ ○○○ין֯ **]** J/F/AW [ובנית תמן מדבח]א. A final *nun* is easily identified preceding the word וׄקריׄת in IMneg. 3856 and BZ19TM. This rules out the reconstruction first suggested by J and followed by F/AW. AW has apparently made a curious scribal error by placing this reconstruction in line 6 instead of line 7, as it is situated (but not numbered) in J. This may be attributable to the confusion over line numbering mentioned in the preceding note.

19.8: אׄל...למאׄבד **]** J/GMT/AW א]ל[הי א]ל[ה ע]ל[מיא ותמן ה]ללת וברכת מרה כו]ל עלמים; B¹ די למחׄלם [..]; Du-So/Mi-To/F ל[י א]ל [ע]ל[מא וה]לל[ת] לה לעׄלמים [בר]םׄ; B³ [ע]ל[יא א]ל[ה] עלמי[א ○○ ומ]ללתהׄ [עמי ואמרתה ○] למחׄלם. It is difficult to know where to begin when critiquing previous reconstructions of this line, but it must be admitted at the outset that the beginning several words are almost entirely missing and may never be recovered with any certainty. Consideration of all the photographic evidence proves every reconstruction to date untenable, and unfortunately reveals more about what is *not* there than what is. Rather than try to reconstruct a coherent text in this line (my actual readings should be viewed as tentative) I have attempted to reflect as accurately as possible the extant letter remains and spacing. This is no small task, since many parts of the line have split and pulled away from each other. Particularly troubling is the reconstruction of Du-So/Mi-To/F, who seem to have spent very little time assessing the spacing of the line. I can find no grounds for their transcription לה לעׄלמים at this point in the line. Furthermore, it can be clearly seen in BZ19TM and IMneg. 3856 that the letter preceding עד is not a final *mem*, but a *dalet*. The proposal of J/GMT/AW is slightly better, but still far from accurate, while that of B$^{1/3}$ is impossible. Suffice to say that at any point in this line where I differ in transcription with any of the previous reconstructions (which is nearly every letter) it is purposeful and meant as a rejection of their reading. The word למאׄבד seems an allusion to the mantra that the Israelites are commanded to recite in Deut 26:5, "A wandering Aramean (ארמי אבד) was my father...," understanding the Aramean to be Abram, rather than Laban or Jacob (so too Rashbam). The statement in Deut goes on to refer to a subsequent descent into Egypt (soon to follow in the Apocryphon), although the plain sense of the entire passage quite clearly alludes to Jacob.

9. למ֯[ה]ך֯ תׄמ֯ן֯ והויתׄ אזל לדרומׄא מׄו֯רׄה֯ ○○○א֯ ו֯אתית עד די דבקתׄ לחברון ו֯למ֯ד֯ינׄהׄ דׄן֯ ב[נ]יאת חברון ויתבת
10. [תמ]ן֯ [תרתי]ן֯ שׄנ֯יׄן *vacat* והוא כפנא בארעא דׄא כולׄא ושמעת די עׄ[ב]ו֯רא ה֯ו[א] במצרין ונגׄדת
11. לׄמה֯ך֯ ○[ ]לׄאׄרׄעׄהׄ ד֯בׄמצרין ○ל֯○○○[ ]אמ֯○י֯ ואלׄ○ ו֯○○רׄ א֯○○○ ע֯○○ ו֯ה֯ו֯א֯ [דבק]ת לכׄרמונא נהרא חד מן
12. ראׄש֯י֯ נהרא אמ[רת] עלא[ ]○[ ]○ל֯○[עד] כען אנחנא בׄגׄו אׄרׄעׄנׄא ו֯חׄלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא דן די
13. בׄ[תר ע]לל[בג]א֯ ימׄא ר֯ב֯הׄ [ד]י֯ מׄלׄחׄא [ובתרה אמרת] הׄא כען הׄלכנא ארענא ועלנא לארע בני חם לארע מצרין
14. *vacat* וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה מעלי֯ לארׄע֯ מצׄר֯יׄן וחזית בחלמׄי ו֯הׄא ארז חד ותמרא

9. to [g]o there. I was going to the south of Moreh…, I went until I reached Hebron—now I b[u]ilt Hebron for that region—and I lived
10. [the]re for [two] years. *vacat* Now there was a famine in all of this land, but I heard that there wa[s] w[h]eat in Egypt. So I set out
11. to go…[ ]to the land that is in Egypt… [ ] …and there was [ ]I[reached] the Karmon River, one of
12. the heads of the River, [I] sai[d] "Enter (?) [ ]…[until] now we have been within our land." So I crossed over the seven heads of this river, which
13. af[terwards en]ters [int]o the Great Sea [o]f Salt. [After this I said], "Now we have left our land and entered the land of the sons of Ham, the land of Egypt."
14. *vacat* Now I, Abram, dreamt a dream in the night of my entry into Egypt. I saw in my dream that there was a single cedar and a single date

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19.9: למ֯[ה]ך֯ **]** AY/B^{1}/F/AW [ ]ל; J ל[מוריה]. J's reconstruction appears unlikely. The lower extension of what is probably a final letter is visible in the fourth position on BZ19TM, and there also seems to be too much space for the word למוריה alone. The same expression is used in 19.10 11.

19.9: לדרומׄא מׄו֯רׄה֯ ○○○א֯ ו֯אתית עד **]** AY לדרומׄא[ ]א[ ]עד; J לדרומא [ ]א○○ עד; F לדרומׄא [ו]אתׄ[ית] עד; B^{1}/GMT/AW לדרומא [...] ו֯אתי֯תׄ עד. On all of the photos it is clear that there are at least two intervening words between those transcribed successively by F (cf. especially BZ19TM). The first word is not certain, but finds agreement with Gen 12:6, where Abram camps at the Oak of Moreh and receives a visitation from the Lord. This has implications for the debate (cf. F, p. 180) whether טורא קדישא, at the end of the previous line, refers the mountain east of Bethel (Gen 12:8), or Jerusalem, arguing for the former. It should be noted that Jub. 13:5 7, 15 also makes much of the same mountain, between Bethel and Ai.

19.9: ו֯למ֯ד֯ינׄהׄ דׄן֯ ב[נ]יאת **]** AY/J ○ל֯[ ]אׄתב[נ]יאת; GMT/F/AW ו֯ל[ה ז]מׄנׄא אׄתב[נ]יאת; B^{1} ו֯לׄא֯ ע֯ו֯ד֯ אתב[נ]יאת. IMneg. 3856 and BZ19TM reveal beyond doubt that previous proposals are not correct. IMneg. 3856 shows a broad base stroke (my *mem*) following the *lamed*, while it is also clear that the letter preceding the *nun* is not a *mem* (cf. F's [ז]מׄנׄא). A final letter is visible preceding the *bet* of ב[נ]יאת, which renders the transcription אׄתב[נ]יאת impossible. Hence, it seems that here we have reference to Abram himself founding the city of Hebron, which may also be the implication of Jub. 13:10 "When he reached Hebron (Hebron was built at that time), he stayed there for two years." The use of a medial *aleph*, particularly in *lamed*-weak verbs, is a more widespread morphological tendency in the scroll (see, e.g., 6.11; 20.4, 8, 34; cf. F, p. 264, and 4Q545 1a bii13; 11Q18 9,4; and 4Q566 1,2).

19.10: כולׄא AY/J/GMT/F/AW **]** B^{1} כולה֯א֯. There is not enough space for a *heh* between the *lamed* and *aleph*.

19.10: עׄ[בו]רׄא ה֯ו[א] J/GMT/AW **]** AY [ ] טׄ[ב]ו֯תׄא; B^{1} שׄבׄעׄא שׄ֯גׄ֯[י]; Gin/Mu^{1}/F עׄ[בו]רׄ א[יתי]. Ginsberg was the first to suggest that the initial letter has the shape of an *ayin* rather than *tet* (contra AY), and this judgment appears correct (see especially IMneg. 3856). J/GMT/AW were correct in placing an *aleph* at the end of the word, since in both BZ19TM and IMneg. 3856 the *resh* and *aleph* can be seen touching each other.

19.11: לׄמה֯ך֯ ○[ ]לׄאׄרׄעׄהׄ ד֯בׄמצרין **]** J/GMT/AW ל[מעל] לארע מצרין; B^{1} ל[מהך] לג֯ו֯ א֯ר֯ע֯ מצרין; F למ[הך] לארע מצרין. There is more text to be accounted for at the beginning of this line than any of the earlier transcriptions reflect. The first word is far from certain, but matches the remaining traces of ink, while there is certainly a *bet* preceding מצרין, and probably yet another letter.

19.11: לכׄרמונא AY/J/GMT/F/AW **]** B^{1} לנרמונא. The top of the second letter is partially effaced, but does not appear to be a *nun* (cf. IMneg. 3856).

19.12: כען AY/J/B^{1}/GMT/F **]** AW כפן. AW's transcription is incorrect.

19.13: הׄלכנא **]** AY/J/B^{1}/GMT/F/AW חׄלפנא. It is surprising that the *kaph*, which is entirely visible in BZ19TM, has been overlooked by so many commentators. It is, however, more difficult to discern on the original plates of AY than on other photographs. G. Anderson and P.-A. Beaulieu have helpfully pointed out that the root הלך is used in the sense of "go out" in Gen 26:26, as well as in Assyrian texts.

19.14: מעלי֯ J/B^{1}/GMT/F/AW **]** AY מעלנ֯אׄ. The spacing appears to fit מעלי best, although the end of the word is badly damaged.

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15. חדא כׄחׄדׄאׄ צׄמׄחׄ[ו] מׄן שׄרׄ[ש חד] ובׄ[נ]ׄי אנׄוש אתו ובעין למקץ ולמעקר ל[א]רׄזא ולׄמשׄבׄק תׄמרא בלחודיהה

16. ואכליׄאׄת תמרתא ואמרת אל תקוצו לאׄרזא ארי תרינא מן שרשׄ חׄ[ד] צׄ[מח]נׄא ושׄביק ארזא בטלל תמרתא

17. ולׄאׄ קׄצׄצׄוׄנׄיׄ *tacav* ואתׄעׄירת בליליא מן שנתי ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם

18. חׄלׄמׄתׄ מןׄ [ד]אנׄהׄ דחל מׄ[ן] חׄלׄמׄאׄ דן ואמרת לי אשתׄעׄי לי חלמך ואנדע ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן

19. וׄאמרׄתׄ ל[ה] מׄ[ ]ןׄ חלמא דׄןׄ אׄ∘∘∘ ∘∘רׄטׄ ∘∘∘ןׄ די יבעון למקטלני ולכי למשבק בׄרם דא כול טבותא

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15. palm, having sprout[ed] together from [one] roo[t]. And m[e]n came seeking to cut down and uproot the [ce]dar, thereby leaving the date palm by itself.

16. But the date palm cried out and said, "Do not cut down the cedar, for the two of us are sp[rung] from o[ne] root!" So the cedar was left on account of the date palm,

17. and they did not cut me down. *vacat* Then I awoke in the night from my sleep, and I said to my wife Sarai, "I dreamt

18. a dream, (and) on acco[unt] of this dream I am afraid." She said to me, "Tell me your dream, so that I may know (about it)." So I began to tell her this dream,

19. and I said to [her], "… this dream… …that they will seek to kill me, but to spare you. Therefore, this is the entire kind deed

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19.15: חדא כׄחׄדׄאׄ צׄמׄחׄ[ו] מׄן שׄרׄ[ש חד] B¹ **]** AY/J [ ]א[ ]חדא; F [יאי]אׄ שׄגׄ[י] חדא; AW כחדא צמ[חו] מן שׄרׄ[ש חד]. B¹'s reading is plausible, although it remains uncertain. F's reading fits neither the available space nor the ink remains, and AW has forgotten the word חדא.

19.15: ולׄמשׄבׄק B¹/Qim¹/GMT/Ck/F/AW **]** AY/Kut/J ולמשבוק. The letters *bet* and *qoph* are directly next to each other, leaving no room for a *vav*. See Qim¹ (pp. 14–15) or Ck (p. 372) for further discussion.

19.16: תרינא מן שרשׄ Gin²/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW **]** AW תריפא מן שדאׄ. This reading is recognizable even on the original plates of AY, although more certainty is gained by consulting BZ19TM. The words following these have been the subject of much speculation in the past (cf. F, p. 186), but are now quite widely agreed upon. The spacing is acceptable for these and the following words, despite Mu²'s objection (p. 44).

19.17: ולׄאׄ קׄצׄצׄוׄנׄיׄ **]** AY [ ] ולא; J/GMT/AW [אתקץ] ולא; B¹ ולא [אציץ]; Qim¹ ולאתׄקׄץׄ; F ולא<א>תׄקׄץׄ. These words are very faint on the manuscript, but the first six letters can be recovered with relative certainty by enhancing the brightness and contrast of BZ19BM. The *aleph* and *qoph* are read as one word (with an intervening *tav*) by Qim¹/F, although F must emend the reading to ולא<א>תׄקׄץׄ in order to make sense of it. Such close proximity of words is not uncommon in the scroll, and, despite F's claim to the contrary, there is no evidence of a *tav* between the *aleph* and the *qoph*. The final word is longer than even Qimron proposed, although the final two or three letters are unclear even with modification. The penultimate letter appears to have a single, upright stroke, making it probable that here we have an object suffix referring to either the cedar tree alone (-ני) or both the cedar and date palm (-נא) attached to a *peal* 3 pl. perf. verb from קצץ.

19.18: מןׄ [ד]אנׄהׄ דחל **]** AY מןׄ ∘∘א [וא]דחל; J/GMT/AW [אנה וא]דחל; Mu¹/F ואׄ[נה]דחל; B¹ מןׄ כׄע[ן] אׄדחל. The suggestions of J/GMT/AW and Mu¹/F may be ruled out by the certainty of the *mem* after חׄלׄמׄתׄ, which is seen clearly on BZ19BM. Following מןׄ (the *nun* of which is almost completely effaced) there is room for an intervening letter before the *aleph* of אנׄהׄ. I propose a *dalet* here, which would make sense of the phrase and agree with syntactic convention in the scroll (cf. 0.11; 22.29). There is no physical evidence of an *aphel* form of the verb דחל (contra B¹), while a participle is quite coherent in this context. The spacing for several of the proposed readings, in particular J/GMT/AW and Mu¹/F, is not even close to accurate.

19.18: חלמא *al.* **]** AY חלמה. The *aleph* is clear in all the photographs, as duly noted by a number of previous commentators (cf. F, p. 187).

19.19: וׄאמרׄתׄ ל[ה] מׄ[ ]ןׄ **]** J/GMT/AW [וחוית] ל[ה פשר]; B¹ וׄאׄמׄרׄתׄ ∘∘∘∘∘∘∘; F [וחויתה] ל[ה ופשר]. The reconstructions of J/GMT/AW and F do not adequately fit the ink traces visible on BZ19TM and BZ19BM, in which the *aleph* and *mem* of וׄאמרׄתׄ are clearly visible (as is the *mem* following ל[ה], when contrast is enhanced). Furthermore, the lower extension of a final letter preceding חלמא renders the reconstruction פשר untenable. All three of the previous proposals are also a bit short for the available space.

19.19: אׄ∘∘∘ ∘∘רׄטׄ ∘∘∘ןׄ **]** AY/J/B¹ [ ]א; GMT/AW ∘∘∘ [ו]אמ[רת]; F אמ[ר]ת ∘∘∘. There are more letters here than reflected in previous readings, and I do not see convincing evidence for the word אמרת. The *vav* of GMT/AW is definitely not present.

19.19: בׄרם Gin/J/Pu/Qim¹/GMT/F/AW/B³ **]** AY [בי]ום; B¹ בׄחׄם. Gin, J, GMT and AW reconstruct the first letter, which is no longer necessary. Although a hole has disintegrated most of the *bet*, all three letters can be discerned on BZ19BM (the last two clearly).

20. ד֯[י ת]ע֯ב֯ד֯י֯ן ע֯מ֯י בכול ע֯ר֯ו֯ת֯ די [נתה] ל֯[הן] א֯מ֯[ר]י֯ עלי די אחי הוא ואח֯ה֯ בטליכי ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי
21. [יב]ע֯ו֯ן לאעדיותכי מני ולמקטלני ובכת שרי על֯ מ֯לי בליליא דן
22. ○○○○ כ֯ד֯י֯ ע֯[ל]לנ֯א֯ למ֯ד֯י֯[נ]ת מ֯[צרין]ה֯ ○○ ופ֯רעו צע֯[ן]לן֯ ב֯[אד]י֯ן֯ ○○עי֯ שרי למפנה לצען
23. ○○○[ו]ד֯ח֯ל֯ת֯ [י]ת֯ירא בנפשה֯ די לא יחזנה כול ב֯ר֯ א֯נ֯ו֯ש֯[חמ]ש ש֯נ֯ין ולסוף חמש שניא אלן
24. ○○○○○ ○○ל○ לי֯ ות֯לת֯א֯ ג֯ברין מן רברבי מצרי֯ן ○○[ ]ו֯הי ○○○ ב֯פר֯ע֯[ו] צע֯ן֯ על מלי ועל ח֯כמתי והווא יהב֯ין

20. th[at you] must do for me: in all cities (?) that [we will ent]er s[a]y of me, 'He is my brother.' I will live under your protection, and my life will be spared because of you.
21. [t]hey [will s]eek to take you away from me, and to kill me." Sarai wept because of my words that night
22. … when we en[ter]ed into the dist[ri]ct of E[gypt…]… And Pharaoh Zoa[n]… t[he]n… Sarai to turn toward Zoan
23. …[and] she worried herself [g]reatly that no man should see her (for) [fiv]e years. Now at the end of those five years
24. … … to me, and three men from the nobles of Egypt… his[ ]… by Phara[oh] Zoan because of my words and my wisdom, and they were giving

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19.20: ע֯ר֯ו֯ת֯] AY [ ]; Gin/J/F [אתר]; B¹/GMT/AW א֯ת֯ר֯. The word אתר is not correct. A hole in the leather has destroyed part of each of the letters, but in BZ19TM the last letter clearly has a left leg, which appears to belong to a *tav*. In any case, it is not a *resh*. The first letter has the right to left, sloped stroke of an *ayin*, while the two (or perhaps one?) middle letters, of which only the very tops remain, are compatible with my reading.

19.20: [נתה] ל֯[הן]] Gin [נתה לתמן]; J/F [נהוה בה]; B¹/GMT/AW [נהך ל]ה֯. My own reconstruction is obviously very tenuous, but draws attention to some shortcomings of earlier suggestions. For example, the upper remains of a *lamed* are visible (ruling out the proposal of J/F), and there appear to be two letters between it and the *aleph* of אמרי. Fortunately, the basic meaning is clear from the surrounding context.

19.20: ואח֯ה֯ B¹/F] AY/Gin/J/GMT/AW ואח֯י. The ink traces seem to cover too large an area to be those of a *yod*, although there is a hole in the leather here.

19.20: בטליכי AY/Gin/J/GMT/F/AW] B¹ בדיליכי. The *tet* is obvious in all photographs.

19.22: ופ֯רעו צע֯[ן J/B¹/GMT/F/AW] AY אפדעי. The letters following this phrase, combined with the clarity of the reading on BZ19BM, leave no doubt that this is a reference to Pharaoh Zoan.

19.22: ○○עי֯ שרי] AY/F]ושרי; J/GMT/AW שרי ○○○; B¹ ש֯גי שרי. What I have read as *yod* at the end of the word preceding שרי may equally be placed at the beginning of the next word (where it would be read as a *vav*), as AY/F propose. B¹'s ש֯גי is not correct, since on BZ19BM it is seen that his *gimel* does not have the righthand leg required by that letter. In addition, the letter preceding it does not have the characteristics of a *sin*. This may instead be a verb meaning something like "be reluctant, fear," referring to Sarai's reticence to go to Zoan. F's reconstructed לא עוד, earlier in the line, does not appear correct due to the lower extension of a final letter following the *lamed*.

19.23: ○○○[ו]ד֯ח֯ל֯ת֯] J/GMT/AW [עמי והסתמרת]; F [עמי ארי דחלת]. This reading is highly uncertain, but the upper remains of a *lamed* appear in approximately the expected place for F's proposed דחלת, and the other ink traces do not contradict such a reading. The word עמי is not implausible at the beginning of the line.

19.23: ב֯ר֯ א֯נ֯ו֯ש֯[חמ]ש ש֯נ֯ין] J/GMT/AW [אנש חמש שני]ן; B¹ א֯נ֯ש֯ ד֯י֯ פ֯ר֯ע֯ו֯ צ֯ע֯ן֯; F [בר אנוש ויתבת תמן חמש שנין]. J/GMT/AW's suggestion is too short to fill the available space, while F's is much too long. B¹'s reading does not fit the ink remains, some of which are visible on BZ19B. These remains roughly fit the letters and spacing proposed here, although the spacing would admittedly have to be compact.

19.23: ולסוף Qim¹/GMT/F/AW/Flk] AY/J/B¹ ולבתר. This mistake in the earlier transcriptions was first noted by Qimron, and is obvious on the photographs.

19.24: ○○○○○ ○○ל○ לי֯ ות֯לת֯א֯] J [אתו] תלתת; B¹ [ ] ת֯לת֯א֯; GMT/AW [… אתו] תלתת; F [אתו] לי֯ תל֯ת֯ת֯; Pu had already noticed the *lamed* preceding ותלתא, apparent even on the plates in AY, but this observation went unheeded by all but F. Furthermore, the space before this word is far too large to read simply אתו. The line may, however, begin with this word, since what remains of the first letter could be interpreted as an *aleph*. The upper portion of the *aleph* in ותלתא is apparent in BZ19B (despite F's assurances to the contrary), as is the *vav* at the beginning of the word. Mu¹ also reads תלתא.

19.24: ○○○ ב֯פר֯ע֯[ו]] AY/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW די פ֯ר֯ע֯[ו]. In BZ19B it appears to me that a *bet* precedes the possible word פרעו, and that the previous word is not די, since a horizontal, bottom stroke can be clearly seen as part of the last letter. It may be that others have read my]ו֯הי (the left leg of the *heh* is clear in BZ19B) as a די, which it resembles. B¹'s foregoing transcription מ֯ן֯ ב֯נ֯י֯ ב֯י֯ת֯א֯ is not plausible.

19.24: ח֯כמתי Flk] AY/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW אנתתי. This reading is amazingly plain on BZ19B, although it appears more obscured (albeit still discernible) on the plates of AY. Here is an instance where a mistaken reading (without any critical marks!) has been passed along for some time without being noticed. Flk and I arrived at the reading independently.

25. ל֯[י מנתנן שגיאן   וש]א֯לו לה֯ון ס֯פ֯ר֯א וח֯כמ֯ת֯א וקושט֯א וקרית קודמיהון לס֯פ֯ר֯ מלי ח֯נוך
26. [   ]בׄבׄטנא דׄי אׄתׄרבה בהׄ ולא הׄוׄוׄא אׄתׄין למקם עד די אעׄהׄ צח להון ◦לׄ◦ליׄ ◦◦◦ מלי
27. [   ]אׄ וׄליצ◦◦[ ]◦◦ בׄמׄאכל שגי ובמשתה שׄגׄיׄ ל◦[   ]יׄןׄ חמרא
28. ◦אׄ[   ]◦◦ה[   ]◦◦ לׄךׄ אׄנׄהׄ ◦◦◦אׄ[   ]יׄןׄ [   ]◦◦◦ ◦◦[   ]
29. [הוו]א עׄלל ◦◦◦ ואמרת ל◦◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦תׄ אׄנׄהׄ לצׄעׄןׄ בׄאׄ◦◦[   ] כׄ[ו]לׄ מׄלׄי חׄנׄוׄךׄ
30. [   ]◦רׄאׄ עׄאׄ◦◦[   ]
31. [   ] *vacat*
32–35.

25. m[e many gifts They as]ked scribal knowledge and wisdom and truth for themselves, so I read before them the book of the words of Enoch
26. [ ]in the womb in which he had grown. They were not going to get up until I would clearly expound for them… …the words of
27. [ ]… with much eating and much drinking…[ ]…the wine
28. …[ ]…[ ]… to you, I… [ ]…[ ]
29. [he wa]s entering… and I said to… I… to Zoan, by…[ ] a[l]l the words of Enoch
30. [ ]… [ ]
31. [ ] *vacat*
32–35.

19.25: וׄשׄאׄלׄוׄ לׄהׄוׄן] J/GMT/AW [ושאלו להון]; B^{1} וׄשׄאׄלׄוׄ לׄיׄ; F [ושא]לו ל[י] ... J/GMT/AW's reconstruction is much too long, since there are only three letters at most between the second *lamed* and the next word. The *vav/yod* and final *nun* are clear following this *lamed* on BZ19B, assuring that this word is להון, and not לי. The first *lamed* is directly preceded by another letter, the remains of which fit an *aleph* and support the suggestion of B^{1}.

19.25: ספרא Flk] AY/J/GMT/AW טׄבׄתׄא; B^{1}/F מׄנׄדׄעׄאׄ. I am indebted to M. Berstein for drawing my attention to this reading, which has been confirmed by Flk. I first read כבדא, but when the first letter is compared to the *samekh* of ולסוף in 19.23 the similarity of the sloping, righthand stroke and the protrusion at the upper, lefthand corner are clear and decisive. The *peh* is the least definite letter paleographically speaking and could also be read as *bet*, since the critical top portion is somewhat obscured. This would result in the similarly plausible סׄבׄרׄא, "brilliance, understanding." Either word makes good sense in the present context. The *resh* is sure in BZ19BM and BZ19B, rendering all earlier proposals untenable. Based on the context, I take ספרא as a reference to "book learning, scribal wisdom, erudition" (*safrah* or *saparah*), rather than an actual book (*sifra*). For a similar use of this root see the *Aramaic Levi Document* 13:4 (cf. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, pp. 102 103, 208). This meaning is also found in the Syriac ܣܦܪܐ (*sefro*).

19.25: לספׄרׄ מלי חׄנוך Qim^{1}/F] AY ל[ ]מלי[ ]אך; J/GMT/AW ל[כתב] מלי חנוך; B^{1} לׄנׄ◦◦ מלׄיׄ אׄנׄיׄןׄ. I am not nearly as convinced as Qim^{1} that J/GMT/AW's ל[כתב] does not fit the ink traces, since large parts of each of these letters are effaced, especially the area where the bottom of the *bet* would be. Nevertheless, his reading also fits the remains, and I follow him here. The word חׄנוך is reasonably certain.

19.26: בׄבׄטנא] AY/J/GMT/F/AW בׄכׄפׄנא. The third letter is plainly not a *peh*, but a *tet*, as may be seen when the size and contrast of BZ19B are enhanced. Both letters preceding the *tet* have horizontal base strokes characteristic of a *bet* or similar letter. This noun has the advantage of making sense with the following אׄתׄרבה (the first letter of which is very uncertain).

19.26: הׄוׄוׄא אׄתׄין למקם] AY ואתון למקם [ ]; J/GMT/AW [ ]ין למקם; Pu אתון אנשין למקם; B^{1} הׄוׄוׄאׄ [בע]ין למקם; F [ ]ואתין למקם. The first word of this phrase is uncertain, but the blurred letters do fit B^{1}'s הווא quite nicely. The second word is more certain, but may either represent the *peal* 3 m. pl. perfect (אתון) or pl. participle (אתין) of אתי. I have taken it as the latter, although it must be translated idiomatically (e.g. "they were not about to…"). The graphic reading of the final word is certain, but it has been taken to mean different things. AY translate it as the noun for "place" (= Hebrew מקום), while most others take it to be an infinitive from קום or קמם. The latter makes better sense here and is found again in 20.20.

19.26: אעׄהׄ צח להון] AY [ ]צׄ להׄהׄ; J ◦◦◦◦◦ם ל◦◦; B^{1} אׄחׄזׄיׄתׄהׄ לׄהׄוׄן; Pu/GMT/AW…; F [ ]ץ להון. This entire phrase is marvelously clear and intact in BZ19BM and BZ19B. The meaning, however, is more obscure. The first word must be a 1 sg. imperf. verb, which I take to be from the root יעה/א. This verb typically means "to bubble up, flow forth," but can also be used of speech, i.e. "to utter, expound" (this is especially true in the *aph'el*). The second word typically means "brilliant, shining, clear" as an adjective, but is used once in the Isaiah to refer to clarity of speech (Isa 32:4; לדבר צחות). Hence, I tentatively take this as a reference to the purity of teaching given by Abram. One should take note that AW consistently transliterates what are intended to be ellipses in GMT as three, undiscernible letters.

Column 20

1. [ ]א[ ]
2. ∘∘ל לׄ[ ]וׄלׄוׄ ∘מׄ∘ ∘לל∘ ∘∘לׄ[ ]∘ כׄמׄהׄ נׄ֯יׄ֯צׄחׄ ושפירׄ לה צלם אנפיהא וכמא
3. נׄ֯עׄ֯יׄ֯םׄ מׄ֯יׄ֯צׄ[חה]אׄ [ו]רקׄיקׄ לׄהׄ שער ראישה כמא יאין להׄיׄן לה עיניהא ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא וׄ֯כול נץ
4. אנפיהא מׄשׄפׄיׄרׄ כמא יאא לה חדיה וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא דרעיהא מא שפירן וידיהא כמא
5. כׄלילן וחׄמׄ֯יׄד כול מחזה ידׄיׄהא כמא יאין כפיהא ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת ידיהא רגליהא
6. כמא שׄפׄירן וכמאׄ שׄלׄמׄאׄ להן לה שקיהא וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא ועל כול
7. נשין שופר שפרׄתׄ ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא שגיא עמהא ודלידיהא

1. [ ]...[ ]
2. ...[ ]... ...[ ]... how irresistible and beautiful is the image of her face; how
3. lovely h[er] foreh[ead, and] soft the hair of her head! How graceful are her eyes, and how precious her nose; every feature
4. of her face is radiating beauty! How lovely is her breast, and how beautiful her white complexion! As for her arms, how beautiful they are! And her hands, how
5. perfect they are! Every view of her hands is stimulating! How graceful are her palms, and how long and thin all the fingers of her hands! Her legs
6. are of such beauty, and her thighs so perfectly apportioned! There is not a virgin or bride who enters the bridal chamber more beautiful than she.
7. Her beauty surpasses that of all women, since the height of her beauty soars above them all! And alongside all this beauty she possesses great wisdom. Everything about her

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Column 20: This column is the first whose text is preserved nearly in its entirety, although a few lines at the top are obscured by decay. For this and the following columns the BZ photos generally depict the scroll in worse condition than the AY plates and certain of the IMneg. photographs. Despite this, there are isolated cases where the BZ set provides clear evidence against previous readings.

20.2: נׄ֯יׄ֯צׄחׄ] J ∘צ∘∘; B¹ שׄלׄםׄ; GMT/AW...; F נצ[י]ח. Judging from the plates of AY (which are much better than others photos in this area) there is no room for another letter between the *tsade* and *ḥet*, while the bottom tip of a *yod/vav* can be discerned before both letters. Indeed, the expected (plene) form would have a *yod* in the second position, not the third as in F (cf. Jastrow II, p. 928). B¹'s transcription is not plausible.

20.3: נׄ֯עׄ֯יׄ֯םׄ מׄ֯יׄ֯צׄ[חה]אׄ [ו]רקׄיקׄ] J נ[עים ומא רקיק; B¹ [א]כׄ֯וׄ֯םׄ שׄגׄיׄ וקׄ֯יׄ֯ץׄ; GMT/AW נ[עים וכמא רקיק; F נעים [ו]רקיק. The readings of J and F do not posit enough letters to fit the available space and ink remains, and must be incorrect. When BZ20T is enlarged, and the contrast enhanced, the remains of a *mem* and *tsade* can be recognized, leading to my proposed reading and rendering B¹'s suggestion improbable (the word רקיק "soft" was first suggested by Kutscher). My reading requires the *ḥet* and *heh* to be spaced compactly and so remains uncertain. I am quite convinced, however, of the presence of some form of the word מצח "forehead" for the second word of the line. The first word of the line and the *vav* preceding רקיק are very uncertain.

20.4: מׄשׄפׄיׄרׄ] AY/J/GMT/F/AW [ ]; Pu נציץ; B¹ מׄאׄ רׄ[ד].
BZ20T shows quite convincingly the letter combination *shin-peh-yod/vav* in the middle of this word, leading to my transcription. The most certain of these letters is the *peh*, leaving the suggestions of B¹ and Pu very doubtful. If correct, this word appears to be a m. sg. *pa'el* part. paired with the preceding noun chain נץ אנפיהא (although the initial letter may also be a *kaph*; i.e. כׄשׄפׄיׄרׄ). F's question (p. 194), "Is there room for all that?" may be answered affirmatively.

20.4: דרעיהא AY/J/B¹/GMT/F] AW דדרעיהא. This appears to be a case of dittography by AW.

20.5: כׄלילן AY/J/GMT/AW/F] B¹ דׄלילן. The bottom stroke of the first letter can be seen below the *lamed* in BZ20T and IMneg. 3859.

20.5: וחׄמׄ֯יׄד כול F/GMT/AW] AY ו[ ]כול; J ומא ∘∘ל; Pu ובחיר כול; B¹ ומׄאׄ זׄך כול. F's reading וחמיד was first suggested by Michaud, and fits the letter remains fairly well. The traces of the first two letters do not support the suggestion of Puech (especially the second, which appears to have a semi-horizontal base stroke), and the final *dalet* of this word extends no farther down than the surrounding letters (contra B¹). J's proposal is too short.

20.5: כפיהא J/B¹/Mu²/GMT/AW/F] AY כפיה. The final *aleph* is obvious in AY's plate.

20.7: שפרׄתׄ B¹/Qim¹] AY/J/GMT/F/AW שפרׄהׄ. Once scrutinized, it is quite clear that the final letter is a *tav* that has had its lower, left leg effaced (the upper, left leg and joint are the key indicators).

20.7: ודלידיהא Ros/J/GMT/F/AW] AY/Gin/B¹ ודל ידיהא. The letters are undisputed, but there has been a longstanding debate over whether they should be divided into two words. If the letters are divided as in AY/Gin/B¹, the noun דל is difficult to make sense of, while the compound preposition (*dalet* plus *lamed*) has disturbed other commentators. I find the latter problem less troubling, and better fitting the context here. For a fuller discussion cf. F, p. 197.

8. יאא וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש ומלי תרין חברוהי די פם חד תלתהון ממללין שגי רחמה ושלח
9. לעובע דברהא וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא ונסבהא לה לאנתא ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי
10. למלכא דאחי הוא כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא ולא קטילת בכית אנה
11. אברם בׄכׄי תקיף אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בׄליליא כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס *vacat*
12. בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה אל עליון מרי לכול
13. עלמים די אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט למעבד בכולהון דין וכען
14. קבלתך מרי על פרעו צען מלך מצרין די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף עבד לי דין מנה ואחזי ידך רבתא
15. בה ובכול ביתה ואל ישלט בליליא דן לטמיא אנתתי מני וי^{נ}דעוך מרי די אנתה מרה לכול מלכי
16. ארעא ובכית וחשית בליליא דן שלח לה אל עליון רוח מכדש למכתשׁה ולכול אנש ביתה רוח
17. באישא והואת כתשא לה ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל למקׄרׄב בהא ואף לׄא ידעׄהא והיא עמה
18. תרתין שנין ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא ועל כול אנש ביתה ושלח
19. קרא לכול ח֯כ֯י֯מ֯[י] מצרין ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי מצרין הן יכולון לאסיׄותה מן מׄכתשא דן ולאנש
20. ביתה ולׄא יכׄלׄו כׄוׄל אסיׄא ואשפיא וכול חכימיא למקם לאסיותה ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון

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8. is lovely! Now when the king heard the words of Herqanosh and his two companions—that the three of them spoke as one—he greatly desired her, and sent someone
9. to be quick in acquiring her. When he saw her he was dumbfounded at all of her beauty, and took her for himself as a wife. He also sought to kill me, but Sarai said
10. to the king, "He is my brother," so that I would benefit on account of her. Thus I, Abram, was spared because of her, and was not killed. I,
11. Abram, wept bitterly—I and Lot, my brother's son, with me—on the night when Sarai was taken from me by force. *vacat*
12. That night I prayed and entreated and asked for mercy. Through sorrow and streaming tears I said, "Blessed are you Most High God, my Lord, for all
13. ages; for you are Lord and Ruler over everything. You are sovereign over all the kings of the earth, having power to enact judgment on all of them. So now
14. I lodge my complaint before you, my Lord, concerning Pharaoh Zoan, king of Egypt, for my wife has been taken from me forcefully. Bring judgment against him on my behalf, and reveal your mighty hand
15. through him and all of his house, that he might not prevail this night in rendering my wife unclean for me! Thus, they will come to know you, my Lord, that you are Lord over all the kings
16. of the earth." So I wept and was deeply troubled. During that night the Most High God sent a pestilential spirit to afflict him, and to every person of his household an evil
17. spirit. It was an ongoing affliction for him and every person of his household, so that he was not able to approach her, nor did he have sexual relations with her. She was with him
18. for two years, and at the end of two years the afflictions and hardships grew heavier and more powerful over him and every person of his household. So he sent
19. a message to all the wise me[n] of Egypt, and to all the magicians, in addition to all the physicians of Egypt, (to see) if they could heal him and (every) person
20. of his household of this affliction. But all of the physicians and magicians and all of the wise men were not able to succeed in curing him, for the spirit began afflicting all of them (too),

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20.17: והיא F] AY/J/B¹/GMT/AW והוא. F understands this to be the 3 f. sg. ind. personal pronoun, rather than a 3 m. sg. *pe'al* perf. verb. His position accords better with the following עמה, since others must either take והוא to be a mistaken verbal form (i.e. it is meant to be the feminine הואת; so AW?) or the suffix of עמה to be feminine, despite its typical orthography (-הא) in the scroll.

21. וע֯רקו *vacat* באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש ובעא מני די אתה ואצלה על
22. מלכׄא ואסמׄוך ידי עלוהי ויחה ארי בׄח֯לם חׄז֯[ני] ואמר לה לוט לא יכול אברם דדי לצליׄא על
23. מלכׄא ושרי אנתׄתׄהׄ עׄמה וכען אזל אמר למלכא ויׄשׄלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא ויצלה עלוהי ויחה
24. *vacat* וׄכׄדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא ונגדיא
25. אלן די מתכתש ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי אנתת אברם י֯תׄיבו נה לשרי לאׄבׄרם בעלה
26. ויתוך מנכה מ֯כׄתשא דׄןׄ ורוח שחלניא וקרׄא [מ]ל[כ]א֯ ליׄ וׄאמר לי מׄא עבדתה לי בדיל [מא] ה֯וית אמר
27. לי די אחתי היא והיא הואתׄ אנתתךׄ ונסבתׄהא לי לאנתה הא אנתתך דבׄר֯ה֯ אזל ועדי לך מן
28. כול מדינת מצרין וכען צׄלי עׄליׄ ועל ביתי ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באישׄתׄא וׄצׄליתׄ על[וה]י֯[די] א֯רׄפא

21. so that they fled the scene! *vacat* At this point Herqanosh came to me asking that I come pray over
22. the king and lay my hands upon him, so that he would live. This was because he had seen [me] in a dream… But Lot said to him, "Abram, my uncle, cannot pray over
23. the king while his wife Sarai is with him! Now go and tell the king that he should send his wife away from himself to her husband; then he (Abram) will pray over him so that he might live."
24. *vacat* Now when Herqanosh heard the words of Lot, he went (and) said to the king, "All these afflictions and hardships
25. that are afflicting and troubling my lord the king are due to Sarai, the wife of Abram. Just return Sarai to Abram her husband
26. and this affliction and the spirit of foulness will depart from you." So the [k]i[ng] called me and said to me, "What have you done to me?! Why were you saying
27. to me 'she is my sister' when she was your wife, so that I took her as a wife for myself?! Here is your wife. Take her, go and get yourself out of
28. every district of Egypt! But now pray over me and my household, that this evil spirit may be driven away from us. So I prayed over [hi]m, that I might heal

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20.22: חׄז֯[ני] **]** J/GMT/F/AW חׄז֯[ני]; B^1 חז[א כן]. Even the plate in AY reveals that חזני alone does not fully account for the available space. B^1's suggestion is more acceptable with regard to space, but still falls approximately one letter short.

20.25: י֯תׄיבו AY/Gin/J/GMT/F/AW **]** B^1 א֯תׄיבו. The slight ink remains visible on BZ20M and IMneg. 3859 do not allow a decisive judgment regarding B^1's proposed *aleph*. The first letter is almost completely effaced, and his reading remains possible. However, the *yod* of an imperf. form would fit better the expected syntax and morphology.

20.26: ויתוך AY/B^1/J/GMT/F/AW **]** Kut/Gin ויתרך. The reading of Kut/Gin is not paleographically plausible. ויתרך was first suggested to Kutscher by Moshe Greenberg (cf. Kut, p. 31).

20.26: שחלניא J/B^1/GMT/F/AW **]** AY שחלנפא. The penultimate letter is clearly read as a *yod* in all of the photographs.

20.26: [מ]ל[כ]א֯ ליׄ GMT/AW **]** AY/F/Qim^1 אלו֯ ליׄ; J לי [מ]ל[כא]; B^1 מ֯ל֯כ֯א֯ לי. While B^1 may be overoptimistic in his ability to read these letters, his proposal makes good sense, both supplying a subject for וקרׄא and fitting the available space and ink traces. Qim^1 vigorously defends the reading of AY and F, but he does not adequately deal with the large space (well over a typical word division) between the preceding וקרא and the first *lamed*, which is also a problem for J. Moreover, both Qim^1 and F (p. 210) go on at length, without great success, to explain the anomalous form אלו. J's proposal may be safely ruled out, as previously noted by Puech (p. 590).

20.26: [מא] ה֯וית אמר B^1/Qim^1/F **]** AY/J/GMT/AW [שר]י ותׄאמר. The reading of AY/J/GMT/AW is implausible for two reasons. First, Qim^1 noted the oddity of a conversive imperfect such as ותאמר, which is not known elsewhere from Qumran Aramaic. Second, the word שרי would fall at least one letter short of filling the available space. The proposal of B^1/Qim^1/F is preferable by all accounts.

20.27: ד֯ב֯ר֯ה֯ Ros/J/B^1/GMT/F/AW **]** AY דעׄמׄי. The reading adopted here is supported by several of the targums (*Onqelos*, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, and *Neofiti* 1; cf. F, p. 211).

20.28: א֯רׄפא [די] על[וה]י֯ **]** AY על[ ]דנׄא; J/GMT על [די ית]רפא; B^1 על[וה]י֯ [על] רפאו֯/^{29}הי; F על [מר]דפא; B^3 על[וה]י [דית]רפא/^{29}חי; AW על עלו֯ה֯י֯ מ֯גׄדפא. The faint remains of an *aleph* can be seen at the beginning of my א֯רׄפא on BZ20B when enlarged and contrast-enhanced. Even if not deemed an *aleph*, the ink remains of this letter exclude the reconstructions of J/GMT (already disputed by Puech) and F. F's proposal is also too short. There does not appear to be a word break before the *resh*, as posited by B^1. He likely broke the word here (and created an additional *vav* at the end of the word) based on his belief that this word is continued on the following line something which happens nowhere else in the manuscript. The word הו, at the beginning of the next line, is better understood as an aberrant form of the 3 m. sg. pronoun (cf. F, p. 212). AW's transcription is difficult to make sense of, and appears to have incorporated two distinct readings from variant editions of the text one which read על and the other עלוהי to begin the phrase. There are definitely not two occurences of על here.

29. הו וסמכת ידי עׄלׄ [ר]אׄישה ואתפלי מנה מכתשא ואתגערתׄ [מנה רוחא] בׄאישתא וחׄי֯ וקם ו֯י֯הׄבׄ
30. לי מלכא בׄי֯[ומא דנ]אׄ מנתנׄ[ן] שׄגיאׄן וימא לי מלכא במומה די לא י֯ד֯עׄהׄא ו[לא ט]מׄיהא ואתׄיׄבׄ לׄיׄ
31. לשׄרׄי ויהב להׄ מלכא כׄ[סף וד]הב [ש]גיא ולבוש שגי די בׄוׄץׄ וארגׄוׄאׄן דׄי֯ ○○לׄ○בׄשׄ ○○○○[ ]
32. קודמיהא ואף לחגר ואשׄלׄמהאׄ לׄי ומני עמי אנוש די ינפקׄ֯[מן מצרי]ןׄ֯ לׄ[ ]○○○ ○○○ לׄעׄמׄךׄ לׄךׄ [ ]
33. *vacat* וגבלת אנה אברם בנכסין שגיאין לחדא ואף בכסף ודהב וסלקת מן מׄצׄרׄ[י]ן [ואז]לׄ[לוט]
34. בׄר אחי עמי ואף לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין ונסב לה אנתה מן בׄנׄתׄ מׄצׄרׄ[י]ן והוׄית שרׄהׄ [עמה]

29. him, and I laid my hands upon his [h]ead. Thus, the affliction was removed from him, and the evil [spirit] driven away [from him]. The king recovered, rose up, and gave
30. to me on t[hat da]y many gift[s], and the king swore to me by an oath that he did not have sexual relations with her, [nor] did he [de]file her. Then he returned
31. Sarai to me, and the king gave to her [m]uch si[lver and g]old and much clothing of fine linen and purple, which… …[ ]
32. before her, as well as Hagar. Thus he restored her to me, and appointed for me a man who would escort me [from Egyp]t to[ ]… to your people. To you [ ]
33. *vacat* Now I, Abram, grew tremendously in many flocks and also in silver and gold. I went up from Egy[p]t, [and] my brother's son
34. [Lot wen]t with me. Lot had also acquired for himself many flocks, and took a wife for himself from the daughters of Egy[p]t. I was encamping [with him]

20.29: וחׄי֯ וקם ו֯י֯הׄבׄ J/GMT/AW **]** AY [הו]דע וחׄי֯ וקם; B^1/F ואׄתׄוקם ויהב. The first word is badly damaged and very difficult to read, and the transcription of B^1/F should not be excluded absolutely. The word ו֯י֯הׄבׄ at the end of the line is graphically tenable and makes better sense than AY's [הו]דע.

20.30: מנתנׄ[ן] שׄגיאׄן J/B^1/GMT/AW **]** AY מנת[ ]; F מנתנׄ[ן]. In reaction to J's transcription of שגיאן, F states that "the adj. is not found on the photograph of this column" (p. 214). He is, however, mistaken, as recognized by all other editions. A full word is plainly visible immediately following מנתנׄ[ן] on the plate in AY.

20.30: י֯ד֯עׄהׄא ו[לא ט]מׄיהא B^1/F **]** AY והא[ ]האי[ ]; J ○○○האא[ ]ו; GMT/AW …[…]הא. I follow the suggestion of B^1 with due hesitation, since on all photographs there appears to be a final *kaph* approximately where the *dalet* of י֯ד֯עׄהׄא would be placed. It is nearly impossible, however, to tell what was written in this area.

20.32: ואשׄלׄמהאׄ B^1/Qim^1/F **]** AY ו֯אׄ[ ]לׄמה; Gin/J/GMT/AW וא[ש]למה. The root שלם, first suggested by Ginsberg, appears to be correct. The ending, however, must be longer than a *heh* alone based on space and ink traces (despite a crack in the leather between this and the following word).

20.32: ינפקׄ֯[מן מצרי]ן֯ **]** AY ינפקׄ[; J ינפק[ונני]; B^1 ינפקׄ֯ו֯נ֯נ֯י֯ מׄן֯ מׄצׄרׄי֯ן֯ עׄ[ר]אׄ ו֯[ג]; F ינפק[ונני מן מצרין]; GMT/AW ינפקונני *vac* מן מצרין …ול. The second half of this line is largely effaced, accounting for the wide range of readings to date. Some issues can, however, be resolved. First, there is clearly no *vacat* at the end of the line, as GMT/AW suggest. The ending -ונני, first proposed by J, is not at all sure (contra GMT/AW), and one might more tenably expect a sg. verb to go with the sg. noun אנוש. Later in the line, the remains of what may be a final *nun* and then a *lamed* may be discerned, where I read the end of [מן מצרי]ן֯. B^1's proposal, apparently reading the final letter at the end of the line as the end of the word מצרין, is grossly inaccurate with regard to available space, and also does not take due account of the *lamed* less than halfway between ינפקׄ and the end of the line.

20.33: וגבלת **]** AY/F ואזלת; J/B^1/GMT/AW ואזלת. What is perceptible with difficulty on AY's plate is starkly obvious on BZ20B. The second and third letters are very clearly *gimel-bet*, not *aleph-zayin* (the bottom of the *bet* is also easily seen on IMneg. 3859). The typical Aramaic meanings of this verb are "knead, create, grow in size [used only of parasites]" (Jastrow I, p. 207; Sokoloff, DJPA, p. 119). While the last meaning must be the general sense in which the word is used here, this attestation represents a novel usage and so adds to our knowledge of the Aramaic lexicon during this period. Context dictates the meaning to be something such as "I grew/expanded, became wealthy," a meaning which seems distantly related to the nominative meaning "border, outer limits" (i.e. the bounds of Abram's possessions were positively affected).

20.33: [ואז]לׄ[לוט] F **]** AY/GMT/AW [ולוט]; J [ואזל לוט]; B^1 [ו]לׄ[וט]. The best view of the *lamed* is found on AY's plate, which shows only the negative imprint where the ink has eaten away the leather. This imprint looks too far away from the *nun* of מצרין (approx. 2 3 letters) to have a *vav* alone intervening.

20.34: שרׄהׄ B^1 **]** J/GMT/AW ש]רא; F שׄרׄאׄ. A single, vertical stroke is visible following the *resh* on BZ20B, making a *heh* likely. The spelling שרא is, however, found in 22.13.

Column 21

1. כׄל אתר משריאתי עד די דבקת לבית אל לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחא ובניתה תניאני
2. לׄ◦ וקרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחה לאל עליון וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא והללת לשם אלהא וברכת
3. לׄאלה֯א ואודית תמן קודם אלהא על כול נכסיא וטבתא די יהב לי ודי עבד עמי טב ודי אתיבני
4. לארעא דא בשלם *vacat*
5. בׄתר יומא דן פרש לוט מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא וכול נכסוהי
6. עמה ואף אנה אוספת לה על דילה שגי והוא רעהׄ נכסוהי ודבק עד סודם וז֯בׄן לה בסודם בי
7. ויתב בה ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל ובאש עלי די פרש לוט בר אחי מן לואתי
8. *vacat* ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא ואמר לי סלק לך לרׄמת חצור די על שמאל
9. בית אל אתר די אנתה יתב ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנחא ולמערבא ולדרומא וׄלצפונא וחזי כול

1. (at) every place of my (former) encampments until I reached Bethel, the place where I had built the altar. I built it a second time,
2. … and offered upon it burnt offerings and a meal offering to the Most High God, and I called there on the name of the Lord of the Ages. I praised the name of God, blessed
3. God, and gave thanks there before God because of all the flocks and good things that he had given to me, and because he had worked good on my behalf and returned me
4. to this land in peace. *vacat*
5. After this day Lot parted from me due to the behavior of our shepherds. He went and settled in the Jordan Valley along with all of his flocks,
6. and I also added a great deal to his belongings. As he was pasturing his flocks he reached Sodom, and bought a house for himself in Sodom.
7. He lived in it while I was living on the mountain of Bethel, and it was disturbing to me that Lot, my brother's son, had parted from me.
8. *vacat* Then God appeared to me in a vision in the night, and said to me, "Go up to Ramat-Hazor, which is to the north of
9. Bethel, the place where you are living. Lift up your eyes and look to the east, to the west, to the south, and to the north, and see this entire

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Column 21: Only a small portion of the bottom of this column is missing. The text is otherwise in excellent condition compared with the rest of the scroll.

21.1: כׄל] AY/GMT/F/AW [ב]כׄל; Ros/Qim¹/B¹ על; J בכל. The split in the leather at the inscribed margin line appears to be quite clean, and I am unconvinced that an entire letter has been lost. J certainly did not see an intact *bet* when viewing the photograph, and should have placed this letter in brackets. The letter preceding the *lamed* is unlikely to be an *ayin* judging from the length of the stroke still visible, which is not intersected by another line. If two strokes did intersect above what is currently visible, the space between letters would be rather large. Qim¹ is undecided on whether this letter is an *ayin* or *kaph* but agrees that there was no letter preceding it. The only other defective spelling of כול is in 20.6.

21.2: לׄ ◦ וׄקרבת] AY/J/GMT/AW [ו]אקרבת; B¹ ו֯קרבת; F ואׄקרבת. It is puzzling that no previous editions have incorporated what is quite clearly the upper portion of a *lamed* at the beginning of this line. This letter can be seen in both AY's plate and BZ20B. It appears that the *lamed* was followed by a small letter and then the word וקרבת. The *lamed* may also have been preceded by another letter. Which word stood here is difficult to surmise, but the clear physical evidence should not be disregarded. Perhaps it is the word לי, "for myself"?

21.3: לׄאלה֯א Qim¹/B²ᐟ³/F] AY/J [א]להא; GMT/AW אׄל֯הא. Qimron first noted the trace of a *lamed*, the direct object marker, at the beginning of this line. It is also visible in BZ21T.

21.6: וז֯בׄן Gin/Kut/Ros/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW] AY ויׄבן. Although the middle letters are obscured, and either reading is paleographically possible, there has been overwhelming agreement that וזבן is to be read here.

21.8: בחזוא Kut/Gin/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW] AY בחזיא. Kutscher observed that this is a misprint in AY (see F, p. 219, for discussion).

21.9: בית אל] AY/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW ביתאל. This should be read as two words, as elsewhere (cf. lines 1 and 7). For other examples of close spacing see the note on 2.9.

10. ארעא דא די אנה יהב לך ולזרעך לכול עלמים וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור וחזית ארעא מן
11. רמתא דא מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן וכול ארע גבל̇ עד קדש וכול מדברא
12. רבא די מדנח חורן ושניר עד פורת ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן כול ארעא דא וירתונה לכול עלמים
13. ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא ד̇י לא ישכח כול בר אנוש לממניה ואף זרעך לא יתמנה קום הלך ואזל
14. וחזי כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיהא ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה אחריך עד כול עלמיא *vacat*
15. ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר ולמחזה ארעא ושרית למסחר מן ג̇יחון נהרא ואתית ליד ימא עד די
16. דבקת לטור תורא וסחרת מן לי̊[ד]י̊מא רבא דן די מלחא ואזלת ליד טור תורא למדנחא לפותי ארעא
17. עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא וסחרת ליד פורת עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא למדנחא והוית אתה לי ליד
18. ימא שמוקא עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף די נפק מן ימא שמוקא וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת גחון
19. נהרא ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם ואשכחת כול אנש̇י שלם ואזלת ויתבת באלונ̇י ממרה̇ ד̇י בחברון
20. כלמדנח צפון חברון ובנית תמן מדבח ואסקת ע̇לוה̇י עלא ומנחא לאל עליון ואכלת ואשתית תמן

ל
21. אנה וכול אנש ביתי ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנם ולאשכול תתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי ואכלו כחדא
22. עמי ואשתיו עמי *vacat*

10. land that I am giving to you and to your descendants for all ages.” So on the following day I went up to Ramat-Hazor and I saw the land from
11. this high point: from the River of Egypt up to Lebanon and Senir, and from the Great Sea to Hauran, and all the land of Gebal up to Kadesh, and the entire Great Desert
12. that is east of Hauran and Senir, up to the Euphrates. He said to me, “To your descendants I will give all of this land, and they will inherit it for all ages.
13. I will make your descendants as numerous as the dust of the earth, which no one is able to reckon. So too will your descendants be beyond reckoning. Get up, walk around, go
14. and see how great are its length and its width. For I shall give it to you and to your descendants after you unto all the ages. *vacat*
15. So I, Abram, embarked to hike around and look at the land. I began to travel the circuit from the Gihon River, and came alongside the Sea until
16. I reached Mount Taurus. I then traversed from alo[ng] this Great Sea of Salt and went alongside Mount Taurus to the east, through the breadth of the land,
17. until I reached the Euphrates River. I journeyed along the Euphrates until I reached the Erythrean Sea, to the East, and was traveling along
18. the Erythrean Sea until I reached the gulf of the Red Sea, which extends out from the Erythrean Sea. I went around to the south until I reached the Gihon
19. River, and I then returned, arriving at my house in safety. I found all of my people safe and went and settled at the Oaks of Mamre, which are near Hebron,
20. to the northeast of Hebron. I built an altar there and offered upon it a burnt offering and a meal offering to the Most High God. I ate and drank there,
21. I and every person of my household. I also sent an invitation to Mamre, Arnem, and Eshkol, three Amorite brothers (who were) my friends, and they ate
22. and drank together with me. *vacat*

21.10: למחרתי Gin/J/B^1/GMT/F/AW] AY למחרתו. For the linguistic reasoning behind this change see Gin, p. 148.

23. קדמת יומיא אלן אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם אמרפל מלך בבל אריוך מלך כפתוך תרעל מלך גׄוים די
24. היא בין נהרין ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם ועם ברשע מלך עומרם ועם שנאב מלך אדמא
25. ועם שמיאבד מלך צבוין ועם מלך בלע כול אלן אזדמנו כחדא לקרב לעמקא די סׄדיא ותקף מלך
26. עׄילם ומלכיא די עמה למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי ושויו עליהון מדא תרתי עשרה שנין הׄווׄא
27. יׄהבין מדתהון למלך עילם ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה ובשנת ארבע עשרה דבר מלך עילם לכול
28. חברוהי וסלקו ארחא די מדברא והׄווא מׄחין ובזין מן פורת נהרא ומחו לרפאיא די בעשתׄרׄא

מ

29. דקרנין ולזוזמיא די בעמן ולאימיא [די ב]שׁוה הקריות ולחוריא די בטורי גבל עד דבׄקׄו לאיל
30. פרן די במדברׄאׄ ותׄבׄו ו֯מׄח֯ו֯ לעׄי֯ן֯ ד֯[ינא]◦ ד֯י֯ בחצצן תמר *vacat*
31. וׄנפק מלך סׄודׄם לעורעׄהׄון ומלך [עומרם ומ]לׄךׄ אדמא ומלך צׄבׄואׄין ומלך בׄלׄעׄ וׄפׄתׄח֯ו קרבא

23. Before these days, Chedarlaomer, the king of Elam, Amraphel, the king of Babylon, Arioch, the king of Cappadocia, (and) Tiral, the king of Goiim, which
24. is Mesopotamia, came and waged war with Bera, the king of Sodom, and with Birsha, the king of Gomorrah, and with Shinab, the king of Admah,
25. and with Shemiabad, the king of Zeboiim, and with the king of Bela. All of these banded together for battle at the Valley of Siddim. The king of
26. Elam and the kings who were with him overpowered the king of Sodom and all of his allies, and they imposed a tribute on them. For twelve years they were
27. paying their tributes to the king of Elam, but during the thirteenth year they rebelled against him, so that in the fourteenth year the king of Elam gathered together all
28. of his allies. They went up the Way of the Desert, destroying and plundering from the Euphrates River (onward). They destroyed the Rephaim who were in Ashtera
29. of Karnaim, the Zumzamim, who were in Amman, the Emim, [who were in] Shaveh-Hakerioth, and the Hurrians, who were in the mountains of Gebal, until they reached El-
30. Paran, which is in the desert. They then turned back and destroyed Ein-[Dina]…, which is in Hazazon-Tamar. *vacat*
31. Now the king of Sodom went out to meet them along with the king of [Gomorrah, the k]ing of Admah, the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela. They engaged the battle

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21.23: תרעל VdK/B^1 **]** AY/J/GMT/F/AW תדעל. One could not ask for a clearer *resh* than in this word (cf. the plate in AY), and only adherence to the form expected from the MT/SP could have prompted the transcription of תדעל by AY/J/GMT/F/AW. The interchange between *dalet* and *resh* is a common one, and related forms are attested in the LXX (Θαργάλ) and Jub. 13:22 (Tergal).

21.24: היא B^1/F **]** AY/J/GMT/AW הוא. The transcription of this word determines to which referent it belongs, and even whether it is a pronoun or verb (for discussion cf. F, p. 233). The middle letter is very short, prompting me to read *yod*, although *vav* is also possible.

21.26: מדא Kut/Gin/J/B^1/GMT/F/AW **]** AY מרא. This is a misprint in AY.

21.30: לעׄי֯ן֯ ד֯[ינא]◦ ד֯י֯ **]** AY [ ]לין[ ]; J/Qim^1(?) לעין [דינא]; B^1 לע֯י֯ן֯ ד֯י֯נ֯א֯ [ולאנש]א֯ ד֯י֯; GMT ל…[…]; F לע֯י֯ן [דינא ולאנש]א די; AW לע֯י֯ן֯ ד֯י֯נ֯א֯ [ולאנוש] די. The reading לעין has garnered widespread support based on the toponym עין משפט in Gen 14:7. The word דינא cannot be read (contra B^1 and AW), although it makes good sense in light of the use of this toponym in *Targum Onqelos*. The bottom of a single, vertical stroke can be seen following the final *nun* in BZ21B, which could represent part of a *dalet*. The following reconstructions of B^1/F and AW are conjecture, but are likely close to correct, conflating the various people groups of חצצן תמר in Gen 14:7 into a single designation (for further discussion cf. F, p. 237). Qimron does not give a reading, but seems generally to agree with J.

21.31: [עומרם ומ]לׄךׄ B^1/F/AW **]** AY/J/GMT [עומרם ומ]לך. There is a large, vertical crack in the leather from line 30 downward. One can observe in the word לע֯י֯ן֯ (discussed in the previous note) that the leather to the right of the split has shrunken significantly. This shrinkage accounts for the space left by AY/J/GMT, and allows for the words to be written continuously.

21.31: וׄפׄתׄח֯ו Pu/B^1 **]** AY [ ]; Gin ואגחו; J וסדרו; GMT …; F/AW ו[ע]בׄדׄ[ו]. Gin and F/AW have superior readings based on linguistic grounds alone. Both אגח (from נגח; cf. Jastrow II, p. 873) and עבד (cf. 21.24; Dan 7:21; 4QEnGiants^c 1:4) are verbs commonly used with the noun קרבא to describe engagement in battle. However, Puech (p. 591) is correct in his paleographic analysis, stating that "traces de toutes les letters, *pé*, *taw*, *het* ligature avec *taw*" are visible on the plate in AY (as well as in BZ21B). F may be correct that the root פתח has not previously been known to carry this meaning, but it seems best to follow the physical evidence of the manuscript. Despite its lack of previous attestation, the verb פתח makes good sense in context here, referring to the act of "entering into" or "engaging" the battle.

32. בעמ֯קא֯ ד[י סדיא] לקובלי כדרלע֯[ומר ומלכיא] די עמה ואתבר מלך סודום וערק ומ֯לך עומר֯ם
33. נפל ו֯ש֯גיאין מ֯ן֯ [כו]ל֯[ ]ל֯[ ]ו֯ב֯ז֯ מ֯ל֯ך֯ ע֯ילם֯ כול נכסיא די סודם֯ ודי
34. [ע]ו֯מ֯ר֯ם֯ [וכול] ר֯[כ]ו֯שי֯א֯ [די וכול ד]י֯ אשכ֯[ח]ו֯ [תמן] ושבי֯ לוט בר אחוי

32. in the Valley o[f Siddim] against Chedarla[omer and the kings] who were with him, but the king of Sodom was crushed and fled, while the king of Gomorrah
33. fell, and many from [al]l[ ]...[ ] The king of Elam plundered all of the goods of Sodom and of
34. [Go]morrah, [and all] the p[oss]essions [of and all th]at they fou[nd there], while Lot, the son of Abram's brother,

Column 22

1. די אברם די הוא יתב בסודם כחדא עמהון וכול נכסוהי ואתה חד מן רעה
2. ענה די יהב אברם ללוט די פלט מ֯ן שביא על אברם ואברם באדין הוא
3. יתב בחברון וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל ודי
4. נגדו מלכיא ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין ואזלין
5. למדינת דרמשק ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי ואתחלם אברם וקם

1. who was living in Sodom together with them along with all his flocks, was taken captive. But one of the shepherds
2. of the flock that Abram had given to Lot, who had escaped from the captors, came to Abram. Now at that time Abram
3. was living in Hebron, and he informed him that his brother's son Lot had been captured, along with all of his property, but that he had not been killed. Also that
4. the kings had set out (on) the Way of the Great Valley toward their province, (all the while) taking captives, plundering, destroying, killing, and heading
5. for the city Damascus. Then Abram wept over his brother's son Lot. Having collected himself, Abram got up

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21.32: [כדרלע֯[ומר ומלכיא J/B^{1} **]** AY/Pu/GMT/F/AW [כדרלע֯[ומר מלך עילם ומלכיא. Contra Puech, there does not seem to be enough room for the longer reading (it is approximately 2-3 letters too long). Mu^{1} (pp. 25 26) has provided additional argumentation for a shorter reading, positing several possibilities. F does not include these words in his translation, causing one to wonder if he meant them to be in his transcription.

21.33: ו֯ש֯גיאין מ֯ן֯ [כו]ל֯ **]** AY] בע֯גיאין; J/GMT [די בע֯גיאין; B^{1} ב֯ע֯גיאין [די חימרא; AW בע֯גיאין] די חמרא F; וש֯גיאין [עמה. Both readings are paleographically acceptable, but I have chosen ו֯ש֯גיאין for two reasons. First, the word עגיאין, understood by those who transcribe it as "pits," is otherwise unattested in Aramaic—the closest corollary being עוגיתא "irrigation ditch" (cf. F, p. 238). Second, the traces of letters following this word do not appear to fit any of the suggested reconstructions.

21.34: ושבי֯ B^{1}/Qim^{1}/F **]** AY/GMT/AW ושבו֯. The concern here is whether the verb is active, and belongs with a hypothetical pl. subject (i.e. "they took captive"), or passive, and belongs with Lot (i.e. "Lot was taken captive"). Either is plausible, although the latter form is used in 22.3, and is therefore adopted here. Cf. Qim^{1}, p. 18 for further discussion.

Column 22: Like col. 16, this column stands last on its sheet of parchment, and is significantly narrower than those preceding it. An especially curious trait of this column is that the following sheet was cut off in antiquity. The reason for this is not clear, although the photographs plainly show that the seam and its thread are intact, and that to the left of the seam is a clean cut mark. That the cut was made in antiquity is assured, since this column was rolled at the core of the scroll and could not have been tampered with before its unrolling by Biberkraut. Along with the fact that the last line of the column ends mid-sentence, the cut proves that this is not the end of the original scroll. The BZ photographs present the column in worse condition than the AY plate and some of the IMneg. photos, but again shed light on a few readings that are unclear in other photographs.

6. ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר וער̊נם
7. ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה והוא רדף בתרהון עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון
8. שרין בבקעת דן ורמה עליהון בליליא מן ארבע רוחיהון והווא קטל
9. בהון בליליא ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי
10. עד דבקו לחלבון די שימא על שמאל דרמשק ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא
11. וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא וכול נכסוהי ו̊כ̊ול
12. שביתא די שבאו אתיב ושמע מלך סודם די אתיב אברם כול שביתא
13. וכול בזתא וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם היא ירושלם ואברם שרא בעמק
14. שוא והוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק
15. מאכל ומשתה לאברם ולכול אנשא̊ די עמה והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון וברך
16. ל̊אברם ואמר בריך אברם לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא ובריך אל עליון

נ

17. די סגר ש̊נא̊יך בידך ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיא די מלך עילם וחברוהי
18. *vacat* באדין קרב מלכא די סודם ואמר לאברם מרי אברם

י

19. הב לי נפשא די אתי לי די שביא עמך די אצלתה מן מלך עילם ונכסיא
20. כולהון שביקין לך *vacat* אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם מרים אנה

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6. and chose from his servants three hundred and eighteen choice warriors fit for battle. Arnem,
7. Eshkol, and Mamre also set out with him. He chased after them until he reached Dan, where he found them
8. camping in the Valley of Dan. He swooped upon them at night from all four directions, killing
9. among them throughout the night. He crushed them and chased after them, and all of them were fleeing before him
10. until they reached Helbon, which is situated to the north of Damascus. (There) he took away from them everyone they had captured,
11. all that they had plundered, and all of their own goods. Lot, his brother's son, he also saved, along with his property. All
12. those whom they had taken captive he brought back. When the king of Sodom heard that Abram had brought back all of the captives
13. and all of the plunder, he went up to meet him. He came to Salem, which is Jerusalem, and Abram encamped in the Valley
14. of Shaveh, which is the Valley of the King – the Valley of Bet-Hakerem. And Melchizedek, the king of Salem, brought out
15. food and drink for Abram and for all of the men who were with him. He was the priest of the Most High God, and he blessed
16. Abram, saying, "Blessed be Abram by the Most High God, the Lord of heaven and earth! And blessed be the Most High God,
17. who delivered those who hate you into your hand!" So he gave him a tenth of all the property of the king of Elam and his allies.
18. *vacat* Then the king of Sodom drew near and said to Abram, "My lord, Abram,
19. give me anyone who belongs to me of the captives with you, whom you have rescued from the king of Elam. But as for all the property,
20. it is left to you." *vacat* Then Abram said to the king of Sodom, "I lift up

21. ידי יומא דן לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן
מ
22. אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך דלא תהוה אמר   דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי
23. אברם ברא מן די אכלו כבר עולימי די עמי וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא די
24. אזלו עמׄי אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך ואתיב אברם כול נכסיא וכול
25. שביתא וׄיהב למלך סודם וכול שביא די הואת עמה מן ארעא דא שבק
26. ושלח כולהון   *vacat*
27. בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי{ו} אלהא לאברם בחזוא ואמר לה הא עשר שנין
28. שלמא מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין וחדא
29. מן די תבת מן מצרין וכען בקר ומני כול די איתי לך וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו מן
30. כול די נפקו עמך ביום מפקך מן חרן   וכען אל תדחל אנה עמך ואהׄוׄהׄ לך
31. סעד ותקף ואנה מגן עליך ואספרׄך לׄך לתקיׄף ברא מנך עתרׄך ונכסיך
32. ישגון לחדא   *vacat*   ואמר אברם מרי אלהא שגי לי עתר ונכסין ולמא לי

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21. my hands this day to the Most High God, the Lord of heaven and earth, (swearing) that I will take neither string nor sandal strap
22. from all that which belongs to you, lest you should say, 'All the wealth of Abram (derives) from my
23. property.' (This) excludes that which my young men who are with me have already eaten, and also the portion of the three men who
24. went with me. (Only) they have authority to give you their portions. So Abram returned all of the property and all
25. of the captives, and gave (them) to the king of Sodom. Every one of the captives who were with him from that land he set free
26. and sent all of them away.   *vacat*
27. After these things God appeared to Abram in a vision, and said to him, "Look, ten years
28. have elapsed since the day you came out of Haran; two years you spent here, seven in Egypt, and one (has passed)
29. since you returned from Egypt. Now inspect and count all that you have; see that by doubling they have increased greatly, beyond
30. all that came out with you on the day of your departure from Haran. And now do not fear; I am with you, and will be for you
31. a support and strength. I am a shield over you, and a buckler for you against those stronger than you. Your wealth and your property
32. will increase enormously.   Abram said, "My Lord God, I have wealth and property in great abundance, yet what are

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22.27: בחזוא Kut/Gin/J/B^1/GMT/F/AW] AY בחזיא. The fourth letter should be read as a *vav*, as in 21.8.

22.28: עבדתה Kut/J/B^1/GMT/F/AW] AY (? עבדתה) עברתה. Kutscher (p. 34) was the first to note that the verb עבד carries the meaning "to spend time," assuring that this is the correct reading.

22.30: ואהׄוׄהׄ Gin/J/B^1/GMT/F/AW] AY ואהׄיׄהׄ; Qim^1 וא∘ו∘. AY transcribed the Hebrew form rather than the Aramaic, as Ginsberg noted. Qim^1 argues that "the third letter is not a *he*," and that the last letter "looks like a *waw*-shaped letter crossed by a diagonal line." It appears to me, however, that the final *heh* has simply been partially effaced (particularly the left leg; cf. the *vav* at the beginning of this word and לׄך in the following line for such effacement), while the third letter has been partially destroyed by a crack in the leather (and perhaps effaced as well).

33. כול [א]לן ואנה כדי אמותׄ ערטלי אהך די לא בנין וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני

34. אליעזר בר דׄמׄשׄקׄ הׄוׄאׄ ○○○ למׄתׄרתני ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן להן די יפוק

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33. all [th]ese things to me while I, when I die, will go stripped bare, without children. One of my household servants will receive my inheritance;

34. Eliezer, son of Dameseq, he… the one acquiring an inheritance from me." But he said to him, "This one will not receive your inheritance, but one who will go forth"

22.34: ○○○ דׄמׄשׄקׄ הׄ֯ו֯א֯] AY/J/GMT [ ]; B¹ מׄ[שק] הׄ֯ו֯א֯ בׄ֯עׄ֯ה֯; Qim¹ [ ]ילד○○ הוא; F/AW [ביתי]. Despite being in significantly worse condition, BZ22B reveals some aspects of the first word that cannot be discerned on AY's plate. First, it is apparent in both photos that the bottoms of some of these letters have been effaced. The top of the first letter clearly has the two horns of a *dalet* or *bet* (this is visible in IMneg. 3865 as well). It also has a vertical downstroke on the right side. More crucial is the fourth letter, which can clearly be identified as the top of a *qoph* in BZ22B. Thus, it is likely that we have here neither משק nor ביתי, but דמשק. In any case, ביתי can be ruled out. The word דמשק is part of Eliezer's enigmatic description in Gen 15:2. The slight traces following this word fit the letters of הוא. The illegible final word does not appear to be בעה, as suggested by B¹, since a horizontal bottom stroke can be perceived on AY's plate for the letter preceding the *lamed*. Qim¹'s reading will be dealt with below.

22.34: למׄתׄרתני] AY/J/F לׄדׄ ○רתני; B¹ למׄ֯וׄ֯רתני; Qim¹ למ֯רתני; GMT/AW לד [י]רתני. This word is admittedly difficult, but a few observations may be made. First, there appears to be a space preceding the *lamed*, making it likely that this letter begins a new word. The preceding letter also appears to have a horizontal base stroke on AY's plate and IMneg. 3865 (contra B¹/Qim¹). Second, the letter preceding the *resh* looks like a *tav* that has had its right leg effaced and its top destroyed by a vertical crack in the leather. I can only attribute the vertical line and short foot on AY's plate and IMneg. 3865 to a *tav* (or, less plausibly, a *nun*) and am unconvinced that it is a *yod/vav* or *mem*, as others have suggested. A very short piece of this letter's right leg can be seen between the crack and the effaced area to its right. The letter between the *lamed* and my proposed *tav* has been understood by all except B¹ as a *dalet*, but the top of this letter looks much more like a *mem* that has (like the *tav*) had its lower portion effaced. Qim¹ cannot be correct in reading ילד למ֯רתני, since there is simply not room (or evident ink traces) for a *lamed-mem* after his *lamed-dalet* (cf. other *mem*s in this column). Admittedly, the results of my reading are less than satisfying morphologically, since the root ירת is otherwise unattested in the *itpe'el* conjugation. I take this word to be a nominative participle, the reflexive usage of which makes logical sense here i.e. "the one inheriting for himself." Happily, the general sense of the line is relatively clear despite the difficulty of this reading.

SECTION TWO

THE DIVISION OF THE EARTH IN GENESIS APOCRYPHON 16–17

A CASE STUDY ON ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

CHAPTER THREE

THE BACKGROUND OF GENESIS APOCRYPHON 16–17

The primarily textual work of the preceding section is aimed at providing a more solid foundation for future textual, linguistic, and exegetical analysis of the Genesis Apocryphon. While it is impossible to comment adequately on all parts and aspects of the Apocryphon here, the remainder of this study is dedicated to one area where new textual discoveries may enhance our understanding of the scroll's contents and theological outlook—the apportionment of the earth among Noah's sons and grandsons in 1QapGen 16–17. These columns were chosen for several reasons: 1) they include a number of substantial advancements in reading the scroll; 2) they represent our most direct parallel with the Book of Jubilees, whose precise relationship to the Apocryphon remains unclear; and 3) they attest to a broad, thematic concern in the scroll, as will be demonstrated below. The thesis of Section Two is that the Genesis Apocryphon preserves a simpler, shorter account of the earth's division than Jubilees, and that the two texts are more likely based on a common source than directly related. The evidence suggests that the shared source may well have been or included an actual map.

To avoid unwieldiness, this section has been split into two chapters. The present chapter seeks to contextualize Chapter 4 within the wider settings of: 1) the book of Genesis; 2) the ancient Hellenistic map of the inhabited earth (οἰκουμένη in Greek), on which both the Apocryphon and Jubilees partly depend; and 3) the extant narrative of the rest of the Genesis Apocryphon. Chapter 4 then provides a detailed, comparative analysis of 1QapGen 16–17 and the parallel passage in Jubilees (8:11–9:15).

3.1. External Background I: Genesis 10 and Other Biblical Texts

Genesis 10, or the so-called "Table of Nations", forms the primary biblical backdrop to the various geographic accounts to be discussed in the following chapters.[1] In Genesis the Table stands between Noah's drunken episode, after which his grandson Canaan receives a curse (Gen 9:18–28), and the confusion of tongues and dispersion of peoples at the Tower of Babel (Gen 11:1–9). It is essentially a genealogy, but has been inconsistently supplemented with geographic, folkloric, and etiological information.[2] The following tables attempt to present succinctly the information in Gen 10:

Table 1. Genealogical Information

Japheth (10:2–5)	**Ham (10:6–20)**	**Shem (10:21–31)**
Gomer	**Cush**	**Elam**
Ashkenaz	Seba	**Asshur**
Riphath	Havilah	**Arpachshad**
Togarmah	Sabtah	Shelah
Magog	Raamah	Eber
Madai	Sheba	Peleg
Javan	Dedan	Joktan
Elishah	Sabteca	*Almodad*
Tarshish	Nimrod	*Sheleph*
Kittim	**Egypt (Mitzraim)**	*Hazarmaveth*
R/Dodanim	Ludim	Jerah
Tubal	Anamim	*Hadoram*
Meshech	Lehabim	Uzal
Tiras	Naphtuhim	Diklah
	Pathrusim	Obal
	Casluhim	*Abimael*
	(whence	Sheba
	came the	Ophir
	Philistines)	*Havilah*
	Caphtorim	Jobab
	Put	**Lud**
	Canaan	**Aram**
	Sidon	Uz
	Heth	Hul
	Jebusites	Gether
	Amorites	Mash
	Girgashites	
	Hivites	
	Arkites	
	Sinites	
	Arvadites	
	Zemarites	
	Hamathites	

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[1] A biblical parallel to Gen 10 is found in 1 Chr 1:1 24.

[2] The traditional source-critical interpretation of this uneven combination is that it reflects the two distinct sources comprising the chapter, J and P. The most popular theory is that P has

Table 2. Additional (Non-Genealogical) Information

Japheth

1. "From these the maritime nations branched out." (10:5)

Ham

1. Nimrod (10:8–12):
   a. is the first mighty man (גִּבֹּר) on the earth
   b. is a mighty hunter before the Lord (גִּבֹּר־צַיִד לִפְנֵי ה׳)
   c. ruled over Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar (from which Asshur went forth)
   d. built Nineveh, Rehoboth-ir, Calah, and Resen
2. "Afterward the clans of the Canaanites spread out. The Canaanite territory extended from Sidon as far as Gerar, near Gaza, and as far as Sodon, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, near Lasha." (10:18–19)

Shem

1. Shem is the father of all the sons of Eber and the older brother of Japheth (10:21; אֲבִי כָּל־בְּנֵי־עֵבֶר אֲחִי יֶפֶת הַגָּדוֹל).[3]
2. In the days of Peleg (פֶּלֶג) the earth was divided (נִפְלְגָה).
3. The settlements of Joktan's descendants "extended from Mesha as far as Sephar, the hill country to the east." (10:30)[4]

The LXX closely resembles the MT version, differing in only a few details.[5] The chapter ends with the statement, "These are the groupings of Noah's descendents, according to their origins, by their nations; and from these the nations branched out over the earth after the Flood" (10:32). There is no explicit indication that the geographic locations connected with individuals or people groups are divinely appointed, or assigned by Noah, although the first point may have been presumed by an ancient audience. It simply appears to be the way things happened according to the inclinations and wanderings of Noah's various descendents. Nevertheless, this passage forms the basic scriptural foundation upon which Noah's division of the earth in both the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees is built.

There are several other passages that deserve brief mention alongside Gen 10 as potentially influencing the geographic strategy and content of the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. The strongest impact may well have been made by Deut 32:8, which reads:

בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם
יצב גבולת עמים למספר בני אלוהים [ישראל][6]

> When the Most High dealt nations their inheritances;
> at his separation of human beings;
>
> He set up the boundaries of peoples, according to the number of the sons of God [Israel].

This piece of ancient poetry lent itself naturally to an association with the Table of Nations. Indeed, the two were explicitly connected by a number of ancient interpreters. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan was among these, expanding the first phrase to read, "When the Most High dealt the world as an inheritance to the peoples who went forth from the sons of Noah."[7] It is likely that this passage also left its imprint on the author of the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, suggesting that it was the "Most High" (a favored appellation for God in the Apocryphon) who ultimately instigated the division of the earth.

A passage that seems to have had a more specific impact on portions of the Genesis Apocryphon is the description of Israelite tribal allotments in Josh 15:1–19:48.[8] Here we find some remarkable affinities in the vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, and overall structure used to describe geographic districts. Similarities to Joshua's description are most clearly seen in 1QapGen 16–17, but are also present in 1QapGen 21.15–19.

A number of other passages delineating the borders of the Israelite territory likely influenced the Genesis Apocryphon's description of Arpachshad's, and later

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provided the genealogical framework for the chapter, while most of the 'non-genealogical' material may be attributed to J. For a clear survey of the standard views see J. C. VanderKam, "Putting them in their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool," *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (JSOTSup 184; eds J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 46–69 [esp. 50–53]. A more detailed explanation is given by J. Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1930 [2d ed.]), 187–95; or W. Zimmerli, *1. Mose 1–11* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1943), 367–96.

[3] There has been some scholarly disagreement over whether Shem or Japheth is the older brother (i.e. the referent of הגדול), but the former seems preferable. See Skinner, *Genesis*, 219.

[4] On the possible placements of these toponyms see Skinner, *Genesis*, 222–23.

[5] For a brief summary see VanderKam, "Putting them in their Place," 50; or J. M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (SNTSMS 113; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 24–27. A much more detailed analysis is provided by Skinner, *Genesis*, 195–223; or U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Vol. 2: From Noah to Abraham; trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1964), 172–224. These commentators also discuss the importance of the 70 or 72 person scheme of Gen 10 as representative of the common ancient conception that the world was inhabited by this number of nations.

[6] Most LXX manuscripts (reading either αγγέλων θεοῦ or ὑιῶν θεοῦ) and two Qumran manuscripts (4QDeut$^{q, j}$) reflect the non-bracketed reading. The MT contains the bracketed "Israelites" instead, which appears to be a later gloss. For details see M. S. Heiser, "Deuteronomy 32:8 and the Sons of God," *BSac* 158 (Jan-March 2001): 52–74.

[7] The same association between these passages may be found in *Sifre Devarim*, *Yalqut Shim'oni*, and Rashi's commentary on Genesis.

[8] Cf. VanderKam, "Putting Them in Their Place," 58.

Abram's, apportionment in particular. Among these Gen 15:18–19, Ex 23:31, Num 34:2–12, and Deut 11:24 must have figured prominently,[9] along with the later Davidic and Solomonic reports.[10]

3.2. External Background II: The Ionian Map of the Inhabited Earth (*OIKOUMENE*)

Several scholars have noted the dependence of Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon on notions of the inhabited earth current in contemporary Hellenistic culture.[11] Such dependence is indeed striking when the Greco-Roman sources are consulted, and it seems best, therefore, to sketch briefly some basic tenets and developments of Hellenistic geographic science prior to examining the geography of our Jewish works.

The most ancient Greek source envisioning the world is the description of Achilles' spectacular shield in Homer's Iliad, thought by modern scholars to date to the 8th century BCE.[12] Unlike later geographic descriptions this account tells of a cosmological, and not simply terrestrial, map. The important thing to note for our purposes regarding the shield, however, is that it is circular in shape and surrounded by the encompassing "Ocean ('Ωκεανοῖο), that vast and mighty river" (18:606). The importance of Homer's description in shaping later conceptions of the world is attested to by Strabo and the Stoics, who declared Homer the founder of geographic science.[13]

A significant advancement in the study of geography appears to have emerged in the 6th century BCE, as Greek philosophers were seeking more systematic and naturalistic explanations for the world around them.[14] Much of the geographic innovation during this period was attributed by later authors to Anaximander (ca. 610–546 BCE), who studied under the renowned Thales in the Carian city of Miletus. The early 3rd century CE geographer Agathemerus reported that Anaximander was the first "to venture to draw the inhabited world on a map."[15] Hecataeus (fl. ca. 500 BCE), also from Miletus, was considered the first to compose a Circuit of the Earth (περίοδος γῆς), and is believed to have improved considerably on the map of Anaximander.[16] Both authors described the world as a flat, circular-shaped disk, much like the shield of Achilles.[17] The available evidence leads us to believe that the basic layout of world maps like those drawn by Anaximander and Hecataeus were first produced in Ionia, on the western seacoast of Asia Minor.[18] This has led modern scholars to speak of a relatively standardized "Ionian" world map, or *Imago Mundi*,[19] which exerted considerable influence over geographic science well into the Middle Ages.[20] An Ionian understanding of the cosmos is also reflected in numerous rabbinic works.[21]

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[9] These passages were the recipients of frequent geographic expansion by later exegetes. The authoritative study of the targumic and rabbinic traditions associated with Gen 10 and Num 34 remains the unpublished thesis of P. S. Alexander, *The Toponomy of the Targumim with Special Reference to the Table of Nations and the Borders of the Holy Land* (D. Phil. thesis; Oxford University, 1974). The first of the above passages includes a nuance that may have influenced the fundamental rhetorical argument taken up by the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. In Gen 15:18 the Lord says, "to your seed I have given this land, from the River of Egypt to the Great River, the Euphrates." A number of early rabbis, commenting on this verse, noted that "[this phrase] does not read 'I will give (אתן),' but 'I have given (נתתי)'" (*Genesis Rabbah* [Theodor-Albeck] 44:22). The fact that the land had *already* been given to Abram's descendants before he had received this promise may also have raised questions for earlier commentators.

[10] E.g. 2 Sam 8:3 (*Qeri*); 1 Kgs 5:1 (Hebrew); 2 Kgs 24:7; Ezek 47:13–23.

[11] See (on Jubilees only) P. S. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 38 (1982): 197–213; and idem, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," *ABD* 2:980–82. This will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

[12] See *The History of Cartography: Volume One* (eds J. B. Harley and D. Woodward; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987), 131. The passage concerning Achilles' shield is found in the *Iliad* 18:480–610. For an English translation and commentary see *The Iliad of Homer* (ed. and trans. R. Lattimore; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 388–91, 411.

[13] Strabo, *Geography* 1.1.2 (Jones, LCL).

[14] Cf. *History of Cartography*, 134.

[15] See Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 1.1, in *Geographi Graeci minores*, (2 vols and tabulae; ed. K. O. Müller; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1855–56), 2:471–87. The Greek words for "on a map" are ἐν πίνακι, which could alternately mean a "painting." Cf. W. A. Heidel, "Anaximander's Book, The Earliest Known Geographical Treatise," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 56.7 (1921): 239–88; and *History of Cartography*, 134, n. 18.

[16] Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 1.1.

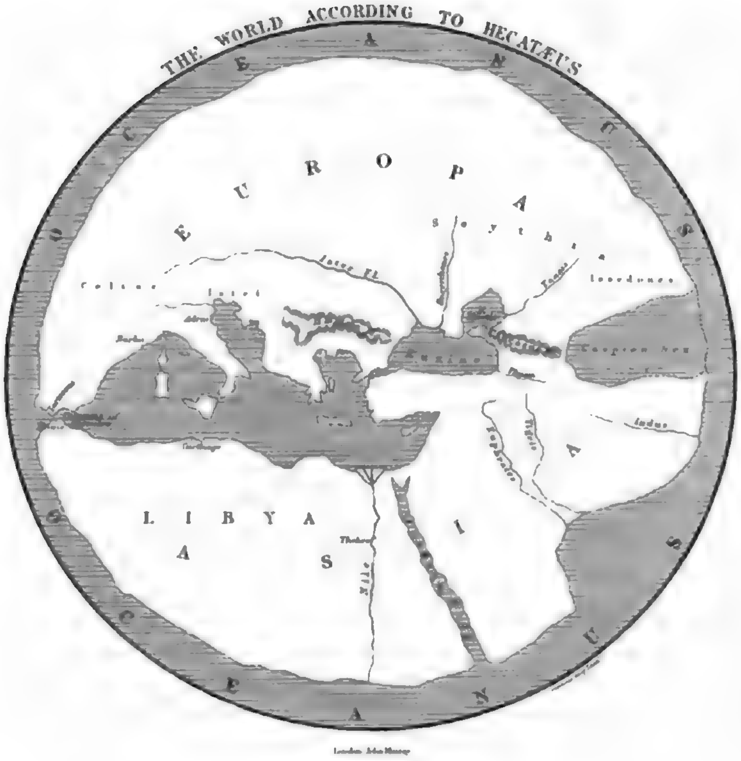
[17] Neither the writings of Anaximander nor Hecataeus have survived. We are dependent upon later references to them in authors such as Herodotus, Strabo, and Agathemerus. The flat disk is sometimes described as one end of a drum-shaped cylinder.

[18] *History of Cartography*, 135. For the close relationship between Ionia and Caria see Strabo, *Geography* 1.4.7.

[19] Along with the other secondary works referred to in this section see R. Talbert, "Kartographie," in *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike* (eds H. Cancik and H. Schneider; Stuttgart, Weimer: J. B. Metzler, 1999), 6:301–308. The Ionians are also closely associated with maps and geographic conceptions by Herodotus (e.g. *Histories* 2.15–17 [Godley; LCL]).

[20] One famous, late example is the Hereford Map, produced by Richard of Haldingham around AD 1290. For a rudimentary overview of the later reception of the Ionian map see Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 201–203; also Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 159–70. A far more detailed account is given in *History of Cartography*, 283–370.

[21] E.g. *y. Avodah Zarah* 3.42c; *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* 3; *Derekh Eretz Zuta* 9; *Genesis Rabbah* 4.5, 3.10, 23.7; *Numbers Rabbah* 13.16; *Esther Rabbah* 1.7; *Midrash Psalms* 93:5; etc. See Z. Safrai, "Geography and



Map 1. A Reconstruction of Hecataeus' World Map[22]

Herodotus (late 5th cent. BCE) attested to some of the standard traits of the Ionian-based maps common in his day. Although largely dependent upon the Ionians, he upbraided them when he said, "[f]or my part, I cannot help but laugh when I see the number of persons drawing maps of the world without having any reason to guide them; making, as they do, the ocean stream to run all around the earth, and the earth itself to be an exact circle, as if described by a pair of compasses, with Europe and Asia of just the same size."[23] Through this critique we learn that many Greek maps of Herodotus' day depicted the general shape of the *oikoumene* very much like Achilles' shield, with the earth forming a planed circle and surrounded by the Ocean River. Aristotle (4th cent. BCE)[24] and the later Stoic philosopher Geminus (1st cent. BCE)[25] shared in Herodotus' disdain and disparagement of these flat, round maps, attesting to their enduring popular use well after it had been argued that the *oikoumene* must be greater in length (east to west) than in breadth (north to south), and that the earth was not a plane, but spherical in shape.[26]

Herodotus went on to state that contemporary Greek maps divided the earth into three continents: "I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great."[27] Here he appears to ridicule the fact that the three continents are depicted as roughly equal in size, when it is clear from basic observation that they are not. According to Herodotus, the boundaries separating these three continents were the Nile river in the south, and the Phasis or Tanais rivers in the north, with the northern river apparently fluctuating depending on the particular map consulted.[28] The Great Sea (i.e. the Mediterranean), which was itself subdivided and named according to region, formed a massive inlet, dividing Europe from

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Cosmography in Talmudic Literature," *The Literature of the Sages: Second Part* (eds S. Safrai et al.; CRINT 3b; Assen: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 506.

[22] From E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2 vols; London: John Murray, 1879), 1.149.

[23] Herodotus, *Histories* 4.36.

[24] Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 2.5.362b.13 (Lee, LCL).

[25] Geminus, *Introduction aux phénomènes* (ed. and trans. G. Aujac; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1975), 16.4.5.

[26] W. A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Map* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1937), 63 102. Cf. *History of Cartography*, 135 6.

[27] Herodotus, *Histories* 4.42. Also see 2.16.

[28] Ibid., 4.45. The Phasis is the modern Ister, and the Tanais the modern Don. For the alternative practice of dividing the *oikoumene* by isthmuses, see Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 198 99.

Libya and connecting to the Ocean River at the Pillars of Heracles, or Gadira.[29] It is such Ionian maps that Alexander the Great likely consulted during his campaign to the East, as Arrian may suggest.[30] While little physical evidence of Ionian maps has come down to us from antiquity, there can be no doubt of their existence. In fact, such maps may have been known to the general populaces of major Greek cities.[31]

Greek geographic science continued to develop, although many fundamental aspects of the Ionian map appear to have persisted. Democritus (ca. 460–370 BCE) and Dicaearchus of Messana (fl. ca. 326–296 BCE) argued that the *oikoumene* should be drawn as an oval, being half again as long as it is broad, in a proportion of three to two.[32] Dicaearchus and Timosthenes of Rhodes (fl. ca. 270 BCE) placed the navel (*omphalos*) of the earth at Rhodes rather than its previously standard location at Delphi—a practice which many followed thereafter.[33] Eratosthenes (ca. 275–194 BCE), a brilliant polymath who worked largely in Alexandria, is considered by many to represent the zenith of Greek cartography. He noted the advances made possible by the conquest and discoveries of Alexander the Great.[34] Although his work is preserved only in the writings of later authors (e.g. Strabo and Pliny the Elder) it is clear that Eratosthenes also knew of the earth being divided into three continents by the Tanais and Nile rivers.

Geographic treatises continued to be composed by Greek and Roman authors, such as Strabo (ca. 64 BCE–21 CE), Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 90–168 CE), and Agathemerus. Others, such as Polybius (ca. 200–118 BCE), Manilius (fl. ca. 90 BCE), Diodorus Siculus (ca. 80–20 BCE), Pliny the Elder (ca. 23–79 CE), Dionysius "Periegetes" (fl. ca. 124 CE) and Arrian (ca. 97–175 CE), borrowed from common geographic knowledge in treating associated areas of philosophy or poetry. The individual contributions of each of these authors (especially Strabo and Ptolemy) could be enumerated at length, but here it is necessary only to note several commonalities shared by them. These few points may also serve as an apt summary of the Ionian world map in general, especially as it relates to the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees:

1. The inhabited world was viewed as flat (earlier) or spherical (later), and drawn in the shape of a circle (earlier) or oval (later; after Democritus).[35]
2. It was divided into three continents: Europe, Asia, and Libya (i.e. modern Africa). The continents were considered to be either roughly the same size (earlier) or to vary (later; after Herodotus). Since east always stood at the top of the ancient map, Asia would be portrayed in the upper central portion, with Europe on the lower left and Libya on the lower right.
3. The three continents were typically divided by rivers, or alternately (and less commonly, it seems) by isthmuses. When divided by rivers, the Nile was consistently the southern (i.e. rightward) border, separating Libya and Asia, while either the Phasis or Tanais River separated Europe from Asia in the north (left).

As we will see in Chapter 4, the main points of contact between the Hellenistic maps and the geographic picture underlying the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees are the division of the *oikoumene* into three continents by way of the Tanais and Nile rivers, and the employment of numerous terms or geographic features not mentioned in Genesis, but known from Hellenistic sources (e.g. Gadera, the Maeotan Sea, and the three "gulfs" representing the Aegean, Tyrrhenian, and Adriatic Seas). It should be emphasized, however, that the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees freely combined Hellenistic geography with different conceptions of the earth based on other sources, such as Scripture and geography native to Judea and the surrounding regions.

That Hellenistic geographic conceptions of the earth were well-known in Judea during the 2nd century BCE is not surprising, since the process of Hellenization begun by Alexander and carried forward—sometimes forcibly—by his successors would certainly have included this aspect of Greco-Ionian philosophy. It is not difficult to imagine Hellenistic governors and

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[29] The modern Straights of Gibraltar.

[30] See Heidel (*The Frame of the Ancient Greek Map*, 26 7) citing Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.1.2.

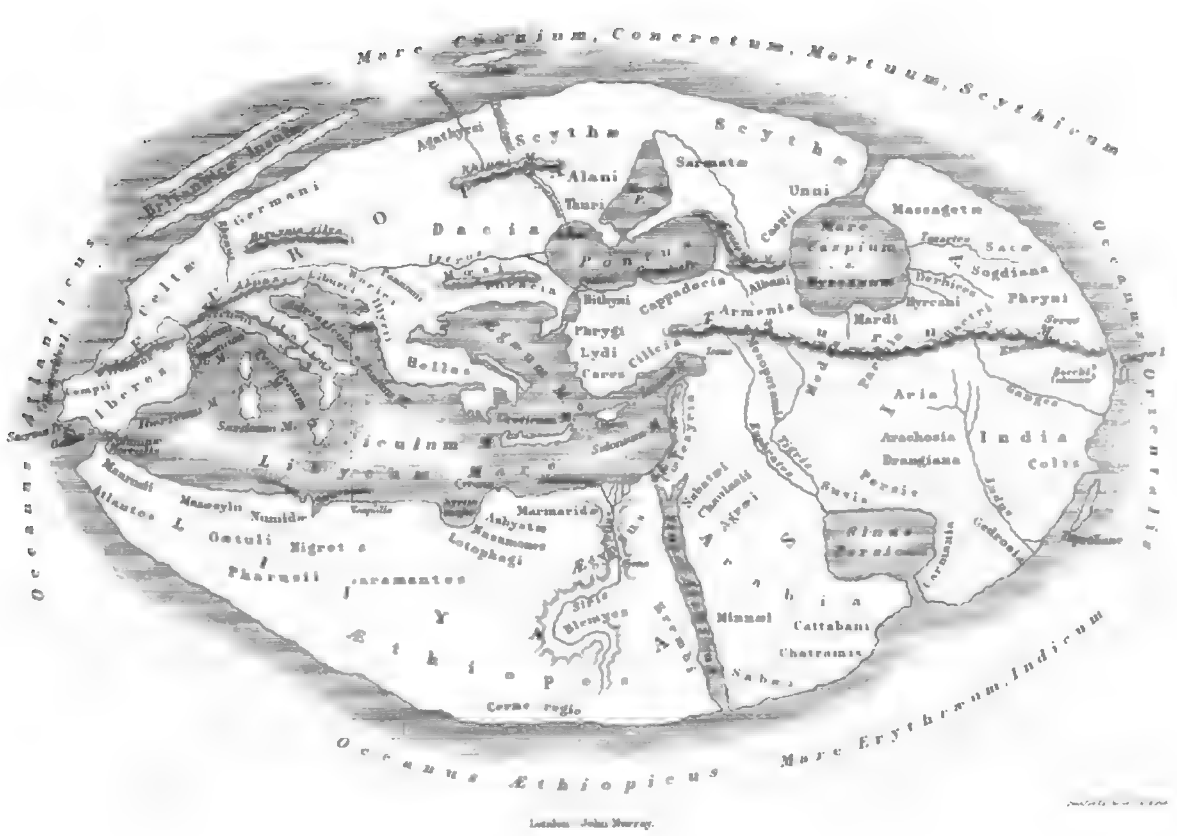
[31] There is both archaeological and textual evidence to support this. A number of coin types have been found (especially around Ionia) which depict maps, while the prop of a map is incorporated into Aristophanes' 5th century Athenian comedy, *The Clouds*. Cf. *History of Cartography*, 138, 158 9; and Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Map*, 11 12.

[32] *History of Cartography*, 137, 152.

[33] Ibid., 152 3. Philip Alexander elaborated on the Jewish practice of placing Jerusalem at the *omphalos* of the world. See P. S. Alexander, "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos* of the World: On the History of a Geographical Concept," *Judaism* 46 (1997): 148 63 [esp. 149 50]. The essay was reprinted in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (ed. L. I. Levine; New York: Continuum, 1999), 104–119 [esp. 105 106].

[34] *History of Cartography*, 153 57.

[35] A yet later elaboration of the regular, flat oval is an arch-shaped oval.


Mare Cronium, Concretum, Mortuum, Scythicum
Britannicae Insulae
Germani
Scythae
Scythae
Agathyrsi
Alani
Thuri
Sarmatae
Unni
Dacia
Pontus
Massagetae
Mare Caspium
Sacae
Sogdiana
Phryni
Celtae
Iberes
Bithyni
Cappadocia
Albani
Armenia
Hyrcani
Mardi
Phrygi
Lydi
Cares
Cilicia
Hellas
Siculum
Sardoum M.
Aria
Arachosia
Drangiana
India
Colis
Persis
Susia
Mesopotamia
Tigris
Euphrates
Ganges
Indus
Gedrosia
Carmania
Libycum Mare
Maurusii
Atlantes
Masaesyli
Numidae
Gaetuli
Nigretes
Pharusii
Garamantes
Marmaridae
Asbystae
Nasamones
Lotophagi
Nabataei
Chaulasii
Agraei
Arabia
Minaei
Cattabani
Chatramis
Sabaei
Blemyes
Aethiopes
Cerne regio
Oceanus Atlanticus
Oceanus Aethiopicus
Mare Erythraeum, Indicum
Oceanus Orientalis
London: John Murray.

Map 2. A Reconstruction of Dionysius Periegetes' World Map[36]

aristocrats compelled to move to a new and foreign region relying on, and taking with them, available maps and ideas about geography.

Excursus: Babylonian Geography

> A late-Babylonian map of the world, first published in the late 19th century,[37] has drawn the attention of some scholars of Judaism, especially as it relates to 1 Enoch 77.[38] VanderKam has convincingly shown that such a connection is tenuous at best,[39] and there is no reason to believe that the Babylonian map relates directly to the geography of the Genesis Apocryphon or Jubilees.
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> At first glance, the Babylonian map displays two basic affinities with the Ionian world map: 1) the circular shape of the map; and 2) the earth-encompassing *marratu*, a river surrounding the terrestrial sphere much like the Greek Ocean River on Achilles' shield. However, there are also significant differences between the two maps. These include: 1) the *nagû* regions on the Babylonian map, which lie outside the *marratu* and have no analogue on the Ionian map; and 2) the severely restricted scope of the Babylonian map, which depicts only a limited portion of Mesopotamia inside the *marratu*.[40] While it seems plausible that there were some basic, early points of contact between Mesopotamian and Ionian cartography (e.g. the notion of a disk surrounded by water), it is plain that the geography of the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees depends upon a relatively well-developed form of the latter, and not the former.

3.3. INTERNAL BACKGROUND I: THE GEOGRAPHIC SUBSTRUCTURE OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

Noah's division of the earth in 1QapGen 16–17 should not be viewed in isolation from what remains of the rest of the scroll, especially since close investigation reveals that these columns present only one piece in a more widespread agenda reflected in several rhetorical and theological assertions: 1) that Noah was destined from birth to oversee the post-diluvian apportionment of the earth among his descendents; 2) that this role was divinely bestowed and thus viewed as highly important; and 3) that this apportionment did not agree with the description found in Gen 10. The goal in this part of the chapter is to examine some of the passages that attest to this stance, and also to point out that the author of Jubilees was apparently not as keenly interested in these matters.

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[36] From Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, 2:490.

[37] A recent, comprehensive treatment of the map is found in W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 20–42.

[38] P. Grelot, "La geógraphie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales," *RB* 65.1 (January 1958): 33–69. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15–18.

[39] J. C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World," *RevQ* 42.2 (March 1983): 271–78.

[40] Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 40–42.

3.3.1. *Getting to Know Noah*

The following list of passages attests to Noah's divinely appointed role as apportioner of the earth. It also makes clear that he was granted significant authority over the terrestrial, or geographic, realm.

3.3.1.1. *Genesis Apocryphon 3.17*

The early columns of the scroll contain tales generally paralleled in 1 Enoch.[41] Column 2 opens with Lamech, Noah's father, deeply concerned about the conception of his son, whom he fears may be the fruit of an illicit union between his wife Batenosh and one of the angelic Watchers. Despite Batenosh's vehement denials, Lamech thinks it best to consult his father Methuselah on the matter. Methuselah, in turn, makes haste to his father Enoch for counsel. 1QapGen 3.1–5.24 narrates Enoch's lengthy response to these allegations (it is far longer than the parallel version in 1 En. 106), in which he quells all fear regarding Noah and foretells the child's key role in the post-deluge reestablishment of righteousness upon the earth. Amid this badly damaged section of text a few words are preserved, with which Enoch predicts one of the activities that Noah will undertake, "He is (the one) who will divide the entire earth" (הׄוׄאׄ דׄי֯ יׄפלג כׄוׄל ארעא).[42] Fitzmyer comments that these words are "an echo of Gen 10:25," which plays on the name of Shem's great-great-grandson Peleg (פֶּלֶג), by indicating that in his days the earth was divided (נִפְלְגָה).[43] While this word-play may indeed be in the background here, the statement should also be read in light of Noah's role as "divider" of the earth in 1QapGen 16 and Jub. 8. Here Enoch is forecasting one of Noah's tasks following the flood—to designate the boundaries within which each of his sons and their offspring should sojourn. That Enoch prophesies Noah's future task is significant, since it is he who has special access to the divine mysteries.[44]

3.3.1.2. *Genesis Apocryphon 7.1–2*

These lines contain a proclamation of Noah's newfound role as master and caretaker of the earth. Gen 9:3–4 declares that the fear and awe of Noah will be over all living creatures of the earth, but in GenAp 7.1 this governing role is extended to the earth's various topographic features as well, "[You shall r]u[le] over them, the earth and all that is upon it; over the seas and over the mountains…" ([תש]לׄ[ט] עׄלׄיׄהׄון ארעא וכול די עליהא בימיא ובטׄוריא). In both Genesis and the Genesis Apocryphon such language harks back to Adam's position of authority in the Garden of Eden (cf. Gen 1:26–30), casting Noah as a "new Adam" of sorts.[45] A novel feature in the Apocryphon, however, is its extension of Noah's lordship to the geographic features of the earth, a detail absent in Gen 9:26–30.

3.3.1.3. *Genesis Apocryphon 11.9–12*

In the middle of a fragmentary section following Noah's exit from the ark on Mt. Lubar, a few partial lines relate in geographic terms the patriarch's post-flood inspection of the earth. Line 9 reads, "the mountains and the wildernesses, the intermediate regions[46] and [the] coa[stlands,]a[l]l…" (לטוריא ודמדברׄ֯יא לעׄוׄבׄרׄיא ודאׄ]יא [כׄ]ו[ל). This statement apparently recounts what Noah surveyed upon leaving the ark,[47] providing a "geographically enhanced" version of the concise reports in Gen 8:13–14 and Jub. 5:30–31 that the earth had dried up and become visible. This innovation emphasizes the vast scope of what Noah was able to see from the top of Lubar. Two lines later (following a *vacat*) we read, "[Then] I, Noah, went out and walked through the land, through its length and through its breadth" ([אדין] אׄנׄהׄ נׄוׄחׄ נפקת והלכת בארעא לאורכהא ולפותיׄהׄאׄ). The specific combination of surveying the earth from a height and then walking through its length and breadth clearly gestures forward to Abram's analogous survey and walking tour in col. 21 (cf. Gen 13:14–18 and below), thereby forging an explicit literary link between Noah and Abram not present in Genesis.[48]

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[41] See, e.g., the articles of Bernstein, "From the Watchers to the Flood"; and Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry."

[42] Previous editions read only]פלג כׄול ארעא. See the textual notes.

[43] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 140.

[44] In light of the scroll's keen interest in the area of the earth received by each of Noah's descendents it is significant that the same language of "receiving an allotment" is employed for Enoch in 1QapGen 2.20–21, "[…and with the Holy Ones] is his lot apportioned." In contrast to the earthly allotments of Noah's progeny, Enoch's "lot" (עדבה) is a heavenly one.

[45] On this point see M. E. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; eds E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 139–141, 148.

[46] See the textual note on this word.

[47] So Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 155.

3.3.1.4. *Genesis Apocryphon 11.16–17*

Here again is an expanded assertion of Noah's dominion over the earth, perhaps the actualization of the prediction in col. 7, "and rule over all of it; over its seas and its wildernesses and its mountains, and over everything in it. For I am surely [gi]ving the whole of it to you and to your children..." (ושלט בכולהון ב֯י֯מ֯יהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא ובכול די בהון והא אנה [י]ה֯ב֯ לך ולב֯נ֯יך֯ כ֯ו֯ל֯א֯). As in col. 7, the effect is to draw attention to Noah's divinely granted control over the various geographic features of the earth. Like the preceding example, language reminiscent of the Abramic promises of Gen 12 and 15 is deployed.

3.3.1.5. *Genesis Apocryphon 16–17*

Although cols. 16–17 will be detailed in the next chapter, a few important aspects must be noted here. First, while these columns provide an equivalent to the Table of Nations in Gen 10, it is clear that the Genesis Apocryphon differs from the biblical account regarding where Noah's descendents belong. To be sure, Genesis hands out geographic information parsimoniously; the most direct indicators are that Japheth's sons receive the "islands/coasts of the nations" (10:4–5), Ham's sons the great cities of Mesopotamia (Gen 10:6–12) and the Levant (10:15–19), and Shem's sons various sites assigned by scholars to Arabia and Mesopotamia (10:27–30).[49] By this account, one might justifiably infer that the Land of Canaan was named thus in the Pentateuch simply because it was the region where this particular clan of Hamites settled following the flood. This, however, is a markedly different picture than one gains from reading cols. 16–17 of the Genesis Apocryphon (or Jub. 8:11–9:15), in which it is unmistakably clear that each son is apportioned a different continent with sharply drawn borders: Japheth receives Europe, Asia goes to Shem, and Ham ends up with Libya.

Within this basic scheme, the Levantine lands of Lebanon, Syria, and Phoenecia—typically designated "the Land of Canaan" in the Pentateuch—originally had nothing to do with Hamites, or Canaanites. Rather, it was apportioned to Arpachshad, son of Shem. This is not an entirely surprising move by an Israelite author, but it does create some tension with the verses in Gen 10 mentioned above. The Apocryphon's partial resolution of this tension will be examined in the following background section (*Internal Background II*).

3.3.2. *Abram, Heir of Arpachshad's Share*

Noah's role as apportioner of the earth and the various boundaries set in 1QapGen 16–17 reverberate throughout the remainder of the scroll, as evidenced in a pair of passages recounting the exploits of Abram.

3.3.2.1. *Genesis Apocryphon 19.12–13*

These lines are part of a major exegetical expansion on the narrative of Abram and Sarai entering Egypt in Gen 12:10–20. Reaching the Karmon river, one of the seven tributaries of the River of Egypt,[50] Abram exclaims, "[Until] now we have been inside our land" ([עד] כען אנחנא בׄגׄוׄ אׄרׄעׄנׄאׄ). After crossing the seven tributaries, Abram makes another announcement, "Look! Now we have left our land and entered into the land of the sons of Ham, the Land of Egypt." (ה֯א כען ה֯לכנא ארענא ו֯עלנא לארע בנ֯י חם לארע מצרין). This river is the landmark used to distinguish the land granted to Shem from that of Ham elsewhere in the scroll (1QapGen [16.27]; 21.11, 15, 18–19),[51] as well as in Jubilees (8:15, 22–23; 10:29).[52] It is particularly interesting that this statement occurs at this juncture in the narrative, since it indicates that Abram is aware of the borders of the lands allotted to Noah's sons, and that he considers the Levant "our land," even before its borders are laid out for him by God in 1QapGen 21.8–22 (or Gen 15:18–21). This suggests that when God promised Abram the land in the latter passage he was simply reemphasizing a previously ratified (but for the moment defunct) promise, rather than making an entirely new one.[53] Indeed, the Apocryphon's author may have gathered this from Genesis itself, since in 15:18 God tells Abram, "to your seed I hereby give/have given (נתתי) this land," with the verb נתן in the perfect tense.[54]

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[48] This connection is made even more explicit by the words of God to Noah in 1QapGen 11.15, which are clearly fashioned after God's blessing of Abram in Gen 15:1.

[49] On these matters see Skinner, *Genesis*, 187 223.

[50] Cf. the discussion in Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 182.

[51] The names River of Egypt (נהר מצרין) and Gihon River (גחון נהרא) are used to refer to the Nile in the Genesis Apocryphon. Both are used of the Nile in the Bible (cf. Gen 2:13; 15:18), and this may have been a conscious effort by the author to associate the two names. There most certainly would have been other references to this river in what is now missing of cols. 16–17.

[52] As noted above, it is also the standard topographic feature dividing Asia from Libya according to Ionian *mappae mundi*.

3.3.2.2. *Genesis Apocryphon 21.8–22*

A large portion of col. 21 consists of an elaboration on Gen 13:14–18. In Genesis, Abram is told to survey all the land around him and then to hike about through its length and breadth. This, God promises, is the land that he and his descendants are to possess for eternity. Genesis and Jubilees contain no further elaboration of what Abram could see while gazing north, south, east and west, nor where he trekked afterward, before settling in Hebron. In the Genesis Apocryphon, however, all curiosity is put to rest. Here Abram is told in a nocturnal dream (the preferred mode of revelation in the scroll) to climb up Ramat-Hazor, the highest hill in the region of Bethel,[55] and from there to survey the Promised Land. From this height Abram is able to see from the River of Egypt in the south to Lebanon and Senir in the north, and from the Great Sea (i.e. the Mediterranean) in the west to Hauran in the East, including the whole land of Gebal, up to Qadesh, and the Great Desert east of Hauran and Senir, up to the Euphrates River.

Abram's subsequent walking tour provides even more geographic detail. Following a circuit beginning in the southwest, at the Gihon River (i.e. the River of Egypt), Abram skirts the Great Sea up to Mount Taurus in the north, strikes eastward to the Euphrates and then southward to the Erythrean and Red Seas,[56] whence he arrives back at the Gihon. When placed on the map, it becomes readily apparent that this is the very same area previously allotted to Abram's ancestor Arpachshad in 1QapGen 17.11–14 and Jub. 9:4.[57] The border is even narrated in the same, counterclockwise direction as in col. 17.

Both additions to the Abram narratives from Genesis reinforce the earlier division of Noah and his sons, and reveal that Abram was aware of his ancestral claim on the Levant. In lieu of this, we should read God's promise to give Arpachshad's portion to Abram and his descendents in 1QapGen 21.8–14 not as a pledge *ex nihilo* (as one might gather from Genesis), but rather as a vow to restore to Abram what has rightfully been his since days of yore.

3.3.3. *Summary*

Viewed together, these passages give us a glimpse of what the author of the Genesis Apocryphon is doing. The prominence of Noah's role as distributor of geographic portions, and the way in which the earth is divided under his watchful eye, bring legitimacy to the bold claim that the Levant was intended for Shem, Arpachshad, Abram, and eventually the Israelites, from the very beginning of the earth's repopulation after the Flood. As noted above, the reader of Genesis is hard-pressed to discern such a claim. In fact, the opposite appears to be the case: as soon as the biblical writer is "on the scene," the Land of Canaan is filled with Canaanites and related tribes, and there is no indication that things were originally meant to be any different.

Although it is clear from the geographic allotments of Jub. 8:11–9:15 that its author is making the same basic claim as the Apocryphon, an outstanding difference exists: in Jubilees this theme is seriously truncated, being confined primarily to chapters 8–9 and a few, isolated passages nearby.[58] Not one of the "geographic" passages listed above is paralleled in Jubilees. Where we might expect to hear something of Abram's clear right to the land later in Jubilees, there is only silence. Instead, the land is promised to him anew, precisely as recounted in Genesis. The sustained presence, even prominence, of the theme of land and land rights woven throughout the extant narrative of the Genesis Apocryphon is unique, and signifies an important distinction over against Jubilees.

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[53] This event was also expanded upon in Rabbinic literature. See Sarfatti, "Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon," 258; Lehmann, "1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim," 251; and Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 111–12.

[54] Cf. n. 9 of this chapter, above.

[55] Bethel is where Abram was currently dwelling (see 1QapGen 21.9). For the site identification of Ramat-Hazor (with Baal Hazor of 2 Sam 13:23) and other toponyms in this section see H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer: Die Sekte von Qumran* (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1958), 150–52. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 220–23.

[56] Some of these toponyms can be confusing for the reader due to disagreement between ancient and modern usage. For example, the Erythrean Sea could actually be translated "Red Sea," such that the two seas mentioned here could be misunderstood to be one and the same. They are, however, distinguished in the Aramaic. The genealogy of these terms will be parsed out in more detail in the next chapter.

[57] In order to define clearly the land promised to Abram, the Genesis Apocryphon has no doubt drawn upon other biblical passages providing such information. Most relevant is Gen 15:18, in which the Lord again promises the Land to Abram, but goes on to define its extremities as the River of Egypt and the Euphrates River—two terms used in the Apocryphon's description here. The author probably also intended other biblical passages to be evoked and subsumed by the boundaries listed, such as those defining the kingdoms of David and Solomon (e.g. Exod 23:31; Num 34:1–15; Deut 11:24; Josh 15:1–12, 21–62; 2 Sam 8:3 [*Qeri*]; 1 Kgs 5:1 [Hebrew]; 2 Kgs 24:7; and Ezek 47:13–23).

[58] Most specifically Jub. 10:27–36.

3.4. Internal Background II: Noah's Arboreal Dream in Genesis Apocryphon 13–15

1QapGen 13–15 contain the patchy remains of a symbolic vision given to Noah while asleep. Because it is so badly damaged, the vision has been largely ignored by those studying the Apocryphon. Yet new readings made possible by narrowband infrared photographic technology now allow more information to be culled from these columns—information that may help explain how the Genesis Apocryphon eased some of the tension with Genesis caused by the Apocryphon's distinctive geographic assertions. Based on these readings, it appears that the dream aims to provide the reader with background information crucial for understanding the following columns, and is ingeniously designed to resolve tension with Genesis. At the same time, the dream addresses some of the thorny exegetical issues of Gen 9–10.

3.4.1. *What can we say about Columns 13–15?*

In order to better understand these columns it is first necessary to establish what may be said with relative certainty about their content. Seven points will be proposed here, although the list may grow with future research.

1) *Noah is the recipient of an apocalyptic, symbolic dream and its interpretation*

Noah's visionary experience may be termed apocalyptic, if judged according to the widely accepted definition of John Collins.[59] In cols. 14–15 we find Noah being told the meaning and significance of the symbols in his dream, as clearly seen in the recurring use of second person verbs and phrases such as ודי חזיתה ("and concerning what you saw..."). It is likely that the dream's interpretation is being related by the same "great Watcher" (עירא רבא) or "emissary of the great Holy One" (משלחת קדישא רבא), who Noah says "spoke with me in a vision" in 1QapGen 6.11–14. At the very least, we may assume that a divine being is speaking to Noah, since "the mystery" (רזא) is mentioned in 14.18–20, just as it is in 6.12. The two-part format of self-described dream and supernatural explanation resembles that of other apocalyptic visions, such as those in Daniel, 1 Enoch, and 4 Ezra. Most notable for our purposes are Dan 2 and 4, of which precise wording, and several symbolic elements, are mirrored in the Genesis Apocryphon. It is evident that the author of the Apocryphon is drawing imagery and language from Daniel, or at least that the two works spring from the same social and interpretative circles. The transcendent reality envisioned in the dream will be touched upon in the following points.

2) *The dream employs tree or garden imagery to portray a succession of historic persons or periods, at least some of which are brought to a destructive end*

Beginning at the top of col. 13 we encounter what seems to be the destruction of a garden or tree, including mention of bringing the destruction to an end (1QapGen 13.11–12). The imagery and language of this section are strongly reminiscent of the flood in Gen 6:11–8:19, and it seems likely that this is the event being cryptically described. Next, we find Noah (in the first person) describing a great olive tree, which grows astoundingly, but is then debranched and scattered by the four winds of heaven. When the text is picked up once again, in col. 14, Noah is being addressed in the second person, indicating an intervening shift from the dream to its interpretation. Although the text is badly damaged, the top of the column depicts Noah having the destruction of an unidentified tree explained to him. The language used here is similar to that of the olive tree in col. 13, but it is difficult to know whether the same tree is the subject in both places. Beginning at 1QapGen 14.9, and continuing until we lose the text again in 14.22, the interpretation of a great cedar tree standing upon the mountaintops along with its shoots, offshoots, and boughs, is revealed to Noah. It soon becomes clear that this cedar is none other than Noah himself.[60] The vision culminates in col. 15 with a description of wickedness and a subsequent judgment brought about by the Mighty Lord, who is symbolized by a fearsome warrior coming from the south, with sickle in hand and fire at his side.[61] This may be followed by a brief description of restoration, after which Noah awakes (1QapGen 15.21). While it is very difficult to guess how all of these components relate to one another, it is relatively clear that underlying the vision is a historical framework, which begins with or precedes Noah and continues until an eschatological consummation of divine judgment.

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[59] A summary of his definition may be found in J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 7. This is based (in part) on his widely cited, fuller formulation found in "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia 14; ed. J. J. Collins; Missoula: Scholars, 1979), 1–20 [9]. See further the observations of D. Hellholm, "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John," in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting* (Semeia 36; ed. A. Yarbro Collins; Missoula: Scholars, 1986), 13–64; and D. E. Aune, "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre," in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*, 65–96.

[60] The choice of trees as symbols of various persons, groups, or generations should be viewed in light of biblical and broader ancient Near Eastern use of tree imagery. For background see

3) *In col. 14 Noah is portrayed as a great cedar tree, and his three sons are symbolized by three shoots springing from its trunk*[62]

1QapGen 14.10 recounts a shoot that rises from the cedar tree, representing three sons. Since Noah has just been informed in the preceding line that he is the cedar, this is a transparent allusion to his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth. As we will see below, the portrayal of Noah and his sons as a tree is of significance, since a number of other Jewish authors depend on this same imagery. John Reeves has noted the especially interesting association of Noah and his sons with the well-known "tree planted beside still waters" of Ps 1:3 in *Genesis Rabbah* 26:1–2.[63] This image also seems intertwined with the description of righteous Noah as an "upright planting."[64] In 1QapGen 14.11 it becomes clear that each son is symbolized by a separate shoot, since there we read of "the first shoot adhering to the cedar stump," and later in 14.15 of "the last shoot." So far, then, we can envision a cedar on the mountaintops (i.e. Noah) with three shoots branching off from it (i.e. Shem, Ham, and Japheth).

4) *The future of the three cedar shoots, as well as their offshoots and boughs, is elaborated upon in considerable depth*

From 1QapGen 14.10 to at least line 22 various tree parts are described as animated objects, while the collection of tree-related terms attests to the detail employed by the author to express the interactions and altercations between them. The "first shoot" (**חלפתא קדמיתא**) is said to cling to the cedar, and not branch off from it for all of its days. Moreover, Noah's name is to be recalled by this shoot's seed, and in the future it will produce a "righteous planting" that will stand fast forever.[65] This shoot is undoubtedly Shem, whose line will eventually produce Abram and the Israelites. Following a break in the text, there is a somewhat confusing section mentioning: 1) the "last shoot" (**חלפתא אחרניתא**), which must be either Ham or Japheth; 2) an "offshoot" (**פסגא**) turning aside from "his father" (i.e. the last shoot); and 3) some of "their boughs" entering the boughs of "the first one," with "their" being ambiguous in the text as it now stands. This last mention of boughs is in connection with two sons, who can safely be identified as Ham and Japheth due to the following line (14.17), which contains the expression "one to the south of the earth, and one to the north of the earth." This phrase must reflect the geographic distribution of the earth narrated in 1QapGen 16–17 and Jub. 8:11–9:15, where Ham inhabits its southern portion, Japheth the northern portion, and Shem the center. In sum, the last shoot (i.e. Ham or Japheth) produces an offshoot (i.e. a son) which turns away from him, while some boughs, most likely of the two shoots or their offshoots, enter into the boughs of the first shoot (i.e. Shem).

G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion: King and Saviour III*, UUÅ (Uppsala: Lundequists, 1951); E. O. James, *The Tree of Life* (SHR 11; Leiden: Brill, 1966), 110 13, 129–62; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 145 53; and P. W. Coxon, "The Great Tree of Daniel 4," in *A Word in Season: Essays in Honor of William McKane* (JSOTSup 42; eds J. D. Martin and P. R. Davies; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986). Some biblical passages equating humans and trees are Dan 4, Ezek 17, 31, Pss 1:3, 52:10, 92:12 15, and 128:3. The imagery has continued into modern writings, such as the *Book of Mormon* (Jacob 5, 1 Nephi 10:12 14, 15:12 18).

[61] See section 3.4.1.6, below.

[62] The portrayal of Noah as a cedar is echoed in 1QapGen 19.14–17, where Abram also has a symbolic dream in which he is a cedar and Sarai a date palm (cf. Ps 92:13 16). This parallel raises the possibility that the Genesis Apocryphon associates patriarchs with the symbol of the cedar tree, and may imply that the olive tree of col. 14 does not represent one of the major patriarchal figures. At present, the identification of the olive tree must remain a mystery.

[63] The passage is found on pp. 243 44 of the Theodor-Albeck edition, and also in *Midrash Tehillim* 1:12. See J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the* Book of Giants *Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1992), 99 100.

[64] Significantly, the author of the Apocryphon employs this imagery several times (1QapGen 2.15; 6.1; 14.13). The metaphor is dependent on biblical usage (e.g. Isa 60:21; 61:3), and the same imagery is used to refer to other blameless individuals or groups during the second temple period. See S. Fujita, "The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *JSJ* 7 (1976): 30–45; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 100.

[65] The translation of 14.12 is difficult, but the specific wording, "and among his seed shall your name be recalled" (**ובזרעה יתקרה שמך**), is almost surely a conscious allusion to Gen 21:12, "for it is through Isaac that seed shall be reckoned to you" (**כי ביצחק יִקָּרֶה לך זרע**). As our author is wont to do, yet another clever link is forged here between Noah and Abram. I thank one of my mentors, Gary Anderson, for drawing my attention to this connection, and for his translation of Gen 21:12.

5) *Geographic allotments and boundaries play a role in the description of future interactions between the shoots, offshoots, and their boughs*

In 1QapGen 14.21, shortly after the mention of some boughs entering the boughs of the first shoot, we find the phrase "in an allotment in Amania, next to Elam," which may also be followed by a reference to the Great Sea. The following line appears to contain the additional phrase "exchanging his allotment for an allotment..." These lines show that the dream's interpretation includes specific geographic details in close proximity to the explanation of the cedar tree's various outgrowths, and reflects once again the author's geographic concern outlined above. Notably, the region mentioned in 14.21 (Amania/Amana) is included as part of Arpachshad's allotment in 1QapGen 17.14 and Jub. 9:4 (where it also lay next to Elam).

6) *The dream culminates in a judgment scene*

1QapGen 15.10–11 relates that the warrior coming from the south, sickle in hand and fire with him, whom Noah saw in his dream, is none other than the Mighty Lord.[66] The foregoing lines describe the apostasy and evil to precede the Lord's coming, while the following lines elaborate the punishment to be imposed upon the wicked, including being thrown onto the fire and bound with a chain. These punishments are probably inflicted by the four angels mentioned in 15.14, as in 1 En 10. The entire episode is rife with biblical and non-biblical imagery of eschatological judgment drawn from a variety of sources.

7) *Noah begins dividing the earth between his sons shortly after awaking from his dream*

Upon waking in 15.21, Noah blesses God and tells Shem everything about his dream. The column becomes almost completely unreadable at line 24, where Noah seemingly enjoins Shem to dedicate himself to serving the Most High God. The next readable portion of text begins at 1QapGen 16.8–9, at which point we are part way through a geographic description of the lands allotted by Noah to Japheth. This description must have already been underway for at least two or three lines, leaving approximately sixteen lines unaccounted for between the end of Noah's dream and the beginning of Japheth's allotment. When we consider that Noah is still instructing Shem in 15.24, and that there must have been some introduction to the earth's division (likely several lines; cf. Jub. 8:10–11), it becomes very likely that one episode (the dream) led into the other (the earth's division).

3.4.2. *Some Associated Traditions*

The previous survey explored only what may be gathered about Noah's dream and its interpretation by reading the extant text of the Genesis Apocryphon. There are, however, some traditions preserved in roughly contemporaneous or later Jewish and Manichaean works that appear related in some way to these columns and may help us understand better their obscure content.

3.4.2.1. *The "Dream of the Garden"*

First, there is an intriguing link between the Genesis Apocryphon and a tale that I will call the *Dream of the Garden*; a dream preserved in several ancient corpora, including the Dead Sea Scrolls. In his *Books of Enoch*, J. T. Milik observed that the so-called *Book of Giants*, which he related to the Enochic corpus, had a healthy representation among the Dead Sea Scrolls.[67] He ventured further that these fragments contain an earlier form of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. An abbreviated form of the Manichaean version, dubbed by Milik the *Midrash of Shemḥazai and Azael*, later found its way into the rabbinic corpus via a certain Rav Yoseph.[68] The Midrash is preserved in several medieval rabbinic sources, including *Genesis Rabba*, *Yalqut Shimoni*, and the *Chronicles of Jeraḥme'el*.[69] While Milik's proposed line of transmission has been subsequently questioned,[70] it is clear that the Qumran, Manichaean, and rabbinic sources all share some form of the *Dream of the Garden*.

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[66] It is not impossible that 15.10–12 refers to two figures: a great warrior coming from the south (15.10) and the Mighty Lord (15.11). According to this understanding, which has been suggested in personal communication by E. Eshel, the one coming from the south could be considered an evil individual (one of the Seleucid or Ptolemaic kings, according to Eshel), and line 11 could be read with the Mighty Lord as the subject (preceded by a now lost verb). The following "one who will come from the south of the land" would then be the unfortunate recipient of the Lord's presumed action. I have chosen my explanation for the following reasons: 1) the Lord is expected to come in judgment, typically from the south, in Deut 33:1–3, Judg 5:4–5, Pss 18:5–20, 50:1–6, 68, Isa 42:13–25, 63:1–6, Zech 9:13–17, and 1 En 1:3ff., 61:1ff., 77:1; 2) a number of these biblical passages portray the Lord coming with fire, an element accompanying the great warrior of 1QapGen 15.10; 3) the imagery of a sickle, or harvest, also associated with the great warrior in 15.10, is used to describe the Lord "reaping" judgment in Joel 4:11–16, Matt 13:30, 39, Mark 4:26–29, and Rev 14:14–20; 4) the syntax of the phrase in 15.11 "הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעא" seems most easily read (in my opinion) as a further qualification of the preceding מרה רבותא; and 5) the general context of wickedness and wrongdoing in these and surrounding lines would fit well with a divine judgment scene. The following mention of throwing rebels onto the fire (15.12) and four great angels (15.14) further support this notion. Together, these points argue strongly that the great warrior and Mighty Lord should be viewed as synonymous in these lines, thus presenting a climactic scene of divine judgment on human (and perhaps angelic) evildoers.

[67] Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 57–58. For analysis of Milik and the Book of Giants at Qumran see the studies of F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 97–115; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*; and L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

The portion of the *Midrash of Shemḥazai and Azael* of present interest is one of a pair of dreams had by Heyah and Aheyah, sons of the Watcher Shemḥazai. One version of the account reads:[71]

> ואחד מהם ראה בחלומו פרדס גדול ומשובח והיה
> אותו פרדס נטוע מכל מיני אילנות ומכל מיני מגדים
> והיו מלאכים באים וקרדומים בידם והיו קוצרים את
> האילנות עד שלא נשאר אלא אילן אחד של ג' ענפים
>
> And one of them saw in his dream a large and glorious garden, and that garden was planted with all species of trees and all types of choice fruits. And angels were coming with axes in their hands and were cutting down the trees, until none remained except for one tree of three branches.

This dream is analogous in meaning to a preceding vision, which concerns a great stone surface covered with lines of writing. In that dream an angel comes with a knife and scrapes all lines off the stone save one, which contains four words. The common meaning of the dreams is then related to the brothers by their father, Shemḥazai:[72]

> בני עתיד הקודש ברוך הוא להביא מבול לעולם
> ולהחריבו ולא ישייר בו אלא אדם אחד וג' בניו
>
> My sons, in the future the Holy One, blessed be He, is going to bring a flood on the world and cause it to be destroyed, and none will remain in it except one man and his three sons.

The man and his three sons are, of course, Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as one version of the Midrash specifies.[73] The fragmentary Manichaean version of the dream states that one of the giants (Narīmān)[74] "saw (in his sleep) a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred…came out, the trees…"[75] Enoch explains that the trees represent the *Egregoroi*, or עירים, of the *Book of Watchers*, on whose account the giants were born from women.[76] Shortly after this, the same fragment contains the isolated verb "pulled out," or "uprooted," which may refer to the destruction of these trees, as in the rabbinic *Midrash*.

The discovery of a *Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls supported the earlier suspicion that the Manichaean *Book of Giants* is somehow related to 1 Enoch.[77] Focusing only on the *Dream of the Garden*, we find several pertinent fragments:[78]

4QEnGiants^b ar (4Q530), fragments 2ii + 6 + 7i + 8, lines 3–6

> באדין חלמו תריהון חלמין ונדת שנת[]עיניהון מנהון
> וק[מו[79] ופ]תׄחׄו עיניהון ואתו על [שמיחזה אבוהון(?)
> ובאדין]חׄלׄמׄיהון אשתׄעׄיׄו֯[80] בכנשת ח[בריהון]
> נפיליׄאׄ[... ב]חלמׄי הׄוׄיׄתׄ חזא בליליא דן...
>
> Then the two of them (i.e. Hahyah and Mahavai) dreamt dreams, and the sleep of their eyes fled from them. And [they] ro[se up, ope]ned their eyes, and came to [Sh'mihazah, their father(?). Then]they told

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[68] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 339. Rav Yoseph is questionably identified by Milik as Rabbi Joseph bar ḥiyya, head of the academy in Pumbedita in the early fourth century CE. For the numerous and valid disputes over this proposal see J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, "The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch," *Numen* 26:1 (June 1979): 89–103 [102]; G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (NHS 24; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 166 67; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 88.

[69] The texts are presented synoptically by Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 321 26 [325]), although caution has been urged by Greenfield and Stone ("The Books of Enoch," 102) regarding the uncritical use of this collection. *Jeraḥme'el's* version may now be found in the recent, critical edition by E. Yassif, *The Book of Memory, that is The Chronicles of Jeraḥme'el* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), 117 [Hebrew]. The text of *Yalqut Shimoni* may also be found in A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* [בית המדרש] (6 sections; Jerusalem: Wahrmann Books [ספרי ואהרמן], 1967), 4:128. Some of these texts are thought to depend on the now lost *Midrash Abkir*, on which see A Marmorstein, "Midrash 'Abkir," *Debir* 1 (1923): 113 44; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 86.

[70] Greenfield and Stone, "The Books of Enoch," 102; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 167; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 88.

[71] This is the version found in a manuscript of *Bereshit Rabbati* consulted by Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 325). The other versions are generally the same, but vary in details and wording.

[72] Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 326.

[73] See the excerpt from *Yalqut Shimoni* (or *Midrash Abkir*) in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, 4:128.

[74] Narīmān equates to Hahyah in the Qumran *Book of Giants*. See Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 94.

[75] This is found in the Middle Persian Kawân. For the text see W. B. Henning, "The Book of Giants," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943): 52 74 [57, 60; Fragment j 39 41]. For a rich, creative commentary on the Qumran and Manichaean dreams cf. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95 102.

[76] Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 305. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95.

[77] This connection was first argued by Isaac de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme* (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1734–39; repr. New York: Garland, 1984), 1.429. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 298; or Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 24.

[78] Aramaic transcriptions are those of Puech, DJD 31, 28, although I do not subscribe to all of his reconstructions. Puech gives reference to the earlier editions of Milik, Beyer, and Stuckenbruck (whose notes are particularly useful). Translations are my own (ellipses do not necessary reflect the correct spacing).

[79] There is presumably a case of dittography here, which I have not included. Cf. Puech, DJD 31, 28, 33.

[80] The *vav* is superscripted (an apparent scribal correction) in the manuscript.

> him their dreams in the assembly of [their] fe[llows,] the Nephilin[... ...in] my dream I was seeing this very night...

A following fragment (8, lines 7–8) from the same scroll confirms that one of the dreams concerns a garden and the trees in it:[81]

> גׄננין והוא משקין [כל עע בגנתה דא... ושר]שׄין...
> רברבין נפקו מן עקרהׄ[ו]ן [... חזא]הׄוית עד דיׄ
> לשנין די נור מן [... ...]... בׄכל מיא ונורא דלק בכלׄ

> ...gardeners, and they were watering [every tree in this garden... and]gigantic [ro]ots went up from th[ei]r trunk [...]I was [watching] until tongues of fire from [...]... in all the waters, and the fire burned in all...

Another manuscript, 6Q8, appears related to these Cave 4 fragments. Fragment 1 depicts Mahavai fearfully recounting for his brother Hahyah something that had been shown to him, presumably in a vision. In fragment 2 we find the phrases "its three shoots" (תלת שרשוהי), "I was [watching] until they came" ([חזא] הוית עד די אתו), and "this garden, all of it" (פרדסא דן כלה) on successive lines.[82] Other fragments, clearly related to these lines, preserve the expressions "all gardeners" (כל גננין) and "and he cut" (ופסל). While there is some disagreement whether the texts from caves 4 and 6 represent variant versions of the dream, as proposed by Beyer and Stuckenbruck,[83] or two copies of the very same text, as Puech reconstructs,[84] it is clear that both include a garden, trees, gardeners, shoots, and are visionary in nature. There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that both texts refer to the same basic dream, even if they represent two distinct versions of it.

Turning to the Genesis Apocryphon, several correlations with the *Dream of the Garden* are evident. Both accounts concern the fate of trees in general, which are symbolic representations of divine or human beings. Both present Noah as a tree with three shoots equating to three sons. In all versions other trees are destroyed by divine means, and this typically involves "cutting". Finally, the destruction of the earth and its inhabitants by the flood is the general topic of each dream. It is clear that these texts all draw on a flexible but common tradition—a parable of sorts—wherein Noah and his sons constitute the only "tree" in the garden to survive the destructive cutting, burning, and demolition (i.e. the flood) inflicted by the Lord's agents. In all of these works the parable is communicated to the recipient through a symbolic dream before the flood occurs, even if its message held a radically different significance for Noah than Shemḥazai's two sons.

The above similarities, however, should be viewed alongside some important differences. For instance, in the Genesis Apocryphon: 1) it is Noah, not a giant, who receives the dream;[85] 2) specific trees are singled out and explained rather than referred to collectively; 3) the three shoots of Noah's tree are extended to offshoots and branches; and 4) instead of simply ending with the flood, Noah's dream takes us well beyond it, to the judgment of sinners by the Mighty Lord. Thus, while the Genesis Apocryphon contains imagery which bears a family resemblance to the *Dream of the Garden*, here that imagery is couched in a work focused largely on the progeny of Noah until the end of time, rather than only on the flood and related plights of Hahyah and Mahavai.

3.4.2.2. *"Cursed be Canaan"*

A second connection that assists our understanding of the dream is found in the Book of Jubilees. Although the parallel of 1QapGen 16–17 and Jub. 8:11–9:15 has already been touched on above, and will be dealt with at length in the following chapter, a close examination of 1QapGen 14 reveals that the connection with Jubilees runs deeper than the simple sharing of geographic data. Indeed, it appears that it extends to the ideological and theological outlook underlying the earth's division. Jub. 10:27–36 narrates the dispersion of Noah's sons to their previously allotted inheritances following the Tower of Babel episode. Focusing largely on Ham and his sons we hear that, while travelling to his proper heritage in the southwestern extremity of the earth (somewhere around ancient Mauretania), Canaan sees the beauty of the area "from Lebanon to the stream of Egypt," and decides to settle there despite the fact that it is given to Arpachshad in Jub. 9:4. Appalled at this breach of their solemn oath before the Lord and Noah (cf. Jub. 9:14–15), Ham and his other sons beg Canaan to rethink his rash decision and avoid a terrible curse. Undeterred, Canaan and his sons stay put, and so doom their progeny to pay the heavy price of such an act. This little vignette is an exegetical windfall for the author of Jubilees, simultaneously explaining how a portion rightfully belonging to Shem (according to Jub. 8–9) could be called the "Land of Canaan" in the Torah, validating the curse being given to Canaan instead of Ham after Noah's drunken episode in Genesis 9:25–27, and providing Shem's descendants pre-approval for the eventual *re*-conquest of this region under the command of Joshua son of Nun. Following Canaan's infraction we read of another glitch in the dispersion of Noah's sons, in which Madai, son of Japheth, also settles in a region belonging to Shem. Madai, however, petitions his kin and receives the proper permission for his move, thereby avoiding a curse. As with Canaan, one purpose of this story is undoubtedly etiological, explaining why there is an area named Mediqin (Media) within Shem's allotment.

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[81] Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 304.

[82] The transcriptions are from Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 201. Translations are my own.

[83] Cf. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 114–15, 201 203.

[84] E. Puech, "Les Fragments 1 à 3 du *Livre Des Géants* de la Grotte 6 (*pap6Q8*)," *RevQ* 74 (1999): 227 38 [235]. Also see idem, DJD 31, 28. Puech's view is, in my opinion, less convincing.

[85] It is interesting, however, that Noah is mistaken by Lamech for a giant in the early columns of the scroll. Noah's close connection to the Watchers and Giants in this genre of Aramaic literature (inherited by the Essenes of Qumran) is an area deserving of further study.

Turning to the section concerning the cedar shoots in 1QapGen 14, we should now recall the following phrases:

> As for the fact that you saw the branch of the last shoot, which ... (14.15)
>
> ... a few of their boughs entering into the midst of the boughs of the first one, (concerns) two sons ... ... one to the south of the earth and one to the north of the earth. As for the fact that you saw a few of their boughs entering into the boughs of the first one ... ... of this shoot were settling in his land and all the coastlands ... ... to the Great Sea ... (14.16–17)
>
> ... exchanging his allotment for an allotment ... (14.22)

These statements gain striking significance when read alongside Jub. 10. As proposed above, "the offshoot of the last shoot" in line 15 must be a son of either Ham or Japheth, assuming that "the first shoot" is Shem. The phrase "settling in his land and all the coastlands" helps us narrow the identity of this offshoot to Canaan, since in Jub. 10:29 we read that Canaan and his sons illegally settled "in the land of Lebanon ... and on the seacoast." The last shoot, therefore, appears to be Ham,[86] with the few boughs "entering into the boughs of the first one" being the symbolic representation of Canaan and his sons entering the region belonging to Shem's progeny. If so, "the boughs of the first one" must refer to Arpachshad and his family. It is even possible that the exchange of allotments found in line 22 refers to Madai's move into Shem's territory, though this is far less certain. These similarities suggest that the Genesis Apocryphon shares Jubilees' concern for defending Israel's claim to the land called Canaan in the Pentateuch. According to both texts, the eventual conquest of this land by the Israelites merely restored to Shem's descendants what was rightfully theirs from the beginning, at the same time providing Canaan (through his descendents) his just desserts.

As with the *Dream of the Garden*, however, this parallel is only partial. While Jubilees first mentions this episode after the earth has been divided and the confusion at Babel, the Genesis Apocryphon places it before the division, and in the context of an inspired dream. By drawing on both the *Dream of the Garden* and Jub. 10 one is able to deduce that at least a part of Noah's dream in 1QapGen 13–15 concerns the patriarch and his offspring, symbolized by trees and their various parts, and that the dream likely addresses (prophetically) Canaan illegally settling in the inherited lands of Arpachshad.

3.4.3. *The Setting and Import of the Dream in the Genesis Apocryphon*

A final area of interest is the setting and function of the dream-vision, especially as they relate to the book of Genesis. By the time the dream begins in 1QapGen 13.7 it appears that the flood is being recounted to Noah (13.7–12).[87] The last sure phrase preceding this is found in 12.19, where we read "And I lay down upon my bed and fell asleep ... [...]" (ושכבת על֯ מ֯שכבי]○ ודמ֯כ֯ת֯ ...),[88] which follows the celebration of Noah's vineyard harvest in the foregoing lines (12.13–18). This expands the much shorter account of Gen 9:20–21, where we read of Noah planting a vineyard, pressing wine from its produce, and then lying down drunk and uncovered inside his tent. In the ensuing verses of Genesis Ham enters, sees Noah's nakedness, and proceeds to tell his two brothers outside. The episode culminates in Noah cursing Ham's son Canaan, but blessing Shem and Japheth. This brief story contains a number of interpretative perplexities. First, how did Noah know what his youngest son had done to him if he was asleep (Gen 9:24)? And what, precisely, had

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[86] This identification accords with the fact that Ham is described as the youngest of Noah's sons (hence, the "last" shoot to emerge) in Gen 9:24.

[87] A rehearsal of previous history is not uncommon in visions describing the future (see, e.g., 1 En. 85). Also cf. G. I. Davies, "Apocalyptic and Historiography," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 5 (1978): 15 28.

[88] Cf. the similar language in Dan 7:1.

Ham "done"? Further, how is it that Noah goes on to foretell what will happen to his sons at a future time? Perhaps most perplexing, why does Noah curse Ham's son Canaan for what appears to be an offense by Ham alone? Such difficulties have led modern biblical critics to speculate about the muddle of various sources and textual corruptions that could have generated such confusion,[89] or to hypothesize that something has erstwhile dropped out of an earlier, more coherent version of the story.[90] Ancient commentators, unsurprisingly, viewed things quite differently. For them, any exegetical difficulty implied a shortcoming on the part of the reader, not the text. Hence, the wise interpreter discerned that Noah was able to forecast his sons' future dealings through the gift of prophecy, and that there must be perfectly reasonable explanations for what happened inside the tent, or why Canaan was cursed rather than Ham.[91]

The lines following 1QapGen 12.19 (which concerns Noah falling asleep) are very fragmentary, but it appears that the present topic of Noah's narration continues until a *vacat* at 12.25. The approximately fifteen lines between this *vacat* and our first glimpses of Noah's dream in 13.7 almost certainly contain the earliest part of the vision, which is now almost entirely lost.[92] From this we may gather that Noah's wine-induced sleep was followed closely by the beginning of the dream, and that his tent-enveloped slumber provides the immediate context for the following columns.

Noah's reception of a dream during his sleep is not unique among ancient exegetical treatments of Genesis, but it is very rare. One sure instance of this motif occurs in the Palestinian Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, where Gen 9:24 reads, ואיתער נח מן חמריה וידע באשתעות חלמא ית דעבד ליה חם בריה ("And Noah awoke from his wine, and he knew *through the narration of a dream* what his son Ham had done to him").[93] The same explanation is found in the Syriac commentary tradition. An anonymous *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* makes a statement very similar to Pseudo-Jonathan, commenting that, ܕܝܢ ܢܘܚ ܒܝܕ ܓܠܝܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܚܠܡܐܝܬ ܝܕܥ ܟܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܪܗ ܙܥܘܪܐ ("And Noah knew all that his young(est) son did to him by way of a divine vision that (came) to him as a dream").[94] Isho'dad of Merv's 9th cent. CE *Commentary on the Old Testament*, which appears to depend heavily on the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, contains the same statement.[95] Less certain is a Greek variant found in the same verse of some LXX manuscripts. These witnesses[96] replaced the last word of the phrase ἐξένηψεν δὲ Νῶε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ("And Noah awoke from the wine"), which depends on the Hebrew יינו ("his wine"), with the words ὕπνου αὐτοῦ. These words could simply mean "his sleep," which would make perfectly good sense in this setting, or it may carry the secondary meaning "his dream."[97] In this case, we would have another example of the tradition found in Pseudo-Jonathan, the Syriac commentary tradition, and the Genesis Apocryphon. The Apocryphon, however, is unique in relating the contents of the dream. In doing so, its author apparently breaks from what would later become the dominant reading of these verses, for the events of Gen 9:20–24 have been widely interpreted by Jews and Christians, from antiquity to the present, to reflect poorly on the otherwise admirable Noah.[98] Consequently, a number of contemporary scholars have referred to the incident as "the sin of Noah," despite any explicit statement to that effect in the text itself.[99] John Calvin represents this way of reading these verses in his commentary on Genesis:[100]

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[89] E.g. Skinner, *Genesis*, 181 87. Cf. W. Brueggemann, *Genesis: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Interpretation; Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1982), 90 91. Brueggemann suggests that, because of the complicated transmission process of this passage, we are no longer able to determine "what was intended by the shaping of this text" (91).

[90] E.g. N. M. Sarna, *Genesis* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 63 64, 66.

[91] An introduction to ancient Jewish and Christian interpretive views on this passage may be garnered from the following works: R. Graves and R. Patai, *Hebrew Myths* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1964), 120 22; H. Hirsch Cohen, *The Drunkenness of Noah* (Judaic Studies 4; Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama, 1974), 13 14; A. I. Baumgarten, "Myth and Midrash: Genesis 9:20–29," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (3 vols.; ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 3:55 71; H. F. Stander, "The Church Fathers on (the cursing of) Ham," *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 5 (1994): 113 25; and J. A. Bergsma and S. A. Hahn, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20 27)," *JBL* 124.1 (Spring 2005): 25 40.

[92] Judging by isolated words in 1QapGen 12.21 22, it is possible that the vision begins even before the *vacat*, shortly after Noah lay down on his bed.

[93] See E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1984), 10.

[94] L. van Rompay, *Le Commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9,32 du Manuscrit (Olim) Diyarbakir* (CSCO 483 484; Scriptores Syri 205 206; Louvain: Peeters, 1986), 63 [Syriac], 81 [trans.].

[95] J. M. Vosté and C. van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament I. Genèse* (CSCO 126, 156; Scriptores Syri 67, 75; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1950, 1955), 128 [Syriac], 138 [trans.].

[96] Which include Origen in the Greek; see *The Old Testament in Greek, Volume I. The Octateuch, Part I. Genesis* (eds A. E. Brooke and N. McLean; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1906), 22.

[97] The first possibility strikes me as the more likely, since the standard Greek word for dream is ὀνείρου. See H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. with revised supplement; Oxford: Oxford University, 1996), 1231.

[98] A representative example is found in *Genesis Rabbah* 36:4 (Theodor-Albeck): וישת מן היין וישכר שתה שלא במידה ונשתכר ונתבזה, אמר ר׳ חייא בר בא בו ביום נטע בו ביום שתה בו ביום נתבזה. Also see the commentaries of Rashi or Ibn-Ezra on this passage, and *b. Sanh.* 70a, 108a.

> The holy patriarch, though he had hitherto been a rare example of frugality and temperance, losing all self-possession, did, in a base and shameful manner, prostrate himself naked on the ground, so as to become a laughing-stock to all... God brands him with an eternal mark of disgrace.

In contrast, the dream of 1QapGen 13–15 clearly claims divine inspiration and involves the transmission of otherworldly knowledge, suggesting that this episode was viewed by our author in a positive light. The author of the Apocryphon, then, did not understand the incident in a negative way, but crafted from it a decidedly positive portrayal of Noah—a portrayal that would cohere with the ultra-righteous, idealized characterization of the patriarch evident throughout the rest of the scroll. Although in the minority, other ancient and modern commentators have also made cases for Gen 9:20–24 reflecting neutrally, or even positively, on Noah.[101] These have typically shifted all shameful and sinful behavior to Ham and Canaan.[102] Several ancient rewritings of Genesis appear to have avoided these thorny issues by simply leaving the events out of their compositions altogether.[103]

The motive for reinforcing Noah's righteous image is not difficult to discern. There are numerous indications that during the third to second centuries BCE Noah enjoyed a flurry of interest among certain Jewish groups,[104] perhaps because of his relevance for those who adopted an apocalyptic worldview and felt that they too lived amidst a hopelessly wicked generation.[105] While it appears that concentration on Noah eventually waned, possibly due to the growing attention received by Enoch,[106] it is clear that both patriarchs were depicted as supreme paradigms of righteousness. Admirers of these men, so beloved by God, were apparently not interested in buoying their own faith by pondering the common depravity shared by these upright individuals. Rather, they were attracted to the idea of super-human heroes—peerless benchmarks against which the corruption of their own generation could be measured. The Genesis Apocryphon must be cited as the primary example for such an exalted view of Noah, and provides good grounds for its positive reading of Noah's drunkenness. Yet the questions remain: why place an apocalyptic vision here, and what does this move accomplish?

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[99] This view is reflected in most commentaries. See, e.g., C. Westermann, *Genesis* (BKAT I/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974), 644–61; G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1 15* (WBC 1; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 198 99; K. A. Mathews, *Genesis 1 11:26* (NAC; Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1996), 412; W. A. Gage, *The Gospel of Genesis: Studies in Protology and Eschatology* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Carpenter, 1984), 12; J. H. Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative: A Biblical Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 129; B. K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 15 31* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 70. It should be noted, however, that in the early church there was an overture by some (e.g. Augustine in *The City of God*, Book 16; or Origen) to redeem Noah's action. This impulse is understandable in light of Noah's patriarchal status, the claim that he was "righteous and blameless in his generation" in Gen 6:9, and especially his strong typological relation to Jesus Christ in the opinion of many early Christian commentators.

[100] Jean Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis* (Vol. 1; trans. Rev. J. King; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948) 300 301. What Calvin saw as a moral breakdown on Noah's part some modern scholars have assigned to dichotomous sources (cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, 181 82).

[101] See n. 99, above. Another ancient example of a positive view is Philo of Alexandria, who employs a Greco-Roman distinction between various types of drunkenness to argue that righteous Noah was "drunk" (μέθη) in a positive, or "sober" (νηφάλιος) way, befitting those who are extremely wise. Interestingly, this type of drunkenness could lead to the ideal state in which to receive divine oracles; a topic deserving of further exploration in connection with Noah's dream in Apocryphon. See Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 1.68, 73 (Marcus; LCL); and *On Planting* 139 177 (Colson and Whitaker, LCL). On the Hellenistic theme of "sober drunkenness" in Philo and other sources cf. H. Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik* (Beihefte zur *ZNW*, 9; Giessen: Töpelmann 1929); and S. Brock, "Sobria Ebrietas According to some Syriac Texts," *ARAM* 17 (2005): 181 95. For a modern positive view of the story see W. E. Brown, "Noah: Sot or Saint? Genesis 9:20–27," in *The Way of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Bruce K. Waltke* (eds J. I. Packer and S. K. Sonderland; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), 36 60. Cassuto seems to view Noah's act as neutral, placing the emphasis on Ham's transgression and warning that "we must not read into the Pentateuchal narrative more than it actually states, taking the words at their face value." U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis: From Noah to Abraham*, 152.

[102] Yet others hold an intermediate position, arguing that what Noah did was wrong, but that he was not culpable for his sin since he was the first to drink wine. See N. Koltun-Fromm, "Aphrahat and the Rabbis on Noah's Righteousness in Light of the Jewish-Christian Polemic," in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation* (eds J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay; Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 57 71. Koltun-Fromm compares this Christian view with the more negative rabbinic interpretation. The same apologetic is found Ephrem; see L. Van Rompay, "Antiochene Biblical Interpretation: Greek and Syriac," in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation*, 112 13. This view was defended by Saint John Chrysostom in his *Homilies on Genesis*, 18 45 (The Fathers of the Church 82; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1990), 202 205; and advocated much more recently by G. A. F. Knight, *Theology in Pictures: A Commentary on Genesis, Chapters One to Eleven* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1981), 105; and N. Sarna, *Genesis*, 65.

[103] E.g. Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, *Sefer ha-Yashar*, and the Samaritan *Asatir*.

[104] See J. C. VanderKam, "The Righteousness of Noah," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (SBLSCS 12; eds J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 13 32; and especially Stone "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah."

[105] See D. E. Aune's helpful discussion of this worldview (albeit in a later period) in *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 227 31.

[106] Cf. Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," 18.

3.4.3.1. ויתגל: *"And it was revealed"*

To find the reason why Noah received a vision during his sleep one need venture no further than the wording of Gen 9:21, which reads וַיֵּשְׁתְּ מִן־הַיַּיִן וַיִּשְׁכָּר וַיִּתְגַּל בְּתוֹךְ אָהֳלֹה, "Having drunk of the wine he became inebriated, and was uncovered inside his tent." Standard translations do not always reflect the ambiguity of the word וַיִּתְגַּל, which in this context literally means "he/it was uncovered/revealed." Almost all early interpretations and translations of this verse take ויתגל to refer to Noah lying exposed—i.e. physically naked—within his tent. This understanding is supported by the next verse, which states that "Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father (עֶרְוַת אָבִיו)."[107] The LXX uses a passive, aorist form of the verb γυμνόω (ἐγυμνώθη) to translate ויתגל, more strongly implying the idea of nudity.[108] Targums Onqelos and Neofiti preserved the ambiguity of Genesis by translating ויתגל as ואתגלי.[109] Yet others, such as Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, leave no room for doubt about Noah's state, choosing the word ואיתערטל ("he stripped himself naked") instead.[110] Some English translations join Pseudo-Jonathan in making explicit what Genesis implies, writing that Noah "became drunk and *lay naked* inside his tent."[111]

Despite this typical, unflattering reception of Noah in Gen 9:21, it important to note that the word ויתגל represents an anomalous morphology of the verb גלה in the Hebrew Bible. It is the only instance of גלה in the *hitpa'el* conjugation, save one, disputed occurrence in Proverbs 18:2. The latter verse has itself proven knotty for commentators, declaring that "the fool takes no delight in understanding, but rather in the הִתְגַּלּוֹת of his heart."[112] Whatever the exact meaning of התגלות,[113] it is clear that it has nothing at all to do with physical nakedness, but rather with the act of revealing or uncovering one's thoughts or intentions.

While the *hitpa'el* of גלה in Gen 9:21 logically suggests a reflexive or passive meaning of "uncover" or "reveal," rabbinic commentators took the unexpected morphology to intimate a connection to a second meaning of גלה, "to go into exile":

> ויתגל בתוך אהלה: Rav Yudah, Rav Shimon, and Rav Hanan, in the name of Rav Shmuel son of Rav Yitzhak (said): "ויגל is not written, but ויתגל, intimating exile (גלות) to him and to the (following) generations..."[114]

Contrary to the interpretations surveyed above, the author of the Apocryphon appears to have neither taken Noah as the subject of ויתגל (going back to 9:20a), nor connected it with Noah's nakedness in 9:22. Rather, he seemingly read ויתגל in reference to an unstated, but implied, subject—a revelatory vision received by Noah. A translation to accompany this understanding might be, "Having drunk of the wine he became inebriated, and it [i.e. a vision] was revealed inside of his tent."

While such a reading may at first appear fanciful, there are numerous indicators that the root גלי/גלה in general, and the *hitpa'el* conjugation more specifically, carried heavy connotations of divine communication and visionary experience. In the Hebrew Bible the common Hebrew idiom "to uncover the ears" (גלה אזן) often refers to a matter revealed to humans by the Lord, and more generally entails the relation of privileged information between two parties.[115] The use of this idiom in Job 33:16 is worthy of full citation:

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[107] For a survey of the traditional Jewish and Christian interpretations of these verses see Bergsma and Hahn, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20–27)." The authors point to the well documented biblical connection between the verbal root גלה and the noun ערוה, which together refer to an act (usually unauthorized) of sexual intercourse. It is apparently due to this combination that some Jewish and Christian commentators understood Ham's transgression to entail a homosexual assault on his father. Also see M. Vervenne, "What Shall We Do with the Drunken Sailor? A Critical Reexamination of Genesis 9.20 27," *JSOT* 68 (1995): 33 55 [esp. 33 41].

[108] The Vulgate makes Noah's condition even less ambiguous, translating "bibensque vinum inebriatus est, et nudatus in tabernaculo suo." See the remarks of Vervenne, "What Shall We Do with the Drunken Sailor?" 46.

[109] So too the Peshitta tradition, ܘܐܬܓܠܝ. The marginalia included in Díez Macho's edition of Neofiti are of interest here, assuring that the reader is aware of the negative connotations of Noah's actions. Drawing on the *Yerushalmi*, we first read ואתפרסם במצע משכניה דסוראי ואתבזי ב[מצע], "And he stretched himself out inside the tents of the Syrians, and was despised in[side the tents.]" After this there is an alternative reading for ואתגלי ואתרשל ("And he relaxed")—which seems, in contrast, an attempt to downplay any possibility of nakedness or wrongdoing on Noah's part. A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti I: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana: Tomo I Génesis* (Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968), 51. Rashi, in his commentary on Genesis, questions the wisdom of Noah planting grapes as the first crop, foreshadowing his disapproval of the following actions of Gen 9:21 22.

[110] Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch*, 10.

[111] New American Bible and New Living Translation (emphasis mine).

[112] The LXX and Peshitta have an alternative reading (ἀφροσύνη/ܫܛܝܘܬܐ), meaning "foolishness". See Waltke, *Proverbs: 15 31*, 65.

[113] Some English translations of the second strophe of this verse have been, "but only that his heart may reveal itself." (American Standard); "but only in revealing his own mind." (New American Standard); "but that his heart may discover itself." (King James); "but rather in displaying what he thinks." (New American Bible); "but delights in airing his own opinions." (New International).

[114] *Genesis Rabba* (Theodor-Albeck) 36:4.

> בַּחֲלוֹם חֶזְיוֹן לַיְלָה בִּנְפֹל תַּרְדֵּמָה עַל אֲנָשִׁים בִּתְנוּמוֹת
> עֲלֵי מִשְׁכָּב אָז יִגְלֶה אֹזֶן אֲנָשִׁים

> In a dream, a vision of the night, when deep sleep falls upon people as they slumber in bed; then he [God] opens people's ears.

In Amos 3:7 the Lord is depicted as revealing (גלה) his plan, or secret (סוֹד), to the prophets.[116] Balaam experiences an "unveiling of the eyes" (גְלוּיֵ עֵינָיִם), allowing him to "see what the Almighty sees" (Num 24:4, 16; cf. Num 22:31), and a matter (דָּבָר) is revealed (נִגְלָה) to Daniel in Dan 10:1. Gen 35:7 recounts how God had revealed himself (נִגְלוּ אֵלָיו הָאֱלֹהִים) to Jacob at Luz. Isaiah used the verb in a similar way, choosing it to speak of the Lord revealing himself.[117] Finally, the Psalmist entreats God to "open my eyes" (גַּל־עֵינַי), that he might see wonders (נִפְלָאוֹת; Ps 119:18). Some of these uses of the root גלה, especially the opening of the ears or eyes to God's hidden knowledge (נסתרות) and mysteries (רזים), are carried into the Hebrew sectarian writings from Qumran—most notably CD, 1QS, 1QH, and the instruction texts.[118] In fact, it appears that these particular idioms became a dominant way of talking about the specially revealed knowledge granted to the sect.[119]

Biblical Aramaic uses this meaning of גלי/גלה, although not in the *hitpe'al*, solely to speak about revelation of the divine "mysteries" (רזין), a "deep thing" (עמיקתא), and a "hidden matter" (מסתרתא).[120] It is significant that these revealed subjects come to Daniel by way of a symbolic dream and a vision (חֶזְוָא), similar in genre to that found in 1QapGen 13–15. Mysteries are also mentioned several times in connection with Noah's various dream-visions in the Apocryphon (e.g. 5.21, 25; 6.12; and 14.9).

The most compelling evidence, however, comes from Qumran Aramaic, our nearest point of comparison for the Apocryphon. In the 4QEnoch fragments, a *pa'el* infinitive construct form of גלי/גלה is found in the phrase כולהון שריו לגליה רזין לנשיהן, "all of them began to reveal mysteries to their wives" (= 1 En. 8:3).[121] Furthermore (and unlike Biblical or Qumran Hebrew), the Aramaic lexicon of the Dead Sea Scrolls preserves a number of instances of גלי/גלה in the *hitpe'al* conjugation. For the group(s) writing this corpus of literature it is evident that this particular form was used in a *passive*, not reflexive, sense, specifically denoting divine revelation. In 4Q212 (4QEn^{g}), יתגלא is used in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 92:14) to describe the revelation of the "righteous law" to all the people of the earth.[122] Both יתגלון and יגלא are found in 4Q536 (4QBirth of Noah^{c} ar) to speak of "luminaries" (נהי֯ר[יא]) and "mysteries" (רזין) being revealed to the "Elect of God," which may or may not refer to Noah.[123] Whoever the subject, the occurrence of the verbs in this text is significant, since its general topic is the relation of privileged, divine knowledge to an individual.[124] י]ת֯גלון is found two more times in another copy of this text, 4Q534, although with very little surrounding context.[125] Again, however, it is clear that the general context of the scroll deals with divine revelation and instruction. The uncertain reading א]ת֯ג֯לה֯ in 4Q546 (4QVisions of Amram^{d} ar) would also fit this trend, falling within a divine visitation granted to Amram.[126] Finally, the symbolic, visionary text 4Q541 (4QApocryphon of Levi^{b} (?) ar) may also employ two non-*hitpe'al* forms of גלי/גלה in reference to divine secrets.[127] From the information presently available, therefore, it appears that the root גלי/גלה

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[115] Cf. "^{1}גלה" in A. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance to the Tanakh* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1980). The Lord "opens the ears" in 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Chr 17:25; and Job 36:10, 15 (see also 1 Sam 3:21). Similar sharing of information between human parties is found in 1 Sam 20:2, 12–13; 22:8, 17; and Ruth 4:4.

[116] Humans who reveal secrets are censured in Proverbs using the same phraseology (11:13, 20:19, 25:9).

[117] See, e.g., Isa 22:14, 40:5, and 56:1. Cf. Ps 98:2.

[118] For all instances of these idioms see M. G. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: Volume One* (2 parts; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:178–79. Some of the more striking examples are: CD 2:14–15, 3:13, 15:13; 1QS 5:9, 8:16; 1QpHab 11:1; 1QH^{a} 9:21, 26:1; 24:28; 1Q26 1:4; 4Q175 11; 4Q268 1:7; 4Q270 2 ii 13; 4Q299 8:6; 4Q416 2 iii 18; 4Q418 123 ii 4, 184:2; 4Q427 7 i 19. The biblical idiom of "uncovering the nakedness" is not as prevalent in the non-biblical scrolls (CD 15:13; 4Q251 17:6; cf. 11Q19 66:12–13).

[119] The *hitpa'el* of גלה is not attested in the Qumran Hebrew lexicon.

[120] Dan 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47 bis. The *pe'al* form is used for both active and passive verbs. The *haph'el* conjugation is used to connote the alternative meaning "to exile."

[121] The phrase in its entirety must be reconstructed from two fragments belonging to different manuscripts of 4QEnoch, both of which recount the transgression of the Watchers (cf. 1 En. 8). 4Q202 (4QEn^{b} ar) 1 iii 5 contains the initial words וכולהון שריו֯ לגליה, while 4Q201 (4QEn^{a} ar) 1 iv 5 preserves the following רזין לנשיהן. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 189 n. i.

[122] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 434, 437 n. 14a, 449–50. He suggests (450) that the righteous law is brought about by human agency, but this does not diminish the fact that proper understanding of the law was originally imparted from the divine realm.

[123] 4Q536 2 i + 3:3, 2 i + 3:8. Puech, DJD 31, 165–67.

[124] Cf. Chapter 1, 17–18.

[125] 4Q534 1 i 12, 3:1. Puech, DJD 31, 133, 143, and 149. The spellings of these two occurrences are less certain. They read י]ת֯גלון and י]ת֯גלו֯ן respectively.

[126] 4Q546 9:2. Puech, DJD 31, 361.

[127] 4Q541 7:1, 24 ii 3. The readings are ה֯גל֯ו֯ (if the transcription of Puech is accepted) and מגליאן respectively. Puech, DJD 31, 239–40, 252–54.

in Qumran Aramaic was used exclusively to refer to divinely revealed wisdom and secrets.[128] Moreover, the *hitpe'al* form denoted such information being revealed to someone in the passive sense.

In light of the lexical usage of גלי/גלה sketched above, it is wholly plausible that the author of the Genesis Apocryphon understood ויתגל in Gen 9:21 to entail divine revelation, thereby prompting him to insert Noah's symbolic dream-vision at this point in his rewritten account. When this possibility is placed alongside our limited knowledge of the dream's contents, the full import of the insertion may be tentatively appreciated. First, the dream acts to authorize the following division of the earth by Noah. By including within the dream a prescient account of the activity of Noah's progeny in reference to their allotted geographic portions, the boundaries are implicated in the divine plan, or mystery. Hence, what Jubilees accomplishes with the heavenly "book" (Jub. 8:11–12), the Genesis Apocryphon achieves through a divinely inspired dream-vision—both being authoritative sources of heavenly wisdom, and stamps of divine authority. This difference in approach would not be surprising, since it reflects a broader discrepancy between Jubilees and the Apocryphon regarding the role and authoritativeness of dreams.

Second, the righteous image of Noah is bolstered. By reading ויתגל in reference to a vision any inference of wrongdoing on Noah's part is neutralized, for it would be unthinkable that Noah both sinned and partook of the divine mysteries at the same time. In this way, any blame inherent in Gen 9 would be shifted decisively to Ham.

Third, by placing a dream-vision here the author of the Apocryphon solves several notorious interpretative conundra related to Gen 9:20–27. Questions about how Noah "knew" (וַיֵּדַע) what his youngest son had done upon waking,[129] why he spoke in terms of the future during his curse and blessings, and why he cursed Canaan rather than Ham, could all be answered with reference to the Apocryphon's vision. Noah was able to curse and bless his sons in futuristic terms because he had just been told what was to happen in his dream. Furthermore, it would be natural for Noah to curse Canaan rather than Ham, since he had just foreseen the grave transgression that this grandson would commit in the future by settling in a land rightfully apportioned to one of Shem's offspring. This line of reasoning finds a partial parallel in some later Syrian Christian exegetes, who understood Noah's statements to be prophetic of what would take place in the future.[130]

3.4.4. *Summary*

To summarize, it seems likely that the symbolic dream given to Noah in 1QapGen 13–15 was inserted by our author into the succinct plot of Gen 9:20–27 for a number of reasons. These include the authorization of Noah's subsequent division of the earth, a defense of Noah's righteous image, and an explanation of why Noah cursed Canaan rather than Ham after waking from his sleep. The contents of the dream included an apocalyptic recitation and foretelling of history, which focused at certain points on Noah and his sons as represented by trees, shoots, branches, etc. This aspect of the dream is paralleled in other sources containing *The Dream of the Garden*. One topic of the vision appears to be the usurpation of Arpachshad's allotted portion by Canaan, which finds a thematic parallel in Jub. 10:27–36. A key difference between these two texts, however, is their conflicting placement of this information. In the Apocryphon it is revealed to Noah (and the reader) *before* his curse, thereby putting Canaan's transgression and Noah's curse in a causative and sequential relationship. In Jubilees, notification of Canaan's disobedience occurs well after Noah's curse and, therefore, the two are not as directly related. While the dream served a number of useful purposes for the author of the Apocryphon, the most imminent reason for the vision's placement at this particular point in the story is likely the word ויתגל in Gen 9:21. It is on this portentous note that we enter into the next major portion of the Apocryphon, and the most direct parallel with the Book of Jubilees—Noah's division of the habitable earth.

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[128] An additional, corroborating occurrence is found in 11Q10 (11QTargum of Job) 27:3–4. This, however, is a reflection of the underlying Hebrew of Job 36:10.

[129] Ephrem dealt with this puzzling statement by proposing that "Noah had been both sleeping and awake. He was sleeping in that he had not perceived his nakedness, but awake in that he had been aware of everything that his youngest son had done to him." *St. Ephrem the Syrian: Selected Prose Works* (FOTC 91; trans. E. G. Mathews and J. P. Amar; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1994), 145. Cf. also Augustine, *The City of God*, book 16.

[130] See, e.g., the commentary on Genesis, excerpting a number of early Syrian fathers, published by A. Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis* (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951), 52, 198.

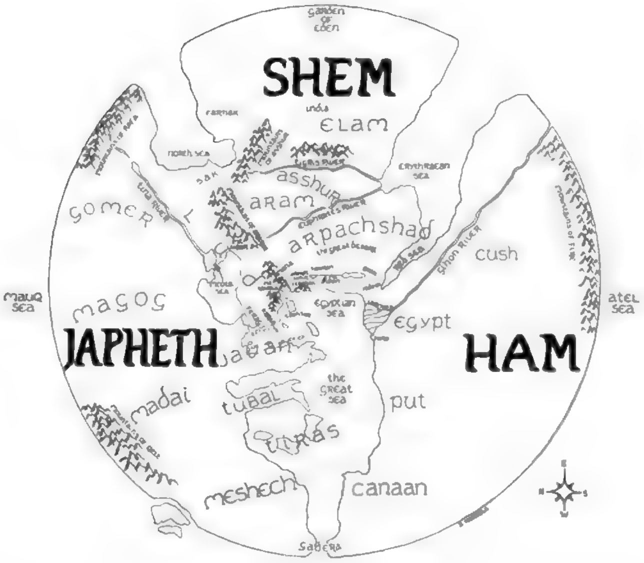
CHAPTER FOUR

A COMPARATIVE COMMENTARY ON THE EARTH'S DIVISION IN JUBILEES 8:11–9:15 AND GENESIS APOCRYPHON 16–17

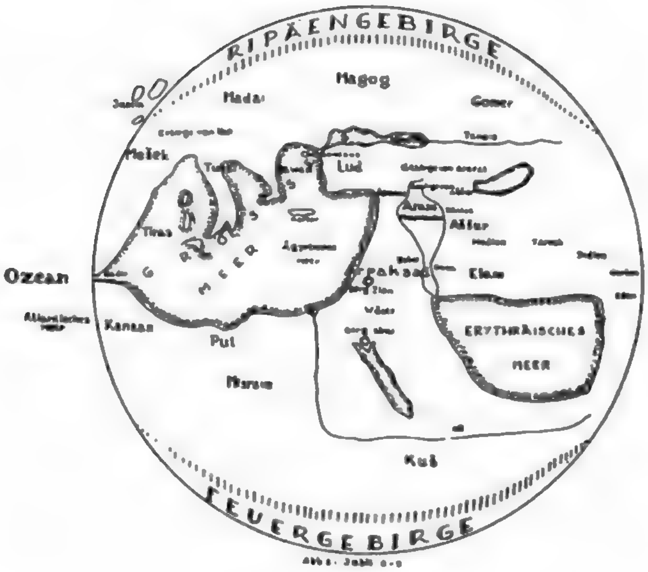
The present chapter is dedicated to a thorough comparison of the division of the earth into geographic districts for Noah's sons and grandsons in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. These passages provide the most direct and extensive parallel between the two works, and may serve as an important case study against which to measure previous and subsequent comparisons. My most immediate goal in this chapter is to further our understanding, and perhaps dating, of the Genesis Apocryphon. However, in order to achieve this it has been necessary to spend significant time investigating both texts. This has resulted in a detailed commentary of the relevant passages of Jubilees, followed by a similar treatment of the Genesis Apocryphon.

The comparison has led to the observation that the two works differ in a number of significant details, while still bearing a remarkable affinity to one another in overall design and perspective—i.e. the way in which they rewrite the Table of Nations of Gen 10. This combination most plausibly suggests that the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees depended upon a common cartographic source, or (less plausibly) that one author used the other from memory or an intermediate written source. If one chooses to view their relationship as one of direct dependence, then it seems preferable to conclude that Jubilees borrowed from the Genesis Apocryphon.

A detailed geographic discussion of lands and toponyms not naturally familiar to most readers lends itself easily to confusion and disinterest. For this reason, a hypothetical, reconstructed map, drawn with the present passages from both texts in mind, has been included below.[1] This is accompanied by other, previous attempts to graphically represent the map underlying Jubilees.


garden of eden
SHEM
india
elam
north sea
erythraean sea
asshur
aram
gomer
arpachshad
cush
mauq sea
magog
egyptian sea
egypt
atel sea
JAPHETH
ja'aff
HAM
madai
tubal
the great sea
put
tiras
meshech
canaan
sabera

Map 1. New Reconstruction of a World Map Like That Underlying Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon (cf. the enlargement on page xvi)


RIPÄENGEBIRGE
Magog
Madai
Gomer
Melek
Lud
Tiras
Ozean
Aram
Aššur
Elam
Kanaan
Put
Mizraim
ERYTHRÄISCHES MEER
Kuš
FEUERGEBIRGE

Map 2. Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Gustav Hölscher[2]

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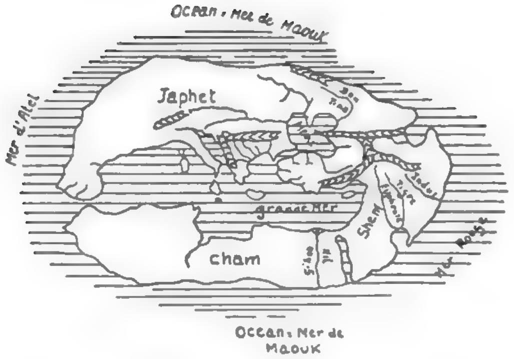
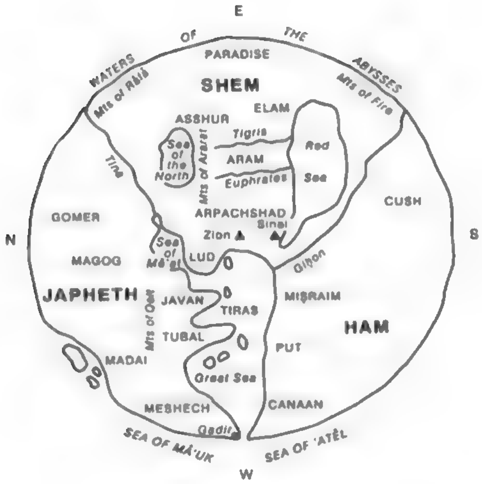
[1] It must be kept in mind that any such map is a fixed piece of interpretation, as the following discussion should make clear. Many parts of my map, therefore, remain less certain than they may appear. It is important to view the map alongside the (often qualifying) arguments accompanying it in this chapter. I should also stress that my own map is an effort at conflating the real or mental maps underlying the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. In general, I have tried to follow the Genesis Apocryphon whenever possible, taking recourse to Jubilees where this is not possible.

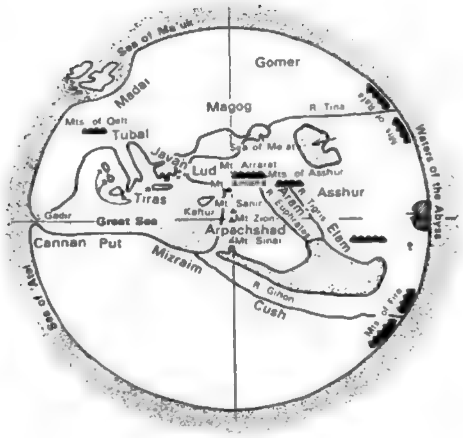
[2] From G. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten: Ein beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des hebraïschen Alterums* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosphische-historische Klasse 1944/48, 3; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1949), 58.


Ocean · Mer de Maouk
Mer d'Atel
Japhet
grande Mer
Cham
Shem
Nil
Tigre
Euphrate
Indus
Mer Rouge
Ocean · Mer de Maouk

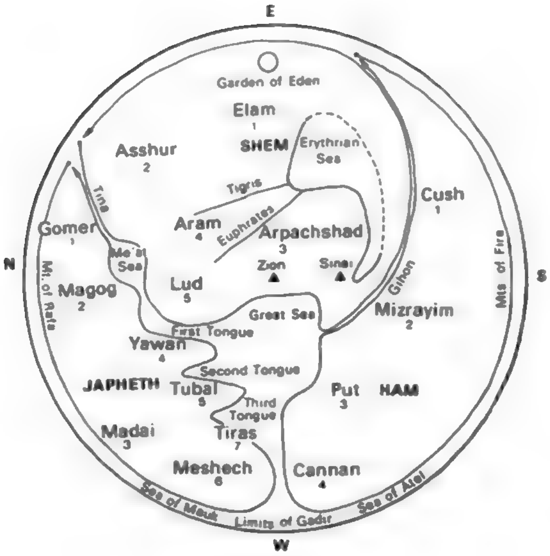
Map 3. Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Michel Testuz[3]


E
OF
THE
WATERS
PARADISE
ABYSSES
Mts of Rafa
SHEM
Mts of Fire
ASSHUR
ELAM
Sea of the North
Mts of Ararat
Tigris
ARAM
Euphrates
Red Sea
Tina
GOMER
ARPACHSHAD
Sinai
CUSH
N
Zion
S
Sea of Me'at
LUD
Gihon
MAGOG
JAPHETH
JAVAN
MIṢRAIM
TIRAS
Mts of Qelt
HAM
TUBAL
PUT
MADAI
Great Sea
MESHECH
CANAAN
Gadir
SEA OF MA'UK
SEA OF 'ATĒL
W

Map 4. One Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Philip Alexander[4]


Sea of Ma'uk
Gomer
Madai
Magog
R. Tina
Mts of Rafa
Mts of Qelt
Tubal
Sea of Me'at
Javan
Lud
Mt Ararat
Mts of Asshur
Waters of the Abyss
Tiras
Asshur
Mt Sanir
Aram
R. Tigris
Kaftur
Gadir
Great Sea
Mt Zion
R. Euphrates
Elam
Arpachshad
Mt Sinai
Cannan
Put
Mizraim
R. Gihon
Cush
Mts of Fire
Sea of 'Atel

Map 5. Another Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Philip Alexander[5]


E
Garden of Eden
Elam
1
Asshur
2
SHEM
Erythrian Sea
Tigris
Cush
1
Tina
Aram
4
Euphrates
Arpachshad
3
Gomer
1
Me'at Sea
N
Zion
Sinai
S
Mts. of Rafa
Magog
2
Lud
5
Gihon
Mts. of Fire
Mizrayim
2
Great Sea
First Tongue
Yawan
4
Second Tongue
JAPHETH
Tubal
5
Third Tongue
Put
3
HAM
Madai
3
Tiras
7
Meshech
6
Cannan
4
Sea of Mauk
Limits of Gadir
Sea of Atel
W

Map 6. Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Francis Schmidt[6]

4.1. Jubilees 8:11–9:15

The apportionment of the earth in Jubilees has been discussed often, but many nagging questions remain regarding the account's overall structure and a number of its details. Before a proper comparison can be made with the Genesis Apocryphon, therefore, it is necessary to undertake a detailed analysis of this passage. The account may be divided into two segments: 1) Noah's division of the earth into three parts between his sons; 2) the subsequent division of each son's apportionment between his own sons (i.e. Noah's grandsons).[7] The inheritance of each son or grandson is comprised of a report of his apportionment's borders or general placement in relation to those surrounding it, with some allotments garnering far more attention than others.[8] In describing the allotments the author utilizes a limited set of geographic *topoi* as reference points.

A perusal of previous attempts to grapple with Jubilees 8:11–9:15 reveals that some commentators have not adequately appreciated the broader horizon of the map on which the borders of each descendent must be placed. Thus, a site may be suggested for a toponym which simply does not cohere with a foundational observation: Shem receives Asia, Ham receives Libya, and Japheth receives Europe. Consequently, my own comments will follow two guiding principles: 1) border descriptions and place identifications should make sense within the overall framework of the map and the author's clear intention to place Noah's descendants on specific continents; 2) Jubilees situates the progeny of Noah on a Hellenistic, Ionian world map, and this is the first context within which specific regions, borders, and toponyms should be considered (as opposed to identification with biblical toponyms).[9] In the following treatment, sites in need of extended discussion concerning their identification or description will be included as excurses.

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[3] From M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Geneva: Librarie E. Droz/Paris: Librarie Minard, 1960), 58.

[4] From P. Alexander, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," *ABD* 2.982.

[5] From P. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 38 (1982): 197 213 [213].

[6] From F. Schmidt, "Naissance d'une geographe juive," in *Möise géographe. Recherches sur les representations juives et chrétiennes de l'éspace* (ed. A. Desreumaux and F. Schmidt; Paris: Vrin, 1988), 13 30 [23].

[7] James Scott notes that the two stage format of Jubilees (as well as the Genesis Apocryphon) finds a partial parallel in the two-stage description from the Περιήγησις τῆς οἰκουμένης of Dionysius "Periegetes". J. M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (SNTS Mon. Ser. 113; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002), 32.

[8] Generally speaking, inordinate attention is given to Shem, and more specifically to his son Arpachshad, in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees.

4.1.1. *Noah's Division Among his Sons: Jubilees 8:10–30*

This section begins with the statement: "At the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee [1569–1617] they divided the earth into three parts—for Shem, Ham, and Japheth—each in his own inheritance."[10] The following report that one of the angels was present at this division gives it the stamp of divine authority, as does the later declaration that the allotments of each son emerged from "the book" (8:11)—a trope in Jubilees denoting divine mandate.[11] This stands in contrast to the previous announcement that, during the days of Peleg, "[t]hey divided it in a bad way among themselves and told Noah" (8:9). Given the transparent desire of Jubilees to place Shem in Asia, Ham in Libya, and Japheth in Europe, it is quite possible that here the author is subtly attempting to supplant the account of Gen 10 with his own version of the Table of Nations, since Genesis unambiguously (and without qualification) places Ham's descendents in various parts of Asia.[12] In this case, Gen 10 may reflect the results of the "bad division" undertaken by Noah's sons of their own accord, while Jubilees 8–9 explains the proper division subsequently overseen by Noah and an angel, and derived from the heavenly book. Alternatively, the reference to a "bad division" may be aimed in a more limited sense at Gen 10:25, which claims that the earth was divided in the days of Peleg, great-great grandson of Shem.

4.1.1.1. *Shem's Portion: 8:12–21*

Shem inherits "the center of the earth" (8:12), by which the author means the continent of Asia as defined by rivers in the north and south, and seas to the east and west. The description of Shem's allotment begins "from the middle of the mountain range of Rafa,[13] from the source of the water of the Tina River" (8:12).[14] The border progresses "toward the west through the middle of this river. One then goes until one reaches the water of the deeps from which this river emerges."

Excursus 1: The Tina River

Philip Alexander puts forth two problematic suggestions in his brief description of the Tina. First, following Hölscher,[15] he argues that the Tina has an east-west alignment.[16] This is called into question, however, by the double mention of Japheth's eastern border in 8:25 and 28, which follows the Tina. Here the boundary is described as travelling "northeast," suggesting that the alignment may instead be northeast for the Tina and southeast for the Nile. In general, directions throughout Jubilees' geographic description appear to be vague indicators, such that "north" may mean "in a more or less northerly direction" (e.g. in 8:26).

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[9] An excellent resource for toponyms in the ancient world (although not schematized according to the Ionian model) is the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (ed. R. J. A. Talbert; Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000). For Jubilees' dependence on the Ionian map see P. S. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 197 213; and idem, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," 2.980 82. A partial critique of Alexander's association of Jubilees with the Ionian map is given by J. M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations* (WUNT 84; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), 16 24. While Scott raises some credible correctives, he fails to deal with the substance of Alexander's argument, which is that *most* of Jub. 8:11 9:15 can be explained only in lieu of the Ionian map, and not biblical texts. In the end, much of his critique does not convince. For Alexander's response see his article "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos* of the World," 106 109.

[10] All English quotations of Jubilees are from the translation (Vol. 2) of J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols; CSCO 510 511; Scriptores Aethiopici 87 88, Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

[11] On the use of heavenly tablets and books in Jubilees see F. García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; eds M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243 60. The broader setting at Qumran, with minimal attention to Jubilees, is discussed by F. Nötscher, "Himmelische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran," *RevQ* 3 (1958 59): 405 411.

[12] Cf. Gen 10:8 20, where the Hamites are identified with the ancient cultural centers of Mesopotamia. At least one of Japheth's sons (Madai/Media) is apparently identified with the Asian province of Media as well, an outlier accounted for in Jub. 10:35 36.

[13] The ancient Rhipaean and modern Ural Mountains in west-central Russia. See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 69 70; and Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 58 9.

[14] The ancient Tanais (or Tanis) and present-day Don in western Russia.

[15] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 67.

[16] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207.

Second, Alexander proposes that the "water of the deeps"[17] is simply another reference to the world-encompassing "Ocean in the east."[18] The placement of the water of the deeps is significant, since it also affects at which end the Tina River's "mouth" (8:16, 25) should be placed. Alexander fixes the mouth at the meeting point of the Tina and the Ocean River, assuming that the latter flows into the former. It should be noted, however, that nowhere is the Tina said to adjoin this outer river, and other considerations suggest that this is not the case. According to 8:12, the "water of the deeps" is a point along the river *between* its "source" and "mouth," implying that the deeps are some distance removed from the river's source near the Rafa Mountains and outer Mauq Sea (i.e. this portion of the Ocean River). That the river "emerges" suggests that the author believed it to disappear and then reemerge at a source of underground water—i.e. the "water of the deeps."[19] Based on these factors, the most plausible assumption is that the deeps refer to an inland spring or lake rather than the outer river, and that the Tina and Mauq are not joined. Indeed, Herodotus states that the river "begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeetian."[20] Strabo reports that the Orontes, Tigris, and Nile similarly disappear underground for a time before re-emerging.[21] Some of the earliest preserved maps agree with this.[22] Hence, the mouth of the Tina is best taken as its exit into Me'at Sea, and not the Ocean in the east. Strabo suggests the same thing when he says that "the mouth of the Tanais (τὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος) is the most northerly point [of Lake Maeotis]."[23] This identification of the Tina's mouth also makes better sense in connection with 8:25, where Japheth's allotment begins "toward the north of the mouth of its waters," whence it travels northeast toward "Gog and all that is east of them." Going northeast from the mouth would make little sense if the latter is placed at the extreme northeastern point of the Tina.

From here the Tina pours into the Me'at Sea,[24] from which it extends "as far as the Great Sea." Hölscher has plausibly proposed that this mention of the Great Sea should be understood in terms of its northernmost point, at the Pontus Euxinus.[25]

Leaving the Tina, we enter among the most difficult segments of the earth's division in Jubilees: Shem's western border. Throughout the following discussion it should be borne in mind that we are making our way from the Tina River, which empties into the Black and then Aegean Seas, to the mouth of the Gihon River[26] in the south. Accordingly, a boundary roughly following the western coast of Asia Minor and the Levant is to be expected. Many earlier attempts at identifying the sites named in following verses pay insufficient attention to this fact, and suggest places that simply do not appear to belong in this description. As will be seen, where one puts any one site may greatly affect the region where surrounding sites are searched for, thereby limiting the scope of investigation.

Jubilees 8:13 continues, "[The border] goes until it reaches Karas. This is in the bosom of the branch that faces southward."

Excursus 2: Karas

Karas[27] has previously been identified with two places, although both proposals have met with skepticism. Dillmann was the first to suggest that Karas is the region of Chersones (Χερσόνησος) in Thrace, just northwest of where the Hellespont empties into the Aegean Sea.[28] He thereby implied that "the branch that faces southward" is the Aegean Sea.[29] Charles disagreed with this placement based on his belief that "the branch that faces southward" should be identified with "the Branch of the Egyptian Sea" in 8:14 (see below). The latter he understood to be synonymous with the ancient Sinus Heroopoliticus, or modern Red Sea. Charles' identification of the Branch of the Egyptian Sea was, in turn, founded on Isa 11:15, which mentions the same toponym: לשון ים מצרים.[30] Following this logic, Charles had to situate Karas somewhere near the Sinus Heroopoliticus, and for this reason viewed Karas as a truncated form of Rhinocurura (ʽΡινοκουρούρων),[31] a region located somewhere south of the Mediterranean coast between Palestine and Egypt.[32] In order for this identification to work, however, Charles had to posit a corruption in the text, since this site was clearly not "in the bosom" of the Red Sea.

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[17] Translated "the Water(s) of the Abysses" by Charles and Alexander.

[18] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207.

[19] This also seems to be the opinion of Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 70), who wrote that the Tina "is said to spring from 'the waters of the abysses.'"

[20] The Me'at Sea of Jubilees. Herodotus, *Histories* 4.57 (Godley, LCL).

[21] Strabo, *Geography* 6.2.9 (Jones, LCL).

[22] Examples which show the river ending at a mountain range (!) near the outer Ocean, but not connected to it, are the Anglo-Saxon or Cotton world map (c. 1050), the late 13th century Hereford Mappa Mundi, and the 14th century Higden world map. The fine facsimile edition of a thirteenth-century copy of Claudius Ptolemy's map in *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae: Codex Urbinas Graecus 82* (Leiden: Brill/Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1932), Tabula XVII.—VRB. GR. 82, ff 91 (90)^{v}–92 (91)^{r}; and the famous Peutinger map also have the river end at a mountain range without connecting to the outer waters, though these maps are based on an entirely different schema than the Ionian map. All of these maps portray the Tanais stopping short of the Ocean at a mountain range, which must also be what the map of Jubilees presumes.

[23] Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.25. The phrase implies the word στόμα (mouth), which was used in the preceding sentence.

[24] The ancient Maeotis and modern Sea of Azov, bordered on the north and east by Ukraine and Russia.

[25] The modern Black Sea. See Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 62. He is followed by Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207. This suggestion gains strong support from Strabo's statement to the same effect in *Geography* 2.5.25.

[26] The Nile, or "the River of Egypt" in the Genesis Apocryphon.

[27] Transcribed Kârâsô by Dillmann, Charles, and Hölscher.

[28] A. Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläean oder der kleine Genesis," *Jahrbücher der Bilblischen wissenschaft* 2 (1850) 230–56; 3 (1851): 1–96. He is followed by O. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 2.72; and F. Schmidt, "Jewish Representations of the Inhabited Earth during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel: Collected Essays* (eds A. Kasher, U. Rappaport, and G. Fuks; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi and the Israel Exploration Society, 1990 [also published in Hebrew]), 119–34 [121].

[29] So too Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 63, 67.

Of these two identifications, Dillmann's is preferable. It must be admitted that identifying "the branch which faces southward" of 8:13 with the Aegean makes far more sense in context than Charles' proposal of the Red Sea, since the latter does not cohere with the ensuing statement in 8:14: "His share goes toward the Great Sea and goes straight until it reaches to the west of the branch that faces southward, for this is the sea whose name is the Branch of the Egyptian Sea." Charles' suggestion would entail reaching the Red Sea (or at least Rhinocurura) turning around and returning to the Mediterranean, then turning around yet again and going back to the west side of the Red Sea. This confusion stems from Charles' misidentification of the Sea of Egypt, as will be demonstrated below.

Recently, Esther Eshel has proposed an alternate site to the two outlined above.[33] Based on a tenuous connection between the phrase לשון ים מצרים ("the branch of the Egyptian Sea") in Isa 11:15, the matching expression in Jub. 8:14, and the words לשן ים סוף ("the branch of the Reed Sea") in 1QapGen 21:18, she assumes that each is speaking of the modern Red Sea (ancient Sinus Heroopoliticus).[34] Despite some problems with this assumption (cf. Excursus 3, below) she goes on to suggest that the identification of Isaiah's "tongue" with the Sinus Heoopoliticus gains backing from the present mention of Karas, identifying the latter with "a small island named Icarus in the Persian Gulf, found on Greek and Roman maps."[35] While drawing conclusions about Isaiah based on Jubilees may be questioned, there is indeed such an island, and the phonological resemblance to Karas is impressive. Still, it seems her assumption that Jubilees' "tongue of the Egyptian Sea" as the modern Red Sea has caused her to overlook a significant difficulty; while she rightly states that Karas is part of Shem's lot, she fails to explain how a description of his *western* border could jump from the outlet of the Tina River all the way to the northern Persian Gulf, and then back to the "bosom of the branch which faces southward," which is most likely the Aegean Sea. Such a proposal makes little sense in its broader context, and if we are left only with the identifications of Dillmann, Charles, and Eshel, we would still be compelled to adopt that of Dillmann. However, Eshel has helpfully opened the way to a fourth proposal that is preferable to any of these.

An identification of Karas with the southeast Aegean island of Icarus (Ικαρία),[36] or its mainland counterpart Caria (Καρία or Κᾶρες),[37] located on the southwestern corner of Asia Minor, has several advantages compared with the above suggestions. Although small, the island enjoyed widespread fame because of its association with Icarus, the son of Daedalus, who according to Homer's Iliad crashed into the Aegean at this spot after the wax which fastened his wings had been melted by the sun.[38] Mainland Caria was closely linked to Icarus[39] and the surrounding group of islands,[40] and was even used in early times to denote all of Asia Minor.[41] The district of Caria is listed in 1 Mac 15:23 as a recipient of the Roman consul Lucius' letter, signalling a Jewish presence there as early as the 2nd cent. BCE. Herodotus hailed from one of the great Carian cities, Hallicarnassus, and spoke of the region's wide renown.[42] In addition, the portion of the Aegean Sea surrounding the island, off the Carian coast, was called the Icarian Sea (Ικαρία Πέλαγος), and was famous for its formidable sailing waters.[43] As Eshel has noted, Alexander the Great later named an island in the Persian Gulf after the original Icarus during his campaign in the east.[44] In sum, the entire southeastern region of the Aegean at times bore the general label of Caria.[45] This identification has the advantage of: 1) being "in the bosom" of the Aegean; 2) being situated approximately where we would expect Shem's western border to fall; and 3) allowing the subsequent verse to make sense. In addition, Icarus and Caria phonologically fit the toponym Karas better than Chersones or Rhinocurura.

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[30] Based on the observation of E. Littman, "Das Buch der Jubiläen," in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (ed. E. Kautzsch; 2 vols; Tübingen: Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900), 2.39 199 [55 n. p].

[31] Another (earlier) form of the name is Rhinocorura (ʽΡινοκορούρων). See Hippolytus of Rome in R. Helm and A. Bauer, *Hippolytus Werke: Die Chronik* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), 10.

[32] Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 70) gathers this from a pair of references in Epiphanius of Salamis (*Ancorat.* cxii) and George Syncellus (*Chronography* §50), where the western border of Shem's allotment is identified with "Rhinocurura of Egypt." These sources do not, however, seem closely linked to the earth's division in Jubilees.

[33] E. Eshel, "Isaiah 11:15: A New Interpretation Based on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *DSD* 13:1 (2006): 44. Eshel fails, however, to mention Charles' identification, and attributes the identification of Chersones to Schmidt rather than Dillmann.

[34] That this is the case with the Genesis Apocryphon's לשן ים סוף is nearly certain based on numerous ancient Jewish references to this body of water as the Red Sea (ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα). These include the LXX, Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament (Acts and Hebrews). See G. I. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness: A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament* (SOTS Mon. Ser. 5; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 4–13, 30–31. We should thus understand the לשן ים סוף of the Genesis Apocryphon to be equivalent to our modern Red Sea, or Gulf of Suez, and the adjoining ים שמוקא (lit. "Red Sea," 1QapGen 17.7 8; 21.17, 18) to refer to the Persian Gulf, or Indian Ocean more generally. Cf. M. Copisarow, "The Ancient Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew Concept of the Red Sea," *VT* 12 (1962): 1–13; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 225 26.

[35] Eshel, "Isaiah 11:15," 44.

[36] Modern Ikaria.

[37] The latter is a gentilic denoting region, and is used by Herodotus, *Histories* 7.97 98.

[38] Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.19.

[39] Strabo (*Geography* 14.2.28) goes on at length about the foreign and barbaric language used by the Carians (cf. Herodotus 1.142, 171). One wonders, therefore, if the name Icarus betrays a Semitic linguistic background, which in Hebrew might appear something like אי קריה ("Island of Caria").

[40] Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.21; 12.8.5.

[41] Ibid., 1.4.7.

[42] Herodotus, *Histories* 1.171.

[43] Ibid., 6.95 96; Strabo, *Geography* 10.5.13; Arrian, *Indica* 7.20.5 (Brunt, LCL).

[44] Arrian, *Indica* 7.20.3 6.

From Karas and the Aegean Sea Shem's share continues "straight until it reaches to the west of the branch that faces southward, for this is the sea whose name is the Branch of the Egyptian Sea" (8:14). If Karas is indeed Icarus/Caria (or even Dillmann's Chersones) this must mean a southward extension to the main body of the Mediterranean, and then a straight extension to the west side of a "branch that faces southward." Previous commentators have taken the two branches of 8:13–14 to be the same, but since the second is further qualified by the statement "for this is the sea whose name is the Branch of the Egyptian Sea," it is worth considering whether here we have a previously unmentioned branch (i.e., *another* branch facing south), different than the branch in 8:13. Precisely which bay this could be has again been a source of confusion, and depends upon one's location of the Sea of Egypt.

Excursus 3: The Branch of the Egyptian Sea

As mentioned above, many commentators assume that the Branch of the Egyptian Sea is the modern Red Sea (i.e. biblical ים סוף) based on a portion of Isa 11:15: "And the Lord will utterly destroy (והחרים) the branch of the Sea of Egypt (לשון ים מצרים)."[46] Consequently, a parallel has often been drawn between our branch and the לשן ים סוף of 1QapGen 21.18. However, such an identification makes little sense at this point in the description of Shem's border, and a more plausible possibility exists.

Alexander has noted that the "Egyptian Sea" (Αἰγύπτιος πέλαγος) was not known by ancient Hellenistic geographers as an alternate name for the Sinus Heroopoliticus, but was rather the common designation for the eastern end of the Great Sea, stretching between Asia Minor and Egypt.[47] The Great Sea was divided by ancient Hellenistic geographers into regions—each bearing their own name—so that the Mediterranean could be spoken of as a whole (as in 8:12 and 8:14), or in terms of its smaller, constituent parts. Strabo mentions the Egyptian Sea numerous times, noting that it reaches from the shores of Alexandria in the south[48] to Rhodes and the Icarian Sea in the north.[49] He further describes it as skirting the southern edge of Cyprus, connecting to the Issican and Pamphylian Gulfs (which lie along the southern shores of Asia Minor), and then following the coastlines of Seleucia, Issus, Syria, Phonecia and Egypt back toward Alexandria.[50] On the west, the Egyptian Sea borders the Libyan and Carpathian Seas. Agathemerus notes that the Icarian and Egyptian Seas lie near each other,[51] and Manilius declares that the shores of Cyprus are battered by "Egypt's river" (Tonantem Aegyptique).[52] Josephus knew of this part of the Great Sea as such,[53] and it was still in coinage as late as Michael the Syrian (12th cent. CE).[54] If forced to choose whether Jubilees based its identification of the Sea of Egypt on the possible Isaianic connection to the Red Sea, or unanimous Hellenistic usage of the term, there is no doubt that the latter makes far better sense at this point in the account.

If this is correct, then "the branch that faces southward" of 8:14 must be sought in or along the Egyptian Sea as described above.[55] The best candidates for such a branch are: 1) The Aegean Sea; 2) The Pamphylian Sea, which is formed by a large bay situated along the southern coast of central Asia Minor; or 3) the Issicus Sinus, or Myriandric Gulf, at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, along the shores of Cilicia.[56] The Pamphylian Sea seems the best candidate for several reasons: 1) the border is said to extend "to the west" of this branch, and an extension to the west of the Aegean seems an ill fit for a description of Shem's western border; 2) an extension to the west of the Issicus would allow the boundary to nicely follow the Syrian and Phoenecian coasts southward, but would leave the island of Cyprus (likely Caphtor; see Excursus 7 below) outside of the allotment, thereby conflicting with its inclusion in Shem's lot in Jub. 8:21; 3) an identification with the Pamphylian Sea resolves both of these issues, and fits well the following description of the border's extension southward. It is also possible that the Pamphylian and Issican Seas are being thought of as a single unit by our author.[57]

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[45] Yet another reason for considering this region as Karas is its close proximity to Ionia, where the map used by Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon was first developed.

[46] This verse has troubles of its own, such as the meaning of the initial verb, which may alternatively be translated "he will split." Some commentators have suggested that this word may have originally read והחריב "and he will dry up." A treatment of the issues may be found in most commentaries; see, e.g., W. A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja 1 12* (HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 301 302.

[47] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205. So too Wintermute, "Jubilees," 72 n. k.

[48] Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.7, 1.2.28.

[49] Ibid., 2.5.24, 10.5.13.

[50] Ibid., 14.6.1.

[51] Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 3.9.

[52] Manilius, *Astronimica* 4.634–5 (Goold, LCL).

[53] Josephus, *Jewish War* 4.609 (Thackeray, LCL).

[54] Michael uses the designation (ܝܡܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ) in a geographic reference which may ultimately depend upon Jubilees. See J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche: 1166 1199* (5 vols; Paris: Ernest LeRoux; 1899, 1901, 1905, 1910, 1924; Repr. 1963), 4.9 [beginning of line 59; Syriac]; 1.20 [French trans.].

[55] Alexander ("Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205) presumes that the branch is the entire Egyptian sea, embracing everything between Asia Minor and Egypt. This, however, fails to adequately account for the fact that it "faces south," and is considered only a "branch" of the Egyptian Sea, and not the entire Great Sea.

[56] Based on his earlier identification of Karas, Charles guessed that this "tongue" was a promontory of land rather than a gulf, identifying it with the modern Sinai Peninsula. See his 1917 translation notes in *The Book of Jubilees or Little Genesis* (Translations of Early Documents, Series 1: Palestinian Jewish Texts [Pre-Rabbinic]; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), 73 n. 8.

In Jub. 8:15, we read that the boundary turns "southward toward the mouth of the Great Sea on the shore of the waters."

Excursus 4: The Mouth of the Great Sea

Philip Alexander, relying on Pseudo-Aristotle, states that the "mouth" of the Great Sea "is, of course, [a reference] to the Straits of Gibraltar."[58] He was preceded by Hölscher, who noted that the phrase "on the shore of the waters" closely resembles "to the shore of the sea waters" in 8:23 (describing Ham's portion), which may refer to the area near the Straits, where the Great Sea and Atel Sea meet.[59] Despite these references to the Pillars forming a mouth, there are several factors which give one pause over this identification in Jubilees, and are ignored by the above commentators: 1) Most obviously, what have the Pillars of Heracles to do with the western border of Shem's allotment? While we might expect areas of the Great Sea to be included in geographic descriptions (as they no doubt are elsewhere in Jubilees), this seems a strange inclusion for Shem;[60] 2) the direction "southward" is certainly not what we would expect if the Straits of Gibraltar are meant—a problem equally incommodious for any of the Egyptian Sea possibilities discussed in the preceding excursus; 3) the ensuing description is difficult to reconcile with this placement of the mouth, even if one does accept the seriously doubtful identification of Afra with the Roman province of Africa in Jub. 8:15; 4) Pseudo-Aristotle, whom Alexander cited for support, did not actually associate the Pillars of Heracles with the mouth of the Great Sea, but rather with the mouth of the outer, earth encompassing Ocean, or Atlantic.[61] The same is true of Hippolytus of Rome, who is quoted by James Scott to support an identification of the mouth of the Great Sea with the Pillars of Heracles.[62] Indeed, Hippolytus explicitly stated that the Straits form the mouth of the *Western* Sea (i.e. the Atlantic, or Atel Sea in Jubilees), and *not* the Great Sea.[63] Strabo discussed the Straits as a "mouth" at some length, but did not specify to which sea it belongs.[64]

An identification of the "mouth" with the Nile Delta would make much better sense in every respect, although I have been unable to find direct reference to the Delta as the mouth of the Great Sea in the ancient sources.[65] One piece of indirect evidence may be the reference to the Delta region of the Nile as a "source," or "head" (ראיש) in 1QapGen 19.12. In Jub. 8 the Tina River's "source" and "mouth" are on opposite ends, with the former on its northern end and the latter in the south. Perhaps the Apocryphon's location of the Gihon's source at its northern end points toward its mouth being in the south. If this is the case, then the Delta as the Great Sea's mouth makes good sense. While the evidence is not overwhelming, I haltingly take the meeting place of the Nile and Great Sea to be the mouth mentioned here because of its alleviation of the problems listed above. One should remain open, however, to other alternatives, including the standard Pillars of Heracles interpretation.

Wherever one locates the "mouth of the Great Sea," the border moves next "toward the west of Afra... until it reaches the water of the Gihon River" (8:15).

Excursus 5: Afra/Fara

Most commentators have placed Afra together with two toponyms mentioned later in relation to Japheth's allotment—Fara and Aferag (8:27)—identifying all three sites as the Libyan province of Africa.[66] Aferag, it appears, may be dissociated from the others, and will be dealt with below. Afra and Fara, however, stand a better chance of referring to one and the same site, and will thus be treated together here. If the two sites are the same, then we should keep in mind that it is a common meeting point between the allotments of Shem and Japheth.

The term Libya, not Africa, was used by Hellenistic geographers to denote the southern continent as a whole, and the region stretching along the Mediterranean coast west of Egypt more specifically. Indeed, one looks in vain for the term "Africa," in any of its forms, in Herodotus, Strabo, and even later geographers such as Agathemerus (3rd cent. CE), giving an impression that the term was unknown to many Greek and Roman geographers. Charles suggested that Afra and Fara "[seem] to be Africa in its early limited sense," apparently referring to the Roman province.[67] It is true that for Josephus (drawing on Alexander Polyhistor) and Claudius Ptolemy it is used occasionally to refer to a small, middle portion of the northern Libyan coast, roughly equivalent to modern Tunisia. Yet even this area seems to first accrue the name Africa only after the Punic wars (c. 146 BCE), under Roman rule.[68] The term did not gain more widespread use until its later promotion to a Roman proconsul, sometime between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius (c. 27 BCE–54 CE). Simply put, the suggestion of Africa for the terms Afra, Fara, and Aferag in Jubilees is anachronistic if the traditional date of composition is accepted.

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[57] As in Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.18.

[58] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205.

[59] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 68. So too J. M. Scott, "The Division of the Earth in Jubilees 8:11 9:15 and Early Christian Chronography," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 295 323 [311 12]. These statements (one may also include 8:26, 28) could also be read as a general reference to a shoreline, where the sea and land meet.

[60] Admittedly, "Ocean" (אוקינוס), which likely refers to the conjunction of the surrounding body of water with the Mediterranean Sea at the Straits of Gibraltar/Gadera, is spoken of as part of Shem's western border in the later rabbinic treatments of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Num 34:6 and Rav Judah ben-Ilai's boundary description in y. Hall. 60a. These are built on Num 34:6, which simply lists the "Great Sea" as the western border of the Land of Israel. In Jubilees, however, it appears that Japheth, father of the Sea Peoples, receives a large portion of the Great Sea (see below). This seems to argue against Shem's reception of the entire Mediterranean in his apportionment. For more on the targumic and rabbinic sources cf. Alexander, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," 2.986 87.

[61] Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 393a. The best critical Greek edition is *Aristotelis qui fertur libellus De Mundo* (ed. W. L. Lorimer; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933), 58 59. An English translation may be found in *The Works of Aristotle, Volume 3* (11 vols; ed. W. D. Ross; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931 [repr. 1950 68]).

[62] Scott, "The Division of the Earth," 311.

[63] Hippolytus, *Chronicon* 156. One finds the same statement in parallel portions of the *Chronicon Paschale* and the *Chronographia* of George Syncellus, both of which draw on Hippolytus.

[64] Strabo, *Geography* 3.5.6.

[65] The Delta is called a mouth repeatedly in the ancient sources, but this is typically in reference to the Nile River, and not the Great Sea. Thus, we are left with ancient references to two different mouths (the Ocean and the Nile), neither referring to the Great Sea.

[66] Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 71) identifies only Afra and Fara as Africa. Those who identify all three as such are: E. Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés," *RB* 30 (1921): 55 86, 206 32 [85]; Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 68; Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 121 n. 11; and apparently C. Werman, "ספר היובלים," 278 n. 26. Wintermute ("Jubilees," 74) presents both views, but does not give a final ruling on the matter.

Concerning the present mention of Afra in the description of Shem's allotment, the same question could be asked here as that regarding the "mouth of the Great Sea" above: What would Africa, especially if located on the central Libyan coast, have to do with Shem's western border? The problem is equally difficult for Fara in the account of Japheth's portion. There the boundary runs from Gadir "until it reaches the west of Fara. Then it goes back toward Aferag and goes eastward toward the water of the Me'at Sea" (8:27). We would not expect Libya to figure so significantly into the apportionment of Japheth, since it is clear from the text as a whole that this is Ham's domain and that Japheth is restricted to Europe. This is especially true of the Roman province of Africa, which does not seem to hold special significance for any of the sons' allotments.

An attractive possibility for the site of Afra/Fara is Pharos, the small island associated with the city of Alexandria, at the west edge of the Nile Delta.[69] This island was world-renowned since the time of Homer, and would eventually house the famous lighthouse that was listed as one of the world's seven wonders. It was also noted by ancient historians and geographers as the only serviceable harbor for a great distance in either direction, from Libya to Joppa,[70] and was a landmark closely associated with the Delta region. A late reference in Michael the Syrian, bishop of Antioch, mentions that the island was also known as "Isis Pharia" at an earlier time.[71] Aside from the island's popularity as a geographic reference and seafaring point, its situation at the western edge of the Nile Delta fits well with the common Ionian use of the Nile as a dividing point between the continents of Libya and Asia, in addition to the westernmost point of the Egyptian Sea. This site's employment in a description of Japheth's borders is not as odd as it may first seem (certainly no more odd than Africa), but actually helps make sense of Jub. 8:27, since the boundary would then transect the Great Sea diagonally, from Gadir to Pharos, thereby including the four islands that are said to belong to Japheth's son Tiras in Jub. 9:13. If Afra/Fara is identified with Pharos, the result would be a common meeting point of the boundaries of Japheth, Shem, and Ham at the westernmost point of the Nile Delta, a solution which works quite nicely when placed on the ancient map.

The linchpin of this argument may, in fact, be found in the latter columns of the Genesis Apocryphon. In 1QapGen 19.13 we read of Abram and Sarai crossing the seven branches of the Nile Delta. Immediately after crossing the last tributary Abram exclaims, "Now we have left our land and entered the land of the sons of Ham, the land of Egypt." Assuming that the Apocryphon and Jubilees have a similar understanding of each son's allotment, this story shows that Abram reached the end of "our land"—i.e. Shem's (or, more specifically, Arpachshad's) inheritance—after crossing the Nile's seventh tributary. This is precisely the vicinity of Alexandria, and Pharos.

Once at the Gihon (Nile) River, matters once again become clear. The boundary moves along the southern bank of the Gihon until it reaches its end, presumably at the edge of the terrestrial disk where it meets the encircling body of water (here the Atel Sea; cf. 8:22). From here "it goes eastward until it reaches the Garden of Eden, toward the south side of it" (8:16), the Garden of Eden being the easternmost (and uppermost) point on the map. It continues circling around the eastern edge of the earth until it again reaches the Rafa Mountains, turning there to rejoin the Tina River at its mouth. This final mention of the Tina's mouth suggests that the description overlaps for a portion of the border, between the Rafa Mountains and the Me'at Sea. Put another way, the stretch dividing Asia from Europe is described at both the beginning and end of the account of Shem's allotment.

Shem's border is explained in a counter-clockwise direction, beginning at the Rafa Mountains and ending at the mouth of the Tina River. From the Tina, it runs along the eastern edge of the Aegean Sea, across the Egyptian Sea (probably including Cyprus within its bounds), and to the western edge of the Nile Delta, whence it skirts the Gihon and the eastern limits of the world before once again meeting the Tina.

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[67] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 71.

[68] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.133, 239–41 (Thackeray, LCL); Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography*, Book 4. Cf. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 68. For both Josephus and Ptolemy, the term Libya is far more commonly used to refer to the continent as a whole or its entire northern coast. On Ptolemy see J. L. Berggren and A. Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 145.

[69] For a helpful overview see G. Vörös, *Taposiris Magna, Port of Isis: Hungarian Excavations at Alexandria, 1998–2001* (Budapest: Egypt Excavation Society of Hungary, 2001), 58 ff.

[70] Diodorus Siculus 1.31.2 (Oldfather, LCL). Josephus, *Jewish War* 4.613.

[71] ܐܝܣܝܣ ܦܐܪܝܐ. See Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.21 [line 30 of right col.; Syriac]; 1.37 [French trans.]. Michael presents this as an alternate appellation for Pharos ܦܐܪܘܣ. He was preceded by several centuries in the spelling ܦܐܪܝܐ for Pharos by Ishodad of Merv. See J.-M. Vosté and C. van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išoʿdad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament—I. Genèse* (CSCO 126; Scriptores Syri 67; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1950), 1 [line 15].

Jubilees 8:17–21 presents a recapitulation of Shem's allotment, which explains the importance of his land in theological terms. We read in 8:19 that "[Noah] knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and is the residence of the Lord; (that) Mt. Sinai is in the middle of the desert; and (that) Mt. Zion is in the middle of the navel of the earth. The three of them—the one facing the other—were created as holy (places)." Furthermore, it is "a blessed and excellent share" (8:21).[72] The sites listed in these verses deserve further study, but are all within the border described above, and as such will be elaborated upon below only as needed.[73]

4.1.1.2. *Ham's Portion: 8:22–24*

Ham's account is far shorter and simpler than those of Shem and Japheth, and presents fewer difficulties concerning identification. The boundary begins on the Egyptian side of the Gihon River, on the right (i.e. south) side of "the garden." This refers to the Garden of Eden, as the end of 8:23 makes clear, and is envisioned at the eastern extremity of the earth by Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and the Genesis Apocryphon.[74] From here the description moves "southward and goes to all the fiery mountains," which are unidentified and probably owe to mythical ideas concerning the far southern portion of the earth.[75] Since one goal of the Ionian map appears to have been symmetry, this range was probably meant to balance the more well-known Mountains of Qelt in the north (Jub. 8:26).[76]

Turning westward, the boundary goes "toward the Atel Sea; it goes westward until it reaches the Mauq Sea, everything that descends into which *is* destroyed" (8:22).[77] The Atel Sea has been unanimously understood as an abbreviated reference to the ancient Atlantic Sea ('Ατλαντικὴ θάλασσα), while the Mauq has fostered more discussion.

Excursus 6: The Mauq Sea

There has been no shortage of propositions regarding the etymology of this name. Charles was the first to question whether the word Mauq might be a distorted form of 'Ωκεανός, "the Great Ocean Stream."[78] Tisserant went a step further, proposing that it is a shortened and corrupted form of the Hebrew מי אוק[יאנס] ("waters of the Ocean").[79] He has been followed by Alexander, Schmidt, and Werman.[80] Hölscher offered an entirely different explanation, relating Mauq to the word חוג ("circle"), which stood for the "Horizontkreises" of the earth.[81] Wintermute, in turn, considered it to be a *mem*-preformative noun from the Hebrew root חקק, with the meaning "place of the boundary [of waters]."[82] All of these explanations have shortcomings, not entirely accounting for the phonetic values or spelling of the name Mauq. Most recently, Eshel has broken from the consensus that the Mauq is the outer, earth-encompassing sea, suggesting instead that it refers to the modern Sea of Azov (or ancient Maeotis).[83] This seems very unlikely, however, given the clear connection between the Sea of Azov and Jubilee's Me'at Sea (see Excursus 1, above).

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[72] We hear nothing of this sort for the allotments of Shem's brothers, alerting the listener that there is something very special about both Shem and the land he is to occupy: "[Noah] recalled everything that he had said in prophecy with his mouth, for he had said: 'May the Lord, the God of Shem, be blessed, and may the Lord live in the places where Shem resides (8:18).'" By allotting Asia to Shem and quoting this altered form of Gen 9:26 27, the author of Jubilees draws together the biblical themes of the election of Shem and the sanctity of the Levant and related places in Asia. 8:21 begins the list of the sites encompassed by Shem's border.

[73] The sites are: Eden, the land of the Erythrean Sea, the land of the east, India, Erythrea and its mountains (cf. 9:2), Bashan, Lebanon, the islands of Caphtor, the Sanir and Amana mountain ranges, the Asshur mountain range, Elam, Asshur, Babylon, Susan, Madai, the Ararat Mountains, and an area lying across a northern (likely Caspian) sea.

[74] Jub. 8:16; 1 En. 32:2 3, 60:8, 70:1 3; 1QapGen 2.23. The Genesis Apocryphon does not actually mention the Garden of Eden, but it is very likely considered the dwelling place of Enoch in the scroll. See P. Grelot, "Parwaïm de Chroniques," 30 38. All of these references are ultimately based on Gen 2:8 "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the east." The Gihon is also related to the garden in Gen 2:13, where it is one of the four rivers of Paradise.

[75] The southernmost area of the earth was the least well-known by ancient geographers, and included a healthy dose of speculation. Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 73) and Hölscher (*Drei Erdkarten*, 60) mention the fiery mountains of 1 En. 18:6–9 and 24:1 3 along with this verse, but the connection with Jubilees does not seem a direct one. The mountains' name may have something to do with the southern region being the warmest of the inhabited earth (cf. Jub. 8:30), but more likely it is based on the biblical notion that the Lord will come from a mountain in the south, in a fiery state, to judge the earth (cf. Chapter 3, n. 66; also 1 En. 18:8 11; 1QapGen 15.10–11). Interestingly, the late 13th century Hereford Mappa Mundi, which bears a number of striking affinities to the presumed world map of Jubilees, has the *mons ardens* ("burning mountain") in this area (cf. also the Anglo-Saxon or Cotton world map in the British Library manuscript Cotton MS Tiberius B.V.I [c. 1050], and most other medieval mappae mundi). It seems quite certain that these are an echo of the tradition found much earlier in Jubilees, and (with Alexander) I would argue that Jubilees' map bore the same basic features as these much later models.

[76] See Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 199, 210.

[77] There are textual problems with this verse, which have been sufficiently dealt with in VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.54–5.

[78] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 73.

[79] Tisserant, "Fragments Syriaques," 85 n. 1.

[80] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205; Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 124 n. 22; Werman, "ספר היובלים," 278 n. 25.

[81] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 61. He was followed by K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläean*, (JSHRZ II.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus [Gerd Mohn], 1981), 374 n. d to v. 22. VanderKam (*The Book of Jubilees*, 2.54) links the חוג to Isa 40:22.

[82] Wintermute, "Jubilees," 73 n. s.

Given the etiological explanation following the sea's mention in Jub. 8:22, the likely form of the name in the Genesis Apocryphon (16.9; מׄח֯ק), and the later witness of the Syriac Chronicle to the Year of Christ 1234 (ܡܚܘܩ),[84] VanderKam's suggestion that the name is based on the verb "destroy" (מחק), and could be translated by something like "Sea of Destruction" appears to be correct.

Based on the description of the two seas here and elsewhere in Jubilees, it seems plausible that the Atel Sea occupies the southern half of the surrounding body of water, while the Mauq Sea constitutes the northern half.[85]

Reaching the Mauq Sea we read, "It comes to the north to the boundary of Gadir and comes to the shore of the sea waters, to the waters of the Great Sea, until it reaches the Gihon River" (8:23). Gadir (Γάδειρα, next to the Straits of Gibraltar) is the point at which the boundary turns east again, following the northern Libyan coast until it reaches the waters of the Gihon at the Nile Delta. The course of the Gihon is then traced back to the right side of the Garden of Eden, whence the account began.

The description of Ham's allotment runs in a clockwise direction, encompassing the entirety of Libya. It is clear from the sources that pre-Roman geographic knowledge of this continent was restricted primarily to its northern parts.

4.1.1.3. *Japheth's Portion: 8:25–30*

The third share of the earth falls to Japheth, beginning "on the other side of the Tina River toward the north of the mouth of its waters"—i.e. on the northwestern side of the Tanais, near the Me'at Sea. From this point the territory runs "toward the northeast, (toward) the whole area of Gog and all that is east of them." Here one apparently skirts the Tina, moving toward the Rafa Mountains in the northeast. Gog has typically been understood as a region somewhere in the northern parts of Asia, in either Lydian Asia Minor or in the general vicinity of Scythia, which is itself a somewhat amorphous territory.[86] If such is the case here, the author is defining Japheth's portion by what is on the *other* side of the river, rather than describing part of the allotment itself. Hölscher, however, took Gog to be the land belonging to Magog (9:8)—i.e., the land northwest (to the left) of the Tina, and therefore within Japheth's boundaries.[87] Either interpretation is possible, although that of Hölscher seems more likely here based on the clear, frequent employment of the Tina as a border between the lands of Shem and Japheth.

Jub. 8:26 continues, "It goes due north and goes toward the mountains of Qelt, to the north and toward the Mauq Sea. It comes to the east of Gadir as far as the edge of the sea waters." Although this verse continually mentions the direction "north" in its description, it is clear that this means a westerly tour along the northern circuit of the earth, and not a strict following of the cardinal direction. This includes drawing near to the Qelt Mountains,[88] the Mauq Sea, and then the Straits of Gibraltar.

From Gadir the border begins to move back toward the east, to the Tina River. It first "goes until it reaches the west of Fara" (8:27)—i.e. the Alexandrian island of Pharos.[89] It then "goes back toward Aferag and goes eastward toward the water of the Me'at Sea."

Excursus 7: Aferag

As noted in the discussion of Afra/Fara above, Aferag has often been taken as yet another form of the toponym "Africa."[90] In addition to the earlier arguments against the identification of any of these sites with Africa, two further complications are noteworthy regarding Aferag: 1) it would be odd for two terms referring to the same place and differing significantly in spelling to occur in such close proximity, in the way they do here; 2) what would it mean to go "until it reaches the west of Fara (i.e. Africa)" only to then go "back toward Aferag (i.e. Africa)"? This makes little sense.

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[83] E. Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (JSJSup 119; eds L. LiDonnici and A Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111 131 [esp. 123].

[84] See the textual notes to 1QapGen 16.9 and VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.54–5.

[85] Contrary to Hölscher (*Drei Erdkarten*, 61 62), who considers the Atel to be a small segment of the larger Mauq (חוג). Alexander ("Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205) makes a suggestion similar to mine, but considers the "water of the abysses/deeps" to be a third part of the outer river (with which I disagree; see Excursus 1).

[86] For the former see "Gog," *ABD*, 2.1056. A good list of sources for the land of Scythia is provided by Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 70).

[87] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 71.

[88] The modern Pyrenees or Alps [or a conflation of the two], in the region of ancient Celt i.e. northern Spain and southern Gaul. Hölscher (*Drei Erdkarten*, 71) places the Qelt range in the northwest of the "Erdkreises".

[89] See Excursus 5, above.

[90] See n. 66, above.

> Charles' suggestion that Aferag may refer to the province of Phrygia, in Asia Minor, is far more plausible.[91] This would bring the border back into the general region of the northeast Aegean, whence one could travel "eastward toward the water of the Me'at Sea," as described in 8:27. Indeed, it is clear from several ancient sources that Phrygia Hellespontica (also Phrygia Epictitus, or Phrygia Minor) stretched to the northeast corner of the Aegean Coast, where the Hellespont issues from the Pontus Euxinus.[92] This possibility is bolstered considerably by the fact that Phrygia and Africa were spelled the same in later targumic, rabbinic, and Samaritan sources.[93]

From here the border again reaches familiar territory, moving "to the edge of the Tina River toward the northeast until it reaches the banks of its waters toward the mountain range of Rafa. It goes around the north" (8:28). The next verse adds that Japheth's eternal inheritance includes "five large islands and a large land in the north." Four great islands in the Great Sea are also mentioned as part of Japheth's son Tiras' allotment in Jub. 9:13. Since Shem has already been allotted the "islands of Kaftur" (probably Cyprus; see Excursus 8, below), we may deduce that these four are Crete, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. Based on a reference to "the islands and the shores of the islands" in the description of Madai's portion (9:9), Hölscher and Alexander have suggested that the fifth great island of 8:28 is Britain, or the British Isles more generally.[94] These islands were indeed known to the Ionians,[95] making this identification plausible.[96]

Japheth's allotment, like Shem's, is described running counterclockwise. It begins at the Tina's mouth and encircles the entire continent of Europe, including a large portion of the Great Sea,[97] until it returns to its source-waters near the Rafa mountains. As with Shem's allotment, the beginning and end of the description overlap for the length of the Tina River. The final verse of Japheth's description states that his land "is cold while the land of Ham is hot. Now Shem's land is neither hot nor cold but it is a mixture of cold and heat" (8:30). Apart from reflecting a general climatic reality, the division of the *oikoumene* into three *climata* was a trope of Hellenistic geography.[98]

4.1.2. *The Subdivision among Noah's Grandsons: Jubilees 9:1–15*

Following the tripartite division of the earth by Noah, his sons proceed to subdivide the three continents among their own progeny. This typically consists of listing various places within each allotment in an effort to define where each of Noah's grandsons is to dwell, thereby providing a more detailed picture of the world map employed by the author of Jubilees.

4.1.2.1. *Ham's Sons: 9:1*

The allotments of Ham's sons are described very briefly and simply, consisting of little more than a list of their names: "There emerged a first share for Cush to the east; to the west of him (one) for Egypt; to the west of him (one) for Put; to the west of him (one) for Canaan; and to the west of him was the sea." The order employed is that of the Gen 10:6, and no geographic indicators are used to demarcate the boundaries between the sons, save the outer sea bordering the westernmost shore of the continent. This may be due in part to the logical inference of geographic location based on most of the recipients' names. In biblical and subsequent Jewish tradition Cush was identified with Nubia and Ethiopia,[99] Egypt (מצרים) with the land of the same name, and Put with the vicinity of modern Libya, west of Egypt along the ancient Libyan coast. Although in the Bible Canaan is typically associated with the region bearing that name in the Levant, here he is obviously placed in the region of modern Algeria and Morocco (ancient Mauretania).

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[91] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 74.

[92] See, e.g., Strabo, *Geography* 12.4.1, 3, 10. Here the region is given several names: ἡ ʼΕπίκτητος καλουμένη Φρυγία, ʽΕλλησποντιακὴ Φρυγία, and μικρὰν Φρυγίαν. Cf. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, map 52.

[93] Phrygia is frequently spelled with an initial *aleph* in Semitic languages, and closely resembles the form used in Jubilees. In later sources it is spelled exactly as Africa: אפריקי. See *Arukh ha-Shalem* (9 vols; ed. A. Kohut; New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1955 [Hebrew]), 1.243 44. Also Alexander, *The Toponymy of the Targumim* (Oxford, 1974), 303 [Table 1], 309 [Table 16]. Michael the Syrian (Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.9 [line 8]) uses the form ܦܪܘܓܝܐ, and the Samaritan *Asatir* אפריקיה (Gaster, *The Asatir*, 18/יח [Hebrew text section]).

[94] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207.

[95] Herodotus (*Histories* 3.115) knew of them only vaguely, but by the time of Strabo (*Geography* 1.4.3) they are described in detail.

[96] Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 75) also noted the reference to islands in 1 En. 77:8. Though there are some textual issues with this passage, it says, "I saw seven large islands in the sea and on the land—two on the land and five in the Great Sea." G. W. E. Nickelsburg and J. C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 107.

[97] This is not surprising in light of the connection of Japheth's descendents with the "maritime nations" (אִיֵּי הַגּוֹיִם) in Gen 10:4–5.

[98] See Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 60 61. Also cf. Alexander's ("Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 202 3) description of the so-called Macrobius maps.

[99] Gen 2:13 places the Land of Cush alongside the Gihon. Also see 2 Kgs 19:19, Jer 46:9, and "Cush," *ABD* 1.1219.

Thus, Jubilees' account begins in the east and ends in the west, moving neatly from top to bottom on the east-oriented map. This is noteworthy, since the same cannot be said for the biblical account, which situates Canaan northeast of the first three sons. The reason for this change is clear in light of the work's apologetic stance, discussed in Chapter 3.

4.1.2.2. *Shem's Sons: 9:2–6*

Jubilees' treatment of Shem's sons is much more detailed than that of the sons of Ham. Elam and his children are the first to receive their allotment, "to the east of the Tigris River until it reaches the east of the entire land of India, in Erythrea on its border, the waters of Dedan, all the mountains of Mebri and Ela, all the land of Susan, and everything on the border of Farnak as far as the Erythrean Sea and the Tina River" (9:2). In essence, this describes everything east of the Tigris, from the Erythrean Sea in the south to the Tina River in the far north. The allotment includes the ancient Near Eastern region of Elamtu, the city of Susan (Susa), and the Zagros and interior Iranian mountain ranges, to which the "Mebri" and "Ela" mountains of Jubilees must belong.[100] Hölscher appears to have rightly identified Farnak as the ancient region of the Pharnacotis River in ancient Margiane,[101] known to Pliny the Elder and Claudius Ptolemy and situated directly east of the Caspian Sea, in modern southeast Turkmenistan.[102] Although the region of biblical Dedan is traditionally understood to be in western Arabia,[103] the identification of "the waters of Dedan" with this site would be an extreme outlier compared with the other sites mentioned. One can, therefore, appreciate Alexander's statement that "it is hard to say what precisely these are."[104] Yet Hölscher's suggestion of Dodone/Sidodone,[105] along the southern Persian coast in ancient Carmania, should be duly considered. This site is mentioned by Arrian, in his account of Nearchus's voyage along the Erythrean coast, as "a desolate little region, with nothing but water and fish," at which Nearchus temporarily anchored.[106] This certainly fits well with the description of Jubilees, and is preferable to the biblical site. If Hölscher's identifications of Farnak and the waters of Dedan are correct, the author of Jubilees must have had access to sources of considerable detail regarding the eastern territories of Persia.

Asshur is listed next, inheriting "the whole land of Asshur, Nineveh, Shinar, and Sak as far as the vicinity of India, (where) the Wadafa River rises" (9.3). Asshur (i.e. Assyria), Nineveh, and Shinar (i.e. Babylonia) are well-known sites referring to the central regions of Mesopotamia.[107] Sak, which VanderKam has noted refers to Scythia,[108] would be somewhere to the northeast of these regions, in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. That the allotment goes "as far as" the region of India suggests that it moves eastward, up to India's border, presumably protruding into part of Elam's share. The Wadafa River might be a reference to this border, although its identification has eluded commentators.[109] The Hydaspes (Ὑδασπης) River[110] is an attractive candidate, having several of the phonetic elements present in the name Wadafa and being situated in the northwestern region of India. This river was famous during the Hellenistic and Roman periods as the site of a major battle between Alexander the Great and an Indian army during his eastern campaign.[111] Judging by the ensuing descriptions, Asshur's allotment must cover the lower-central and eastern parts of Mesopotamia, stretching northeast to the south of the Caspian Sea, and up to northern India.

Arpachshad receives "all the land of the Chaldean region to the east of the Euphrates which is close to the Erythrean Sea; all the waters of the desert as far as the vicinity of the branch of the sea which faces Egypt; the entire land of Lebanon, Sanir, and Amana as far as the vicinity of the Euphrates" (9:4). This is the first allotment of a grandson in which the description moves in a definite direction—clockwise.

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[100] The standard Mesopotamian sites may be found in most Bible atlases, but the maps in the *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (eds S. Parpola and M. Porter; Finland: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2001) are particularly excellent. For more on the Mebri and Ela mountains cf. Werman, "ספר היובלים," 279 n. 32.

[101] Or Merv; modern Mary.

[102] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 69 n. 8. Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 75) must be credited for first putting this identification forward, albeit tenuously. Hölscher cited a passage in which Assarhadon states that he subdued the land of Parnaki. This identification is followed by Wintermute, "Jubilees," 74; and Schmidt "Jewish Representations," 125.

[103] "Dedan," *ABD*, 2.121 23. So Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 75.

[104] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207 8.

[105] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 69. The manuscript evidence disagrees over the spelling of the name. The known forms are Σιδωδώνη, Σισιδώνη, Σιδώνη, Ιδωδώνη, and Δωδώνη.

[106] Arrian, *Indica* 37.8. A helpful map is found in the back of E. Iliff Robson's first edition of Arrian (vol. 2) in the Loeb Classical Library series (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933). The revised edition of Brunt no longer contains the map.

[107] Cf. Jub. 10:26; Gen 10:10–12.

[108] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.56.

[109] For a survey of views and an argument for this reading see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.56–7.

[110] The modern Jhelum.

[111] See Arrian, *Anabasis* 5.9 18 (Brunt, LCL).

The district of Chaldea equates to the lower portion of Mesopotamia (i.e. south of Babylon),[112] dovetailing with Asshur's portion to the north and Elam's to the east. In the Bible it is typically associated with the city of Ur (Gen 11:28, 31; 15:7). As described in Jubilees, this region borders the Erythrean Sea on the south. "All the waters of the desert" may refer either to oases, as Hölscher and Alexander assumed,[113] or to the water surrounding the land on its coastal borders.[114] In both cases, "the desert" must be a reference to the Syrian Desert, stretching between Mesopotamia and the Levant, in addition to the entire Arabian Peninsula to the south.[115]

The "branch of the sea which faces Egypt" is the most difficult designation in Arpachshad's territory, causing Charles to confess "I don't know what is meant here."[116] There are two possibilities: 1) The ancient Sinus Heroopoliticus (modern Red Sea); or 2) the eastern region of the Great Sea, called by ancient geographers the Sea of Egypt.[117] Alexander asserted that the first interpretation is confirmed by 1QapGen 21.17–19, where Abram states that he hiked along the Euphrates River and Erythrean Sea, until he reached "the branch of the Red Sea" (לשן ים סוף).[118] It is true that Abram is retracing Arpachshad's (and thereby his own) borders, but Alexander must assume that the Red Sea (ים סוף) and the Egyptian Sea (ים מצרים) are one and the same—something that is not explicit in the text. Given the popular Hellenistic association of the Sea of Egypt with the Great Sea (an association argued forcefully by Alexander himself), it is easy to see why Hölscher adopted the second option.[119] While I agree with Hölscher, the two seas essentially demarcate the same general area—the northern Sinai region.

From here the border moves north and then east, from Lebanon[120] to Sanir[121] and Amana,[122] and finally back to the Euphrates.

The fourth portion falls to Aram, who receives the areas north of Asshur and Arpachshad, "the entire land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldeans as far as the vicinity of the mountain range of Asshur and the land of Arara" (9:5). That is, those portions of Mesopotamia not already allotted to Arpachshad (Chaldea) and Asshur (Asshur, Nineveh, and Shinar), as well as the regions north of this. The "mountain range of Asshur" may form a boundary between the allotments of Aram and Lud (9:6; see below).

Excursus 8: The Mountains of Asshur

There has been a longstanding hypothesis that the Mountains of Asshur in Jub. 8:21 and 9:5–6 and Mount Taurus (טור תורא)[123] of 1QapGen 17.10 and 21.16 refer to the same geographic feature. Avigad and Yadin were the first to propose that, since both are located in the same general vicinity by Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon, and since both fall within the sub-allotment of Shem's son Aram in the two works,[124] it may be that Jubilees misread the name in its "Aramaic and Hebrew" sources.[125] This might have happened, argued Avigad and Yadin, if the author of Jubilees mistakenly read the Aramaic טור תורא (or טורא תור)[126] as טור אתור, or the Hebrew הר השור as הר אשור. García Martínez adopted a firm stance on this issue, declaring that "the mountains of Asshur can only be Mount Taurus: טור תורא of *1QapGn* XVII, 10."[127] In his opinion, the confusion of the author of Jubilees could have derived only from Aramaic, and this provides evidence for his belief that Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon depend on a common, Aramaic exemplar (i.e. the *Book of Noah*) at this juncture.[128] The same line of argumentation has been taken up by Eshel.[129] This is a debatable claim, since one could argue that the Hebrew הר השור would be more easily mistaken as Mountains of Asshur than any of the other options presented by Avigad and Yadin, including the Aramaic טור תורא.

A number of factors are left unaccounted for in the above proposals, and warrant caution regarding their acceptance: 1) Jubilees mentions "mountains" (in the plural), while the Taurus of the Genesis Apocryphon is a single peak; 2) the description in 1QapGen 21.16 makes clear that Mount Taurus is to be equated with the mount elsewhere called

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[112] See "Chaldea," *ABD*, 1.886.

[113] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 70; Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207 8.

[114] At least this would be a logical deduction if Hölscher's suggestion for "the waters if Dedan" is correct.

[115] So Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 70.

[116] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 76.

[117] See Excursus 3, above.

[118] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205–6.

[119] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 70. He suggested that this "also einschließlich der Sinaihalbinsel," which makes good sense given the earlier descriptions of Shem and Ham.

[120] Here perhaps meaning all of ancient Palestine (cf. Jub. 10:29).

[121] Biblical Senir and modern Mt. Hermon (cf. Deut 3:8 9).

[122] The vicinity of Mt. Amanos, in northern Syria (see below). All three mountains are also mentioned together in Cant 4:8. Amana has alternatively been identified with the anti-Lebanon range (cf. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 72).

[123] Literally "Mountain of the Bull."

[124] Based on my reading at the end of 1QapGen 17.9 it now appears that the overlap actually occurs with the Apocryphon's description of Lud's portion.

[125] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 30. It is now standard to assume that Jubilees depends only on a Hebrew *Urtext*, and not an Aramaic one. See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.vi vii.

[126] The phrase טורא תור is a questionable construal, to say the least, in terms of grammar.

[127] García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 40.

[128] Assuming Jubilees to otherwise depend on a Hebrew source.

[129] Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi*," 123.

Amanus (or "Taurus Amanus")[130] off the northern end of the Mediterranean coast of Syria (near the Issican Gulf) and still used in rabbinic literature to mark the northern border of Israel;[131] 3) Jubilees already has an Amana mountain (8:21, 9:4), distinct from the Mountains of Asshur, which appears to be a better candidate to parallel the Apocryphon's Mount Taurus based on the locations described for each; 4) the references to the Mountains of Asshur in Jubilees seem to indicate a region further north and east than the description of Mount Taurus in 1QapGen 21.16, the former being mentioned primarily alongside Mesopotamian sites; 5) the upper Zagros, or eastern Taurus range, which constitute the Median highlands, are in the area where Jubilees seems to place the Mountains of Asshur. These mountains do, in fact, border the northeast edge of Assyria, and are nearby the Mountains of Ararat (cf. Jub. 8:21). Hence, the name "Mountains of Asshur" is not incoherent with its context in Jubilees—a fact that weakens considerably the allegation of scribal confusion.

While it remains possible that some form of the scribal confusion hypothesis of Avigad and Yadin, García Martínez, and Eshel is correct, the above factors demonstrate quite plausibly that the term Mountains of Asshur in Jubilees need not be a mistake, but simply represents another range of mountains further north and east of Mount Taurus in the Genesis Apocryphon (= Mount Amana in Jubilees).[132] With Alexander, therefore, I identify the Mountains of Asshur with the eastern Taurus and northwestern Zagros Mountains (surrounding Lake Van), which are an extension of the former range into central, modern Kurdistan.[133]

The region of Arara[134] abuts these mountains, being situated around Lake Van between Kurdistan and Armenia. Aram's share is described from south to north.

The final son is Lud, who acquires "the mountain range of Asshur and all that belongs to it until it reaches the Great Sea and reaches to the east of his brother Asshur" (9:6). In Jub. 9:5 we read that Aram's portion reaches "*as far as* the vicinity of the mountain range of Asshur," but not that it includes these mountains. Thus, it seems that the southern feet of these form the boundary between the two shares. Since Lud's allotment stretches from the Great Sea to the east of Asshur's land, it must run along the northern borders of the shares of Arpachshad, Aram, and Asshur to the south. The areas covered by Lud's portion are Asia Minor and some of the northerly regions of Asia to the east of it, perhaps ending around the Caspian Sea.

Jubilees' ordering of the sons of Shem follows largely the biblical listing (Gen 10:21–31; cf. 1 Chr 1:17). The only difference is an inversion of the last two sons, Jubilees placing Lud in the last, rather than penultimate, position. There are no known biblical variants agreeing with Jubilees' order, but the same scheme is found in Josephus' *Antiquities* 1.143–44.

4.1.2.3. *Japheth's Sons: 9:7–13*

The final son of Noah to subdivide his inherited land is Japheth.[135] The first share falls to Gomer, "eastward from the north side as far as the Tina River" (9:7). This description is extremely ambiguous, but from the surrounding allotments we may gather that it stretches westward from the Tina, with Magog to the northwest, and Javan and Tubal to the southwest (likely separated from Gomer by the lower part of Magog's portion). This would roughly equate to modern Russia.

Magog comes next, receiving the land "north of him [i.e. Gomer]... all the central parts of the north until it reaches the Me'at Sea" (9:8). This too is a rather vague report, although mention of the Me'at Sea suggests that Magog's portion skirts to the south of Gomer, in addition to being north (and presumably west) of it. A modern equivalency of Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland (i.e. the central and northern parts of Eastern Europe) must be approximate modern parallels, granting, of course, the considerable differences between ancient and modern maps.

Madai occupies the land "west of his brothers [i.e. Gomer and Magog] as far as the islands and the shores of the islands" (9:9). The designation "west of his brothers" suggests the basic region of northwestern Europe, roughly equating to the modern countries of Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and northern France. Charles first suggested that the islands mentioned in this verse are the British Isles.[136] Given that Madai's portion does not appear to occupy any part of the southern European coast, this proposal is quite probable.[137] Though brief, the description moves from east to west.

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[130] See *Tg. Ps.-J.* 34:7–8 (טורס אומנים); and *y. Hallah* 4:8. Amanus is also mentioned by Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.130.

[131] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 30.

[132] Zeitlin ("The Dead Sea Scrolls," 255–56) took this position, but based it on the dubious claim that "[t]he Book of Jubilees was written in the pre-Hellenistic period."

[133] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 208.

[134] Biblical Ararat; ancient Urartu.

[135] A broader treatment of the geographic territory occupied by Japheth and his sons in a number of Jewish texts (including Jubilees) has been done by J. Maier, "Zu ethnographisch-geographisch Überlieferungen über Japhetiten (Gen 10, 2–4) in frühen Judentum," *Henoch* 13 (1991): 157–194.

[136] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 76. He is followed by Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207; and Werman, "ספר היובלים," 280 n. 35.

The fourth share is apportioned to Javan, who receives "every island and the islands that are in the direction of Lud's border" (9:10). The words "every island" cannot literally mean every island in existence, since we know from elsewhere that islands are apportioned to Shem, Tiras, and Madai.[138] Rather, this must mean every island within certain geographic parameters. The most logical inference is that "every island" means every island in the Aegean Sea.[139] A further qualification is then added by stating that these include the islands hugging the coast of Asia Minor, which belongs to Lud. It is striking, and perhaps significant, that Javan (i.e. Greece) is not only denied territory in Asia, but also relegated to small islands only—a point that will be revisited below.

Tubal receives "the middle of the branch which reaches the border of Lud's share as far as the second branch, and the other side of the second branch into the third branch" (9:11). Commentators have been divided as to the meaning of "branch" (or "tongue"; לשון) in this verse. It must either refer to a peninsula of land,[140] or a gulf of water.[141] The latter is preferable, since the term clearly refers to gulfs elsewhere in the narrative. The first branch (i.e. the branch which reaches the border of Lud's share) is then the Aegean Sea, the second branch the Adriatic Sea, and the third branch the Tyrrhenian Sea. If this is correct, Tubal is allotted the mainland peninsulas of Greece and Italy, and presumably the lands connecting them to their north.[142]

Next, Meshech is apportioned "all the (region on the) other side of the third branch until it reaches to the east of Gadir" (9:12). That is, southern France, Spain, and Portugal. The shares of Javan, Tubal, and Meshech are described from east to west, corresponding to the east to west description of Gomer, Magog, and Madai's portions in the north.

The last son to whom Japheth allots land is Tiras. His inheritance amounts to "the four large islands within the sea which reaches Ham's share" (9:13). Precisely which islands constitute "the four large islands" has been a matter of some debate. All agree that they must include Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, but the fourth has been variously taken as Cyprus,[143] Malta,[144] and Crete.[145]

The confusion here is doubtless connected to the following aside in the last bit of Tiras's description, "The islands of Kamaturi emerged by lot for Arpachshad's children as an inheritance." Charles put this sentence in brackets, believing it to be an interpolation.[146] Whether he is correct or not, it is understandable why the original author, or a later redactor, wanted to clarify this issue in light of the earlier statement that Shem received "the islands of Caphtor" (8:21) as part of his allotment.

Excursus 9: The Islands of Caphtor/Kamaturi

Two key issues must be resolved to reach a decision on the identity of these islands: 1) to which islands do "the islands of Caphtor" in 8:21 refer?; 2) are "the islands of Caphtor" and "the islands of Kamaturi" synonymous? Beginning with Charles, the second question has been unanimously answered affirmatively, such that the identification of Caphtor may also be applied to Kamaturi with some confidence (and vice versa) if not complete certainty.[147] Unfortunately, this does not aid in the geographic identification of Caphtor/Kamaturi. Charles noted that Caphtor is linked to Cappadocia, north of Syria in Asia Minor, by several of the Targums and the Peshitta.[148] This is easily ruled out, since here we find Caphtor/Kamaturi referring to an island, or a group of islands, as in Jer 47:4.[149] Charles opts for the island of Crete, although he admits that modern commentators have linked Caphtor to a number of sites, including Cilicia, Cyprus, Crete, or Coptos (a city in the upper Thebaid).[150] Hölscher, Berger, and Wintermute agree that the island is Crete,[151] but Alexander is certain that "Cyprus must be one of these."[152] Schmidt withholds judgment, merely listing Crete and Cyprus as possibilities, while Caquot makes the unlikely suggestion that the islands of Kamaturi refer to the Aegean islands along the coast of Asia Minor.[153] It seems most logical to understand Caphtor/Kamaturi as a reference to Cyprus, since it is the nearest to Shem's allotment. However, the possibilities that both Cyprus and Crete, or Crete alone, are meant cannot be absolutely excluded. While I find Cyprus's physical location a strong argument for its identification with Caphtor/Kamaturi in Jubilees, the matter must remain unresolved in the absence of further evidence. Of course, the fourth great island of Tiras must remain equally obscure. If Caphtor/Kamaturi refers to Cyprus, it must be Crete. If Shem receives Crete instead, then Cyprus must belong to Tiras. If, however, both Crete and Cyprus are meant, then Hölscher's proposal of Malta may be possible (although I find this a far less likely option).

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[137] As an addendum to this verse, Jub. 10:35 36 amusingly recounts that when Madai "saw the land near the sea...it did not please him." Instead, he pleaded for a land grant from Elam, Asshur, and Arpachshad (his wife's brother), thereby living "in the land of Mediqin near his wife's brother until the present." This story creatively reconciles Jubilees' world map with the clear etymological relationship of Madai to the Near Eastern land of Media.

[138] Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 77) entertains the possibility that the first mention of islands in this verse actually refers to "coastlands," and not islands.

[139] So Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; and Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207.

[140] So Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77. Charles states that a "tongue" in Jubilees can be "either promontory of land, or bay," in the notes published with his later translation, *The Book of Jubilees* (1917), 73 n. 8.

[141] So Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205; and apparently Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 122, map 1.

[142] E.g. modern Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia.

[143] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 74, 77. Wintermute ("Jubilees," 75) seems to agree with this.

[144] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72.

[145] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 206 7; Werman, "ספר היובלים," 280 n. 37.

[146] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77. VanderKam does not follow him.

[147] See especially Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77; and Wintermute, "Jubilees," 75. It should be noted that in some scribal hands of Aramaic(/Hebrew) script *peh* and *mem* could be quite easily confused. Taking this into consideration one can see a considerable similarity in the phonology of the two toponyms.

[148] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 72.

[149] The Jeremiah passage reads אִי כַפְתּוֹר. It is possible that in Jubilees the phrase was originally intended to be singular (i.e. "the island of Caphtor") as in Jeremiah. If the original Hebrew of

4.1.3. *Summary: Jubilees' Division of the Earth*

When read in tandem with chapter 10:27–35, Jub. 8–9 reveals a creative marriage of the Table of Nations from Gen 10, the Ionian world map, and Jubilees' apologetic desire to provide the Israelites (i.e. the descendents of Arpachshad) a legitimate claim to the biblical "land of Canaan"—i.e. the eventual land of Israel. Schmidt suggests that this melange emerged as the result of an inter-Israelite conflict regarding the growing trend of Jewish openness toward Hellenization, with Jubilees advocating a conservative, anti-Hellenizing stance.[154] While this may partially account for Jubilees' concern, it seems likely that Jubilees is also making a claim on the land vis-à-vis foreign occupation. The laughably small allotment of Javan (i.e. Greece) in particular suggests that the Greeks may be the targets of such a claim. This would fit well with the standard opinion that Jubilees was written in the midst of the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucids.[155] Thus, not only is Jubilees taking a stand against pro-Hellenistic Israelites, but also against those modern Canaanites, the Greeks, who possess the audacity to usurp a land not their own in explicit contradiction of divine mandate.[156] This apologetic could be (and was) easily appropriated by others, such as the Essenes or later Christian groups, who viewed themselves as the true remnant of Israel—i.e. the rightful heirs of the Promised Land.

Jubilees' heavy dependence on the Ionian world map is obvious in its division of the world into three parts by way of the Tina and Gihon rivers, as well as many of the other sites employed. If the identifications of Karas with Icarus/Caria, Afra/Fara with Pharos, and the Egyptian Sea with the eastern Mediterranean are correct, then this dependence on Hellenistic geography is underscored even further. Jubilees' strict focus on geographic regions (and not on ethnic or linguistic developments), as well as its division schema (first among Noah's sons and then among his grandsons) are additional factors setting this account apart from its biblical exemplar.

4.2. Genesis Apocryphon 16–17

Noah's division of the earth in the Genesis Apocryphon is woefully fragmentary, and as a result many issues are less clear than in Jubilees. Perhaps it is for this reason that some scholars dealing with the division of the earth in early Judaism merely gesture toward these columns as an obvious parallel to Jubilees, presumably with little of interest to offer on its own.[157] Despite the scroll's incomplete nature, this is certainly not the case. It is true that 1QapGen 16–17 follow the same general structure as Jubilees, Noah first dividing the world into three sections among his sons, who in turn distribute their respective shares among their own sons. This remains one of the most striking parallels between the two accounts. In addition, there is significant overlap in the major landmarks used to delineate territories from one another, attesting to a common dependence on the tripartite Ionian *mappa mundi*.

In the following commentary I will make frequent reference back to Jubilees, summarizing some of the more interesting points of comparison and contrast at the end of the chapter. For more detailed explana-

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Jubilees was written אי כפתור, as Charles assumed, the first word could have then been translated as either singular or plural.

[150] Cf. "Caphtor," *ABD* 1.869 70.

[151] Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 69; Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläean*; Wintermute, "Jubilees," 75.

[152] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 206.

[153] Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 124; Caquot, *Annuaire du Collège de France* (1980–81): 508 9. These Aegean islands are, however, clearly given to Javan earlier.

[154] Schmidt, "Naissance d'une géographie juive," 26 30; idem, "Jewish Representation," 132 33.

[155] On the date of Jubilees see the excursus in Chapter 1, 15 16.

[156] Cf. Alexander, "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos* of the World," 106 7.

[157] A representative example may be found in Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism*, 28, 36. Of course, this is understandable given the relatively recent publication of these columns.

tions of individual readings the textual notes may be consulted.

4.2.1. *Noah's Division among his Sons: Genesis Apocryphon 16*

4.2.1.1. *Japheth's Portion: 16.8–12*

Our first glimpses of Noah's distribution are joined already in progress, and we are immediately faced with difficulties in reading the text and contextualizing the places mentioned. It is clear, nevertheless, that the account begins midway through a description of Japheth's allotment. Line 9 begins, "of the sea that is between them; source of (the) Mahaq (מׄח֯קׄ), up to the Tina [R]iver. It then passes as a spring (כעין) the length of the whole land of the north, in its entirety, until it reaches (the) source of…" (16.9–10).

Several words in these lines have fostered debate and confusion. The first word of line 9 has been read by some as "branch" (לשנא) or "branches" (לשניא), which is a geographic term used elsewhere in both Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon, although it does not occur in Jubilees' description of Japheth's share. The other word that has drawn attention is what many have read as בעין, and which has been transcribed by some both in the centre of line 9 (= my מחק) and again near its end (= my כעין). There are good palaeographic reasons to believe that neither לשנא/יא nor בעין is correct, but taken together they have generated some theories that deserve to be addressed briefly.

Esther Eshel has recently argued that the term בעין in the Genesis Apocryphon is an alternate name for the Euphrates River, which is elsewhere called by the expected פורת (1 QapGen 16.16; 17.12, 14[?]; 21.12, 17 bis, 28).[158] Eshel based her argument in part on an enigmatic geographic reference to a certain בעים in Isa 11:15—a term that has frustrated exegetes for centuries. Paired with her transcription of "branches" or "bays" at the beginning of the line, she proposed that, in contrast to Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon allots Japheth the majority of Asia Minor, up to the בעין (her Euphrates River) and then back to the Tina River. Hence, the division of the earth in the Genesis Apocryphon stands closer at this point to its "parallel" account in Josephus than to Jubilees.

A serious difficulty with this interpretation is its ill fit with the rest of 1QapGen 16–17, in which it is relatively clear that 1) Japheth receives only land north of the Tina River (17.16); 2) Shem is granted the "waters of the Tina River" (16.15); and 3) Lud is apportioned Asia Minor, as in Jubilees (17.9–10). Another problem is a comparison with Josephus' account, which is clearly driven by different motives. Of course, most decisive are the paleographic problems mentioned above, which Eshel fails to address despite disagreement over the first instance of בעין in the editions.[159]

As the passage is transcribed in the present edition, several terms used in Jubilees' description of Japheth's portion are also discernible in the Genesis Apocryphon. While the "sea that is between them" is difficult to pinpoint, it is apparently linked to the "source of the Mahaq," which is equivalent to the outer Mauq Sea in Jubilees.[160] From here the border reaches "up to the Tina River," indicating that the border is progressing in a clockwise direction—the opposite of Jubilees. "[T]he whole land of the north, in its entirety" may then refer to the land bordering the Tina, on its northern bank—i.e. the lands of Gomer and Magog.[161] Indeed, 17.16 later records that Gomer's portion lies "in the north, until it reaches the Tina River." The word כעין preceding this phrase makes the best sense as a geographic adverb, based on either the meaning "sight" or "spring" for the word עין.[162]

In 16.11 the description of Japheth's share concludes, stating that "this boundary crosses the waters of the Great Sea until it reaches Ga[de]ra…". Here again we see a significant difference in relation to Jubilees, which ends at the northeastern end of the Tina River. Like Jubilees, however, this description does traverse the Great Sea, apparently including a large portion of it within Japheth's lot.

Though many questions must remain unanswered regarding Japheth's share in the Genesis Apocryphon, it is clear that, as in Jubilees, his portion includes the land of the north and employs the Tina River as a major border. Unlike Jubilees, the portion is described in a clockwise direction, and uses Gadera as its point of origin and termination. The description ends by stating that "…Noah divided by lot for Japheth and his sons to inherit as an eternal inheritance" (16.12).

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[158] Eshel, "Isaiah 11:15," 38 45; idem, "The *Imago Mundi*," 114–115.

[159] The first letter is transcribed as a *mem* by García Martínez and Tigchelaar and Beyer.

[160] See the textual note. My reading מׄח֯קׄ is similar to that found in a Syriac Chronicle quoting Jubilees at this point (ܡܚܘܩ; cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.53 54 n. to 8:21).

[161] Alternatively, it may refer to the general situation of Japheth's portion in its entirety. This seems less likely, however, based on this line's placement in the description.

[162] See the textual notes.

4.2.1.2. *Shem's Portion: 16.14–25*

Although the parchment comprising the middle of col. 16 is relatively well preserved, the script itself is badly deteriorated and fragmentary due to the corrosive traits of the ink. Still, a number of toponyms remain legible and give some idea of how these lines compare to the description of Jubilees. 1QapGen 16.14 begins, "To Shem fell the second lot, for him and his sons to inherit..." That Shem receives the second share indicates that Japheth's lot falls first in the earth's division, and that Ham is the last to receive his share. This order (Japheth-Shem-Ham) stands in stark contrast to the more expected order found in Jubilees (Shem-Ham-Japheth).

The first extant geographic detail of this section is the mention of "the waters of this Tina River" (16.15), which emerge and then progress to a now lost destination. Jub. 8:12 also includes the Tina very near the beginning of its description, although only after naming the Rafa Mountains and "the source of the water" of this river. It is unclear whether the Apocryphon listed these features, but it is probable that some description of the upper Tina and its source preceded the present mention of the river, since the phrase "this Tina River" seems to assume an antecedent reference.[163]

Following a half line of illegible text we find a second reference to the Tina River, and then, after another short break, to "the Maeota Sea (יׄם֯ מ֯אׄיׄוׄתׄאׄ),[164] which reaches... the gulf of the Great Salt Sea. This boundary goes by line of sight to the waters of this gulf, which..." (16.16–17). Again, Jubilees provides a similar description, moving from the outer edges of the earth to the Me'at Sea and then into "the bosom of the branch that faces southward" (Jub. 8:12–13) by way of the Tina River. It is clear that both texts use the Tina to describe the border between Shem and Japheth, and that the descriptions run the same direction and employ like landmarks. The general similarities, however, break down somewhat in the details. Beyond probably not mentioning the Rafa Mountains,[165] the Apocryphon uses a form for the Maeotian Sea that is morphologically closer to its Greek exemplar Μαιῶτις than the Me'at of Jubilees. Additionally, the Apocryphon names the Great Salt Sea,[166] rather than the more expected Great Sea of Jub. 8:12. Mention of the gulf of this sea directly after the Maeotis in the Apocryphon shows that the author considered the Great Sea to extend through the Pontus Euxinus, as in Strabo and Jubilees.[167]

The next recognizable landmark is "the gulf of the sea that faces toward Eg[yp]t" (16.18). Though lack of context precludes certainty, this gulf probably refers to either the entire eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea (i.e. the Egyptian Sea of Hellenistic geographers), or to a smaller gulf comprising only part of the Mediterranean (e.g. the Aegean, Pamphylian, or Issican/Myriandric gulfs). In my opinion, the second option is more likely, in which case this gulf equates to Jubilees' "Branch of the Egyptian Sea" (8:14).[168] If this is the case, the two accounts describe the same feature in a slightly different manner.

Unfortunately, this is the last reference of any substance in Shem's portion. The remaining seven lines are too disintegrated to read with any certainty, but do reveal that at line 18 the account is still less than half finished, being roughly eleven and a half lines long.[169] It is plain that, like Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon's description moves counterclockwise on the map. Despite the regular inconsistency in details between the two accounts, a number of the same landmarks are employed.

4.2.1.3. *Ham's Portion: 16.26ff.*

There are several indicators that a description of Ham's portion begins at line 26: 1) mention of Shem receiving the "second lot" in 1QapGen 16.14, which is preceded by Japheth's allotment; 2) the presence of a large vacat midway through 16.25; and 3) convincing remains of the word ו֯לחׄםׄ, "And to Ham," at the beginning of 16.26.[170] Unfortunately, there is almost nothing legible remaining of this section, save a clear *gimel* in line 27, which may well begin the name Gihon. Based on the preceding descriptions, we would not expect this description to be longer than ten to twelve lines (and probably shorter, given the typical disinterest in the Hamites and their allotments), situating us near the end of the column.

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[163] This may, in fact, be one argument against the reconstruction of Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan (and followed by Fitzmyer) at the end of 16.14, which I have followed for the time being.

[164] The ancient Maeotis (Gk. Μαιῶτις), equivalent to Jubilees' Me'at Sea.

[165] Based on available space at the end of 1QapGen 16.14.

[166] This is apparently another way to refer to the Great Sea, or Mediterranean, based on the later appellation "this Great Sea of salt" (י֯מא רבא דן די מלחא) in 1QapGen 21.16, which clearly speaks of the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean is simply called the Great Sea (ימא רבא) in 21.11 16. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 172.

[167] See n. 25, above.

[168] Cf. Excursus 3, above.

[169] The lines in this column are irregularly short for the scroll due to its placement at the end of a sheet of parchment (cf. also col. 22). In a typical column the section would be closer to nine or ten lines long.

[170] This reading is also tentatively suggested by Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi*," 114 n. 16.

4.2.2. *The Subdivision among Noah's Grandsons: Genesis Apocryphon 17*

4.2.2.1. *Ham's Sons?*

Although the first five lines of col. 17 are completely missing, there are a number of reasons to believe that they once contained a description of Ham's distribution of his share among his sons: 1) as suggested above, the account of Ham's portion likely ended around the end of col. 16; 2) the division of Shem's lot among his sons begins in 17.7, and is preceded by a half-line vacat, leaving at least six lines of text unaccounted for at the top of the column; 3) a review of the allotments of Japheth, Shem, and Ham, while plausible, would likely not have taken up six lines; 4) Japheth's distribution among his sons in 17.16–19 takes up less than four full lines; 5) placing Ham first would create a chiastic relationship with the preceding list of Japheth-Shem-Ham. It is also worth recalling that Jubilees' description of Ham's sons is very brief. Considering that Ham has three less sons than Japheth, it is quite likely that the last lines of col. 16 and the beginning lines of col. 17 contained both a review of the land distributed to Noah's three sons, and the subdivision of Ham's share.

4.2.2.2. *Shem's Sons: 17.7–15*

The subdivision of Shem's lot among his sons is relatively well preserved. The list begins much like Jubilees, stating that "Shem divided his [po]rtion between his sons" (17.7).[171] The first son to receive an allotment is Elam, "in the north, along the waters of the Tigris River, until it reaches the Erythrean Sea, to its source which is in the north" (17.7–8). While both the Tigris and Erythrean Sea are cited in Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon's account is much shorter and less precise, never mentioning such exotic sites as India, the mountains of Mebri and Ela, or Farnak. We also read nothing of the Tina River for the allotment's northern border, as in Jub. 9:2. Although we gain a far less exact picture of Elam's lot from the Genesis Apocryphon than from Jubilees, the same basic area seems to be in view. In general, it comprises everything east of the Tigris River, from the Erythrean Sea in the south to the Tina in the north. Both accounts jump from place to place, but appear do so in a similar pattern, moving from the Tigris down to the Erythrean Sea, and then back up toward the north.

The portion of Asshur follows in 1QapGen 17.8, "And af[ter him] there fell to Asshur (the area) toward the west, until it reaches the Tigris..."[172] No more than a few words can follow this mention of the Tigris, showing that again this description is much shorter and far more schematic than that of Jubilees. All that we can gather from the Apocryphon is that Asshur's share is west of Elam, and that it involves the Tigris River. This, of course, lines up well geographically with the description of Jub. 9:3, although there we hear nothing about being "to the west" of Elam, or the Tigris River.

The third distribution falls "to Aram the land that is between the two rivers until it reaches the peak of Mount Ar[arat], in that region" (17.9). When paired with the following allotment of Arpachshad, it appears that this refers to the middle and upper regions of Mesopotamia, continuing north into modern Kurdistan and Armenia. Jub. 9:5 is again longer than the Apocryphon,[173] and differs in the sites chosen to describe the allotment. While it lists "the mountain range of Asshur" in the north, here we appear to have Mount Ararat instead.[174] In addition, Jubilees employs the Tigris, Euphrates, and land of Chaldea to demarcate the specific area of Mesopotamia being referred to. Despite these differences, the geographic area described by both texts is once again the same, with both narratives moving from south to north.

Next, to Lud "fell this Mount Taurus. This portion passes to the west until it reaches Magog; everything al[ong] the gulf...that is in the Eastern Sea, in the north, adjoining this gulf—that which is above the three portions to its south" (17.10–11). Here we surprisingly find a significantly longer and dissimilar description than that provided by the author of Jubilees. Mount Taurus (or Taurus Amanus; lit. "Mount of the Ox") is situated near the border between northern Syria and Cilicia in southern Asia Minor, and constitutes a standard landmark used elsewhere to distinguish between the regions to its north and south.[175] The "Eastern Sea, in the north," must refer to the Caspian Sea, which would be expected near Lud's eastern frontier.[176] This is confirmed by the mention of Magog, who receives a portion that would border this area in Jub. 9:8 (the Genesis Apocryphon is too vague to be sure where Magog's portion lies). That a "branch" is referred to may hint that the author of the Genesis Apocryphon understood the Caspian to be an inlet of the outer Ocean River,[177] but this is not certain.[178] The final statement that Lud's share sits "above the three portions to its south," indicates that his share runs along the tops of three allotments directly south of it. These must be Asshur, Aram, and Arpachshad. As in Jubilees, Lud receives Asia Minor and the land northeast of it, but in the Genesis Apocryphon this area is explained in an entirely different way. Interestingly, despite their differences both accounts appear to begin with a point somewhere in the middle of the allotment and then move first to the west, and then toward the east.

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[171] Jub. 9:2 reads, "Shem, too, divided (his share) among his sons."

[172] In col. 17 of the Genesis Apocryphon the word ובתרה "and after him" commonly (but not always) signals the next apportionment to be listed. For this reason, the inclusion of this part of line 8 within Elam's portion is to be rejected (cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 96–7, 173 4).

[173] Although by less of a margin than with most other portions.

[174] Some have read my Mt. Ararat as the mountains of Asshur based upon Jubilees, but this is doubtful. See the textual notes.

The final description is that of Arpachshad, which stands apart from the others because of its added length. His section begins, "un[til] it reaches to... which turns to the south; the entire land irrigated by the Euphrates, and all..." (17.11–12). The "land irrigated by the Euphrates" is a technical reference to southern Mesopotamia, approximately from Hit southward,[179] and is equivalent to Jubilees' "Chaldean region to the east of the Euphrates" (9:4). The following line continues, "...a[l]l of the valleys and plains that are between them, and the coastlands that are within this gulf; all...un[til] it reaches..." Where precisely the "valleys and plains" are located is unsure, though an identification somewhere within the Levant should be expected. The "coastlands" (איא) that lay in the bosom of this gulf are likely the modern (northern) Sinai, Israeli, Lebanese, and Syrian seacoasts, but may alternatively refer to an "island" lying at the east edge of the "gulf" of the Mediterranean (i.e. the Egyptian Sea). The first option is strengthened considerably by the fact that a different, more technical word for "island" (נגאותא) is used later in this column (17.17).[180]

The last extant segment of Arpachshad's share reads, "to Amana, which abuts Mount Ararat, and (from) Amana until it reaches the Eup[hrates]..." (17.14). Amana is also mentioned (along with Lebanon and Senir) toward the end of Jubilees' account of Arpachshad's land. This region could be linked either to Mount (Taurus) Amanus, in northern Syria next to the Issican Gulf, or with the biblical district in the vicinity of the Amana River (modern Nahr Barada), which runs from the Anti-Lebanon mountain range through Damascus. The following reference to Mount Ararat, as well as the placements of Mount Taurus and Amana in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, argues strongly for adopting the former option. This also advocates a southerly location for Mount Ararat, in modern Kurdistan. As in Jubilees, the Euphrates is among the last toponyms mentioned.

Arpachshad's portion is among the most similar in comparison with Jubilees. Both accounts are roughly the same length, follow a clockwise direction, and list a number of the same sites. Despite this general resemblance, however, there remain stark differences in wording and description, such as their entirely unrelated ways of defining the region of southern Mesopotamia.

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[175] Cf. Excursus 8, above.

[176] Eshel ("The *Imago Mundi*," 123) considers the Eastern Sea to be the Sea of Azov, or ancient Lake Maeotis, and goes on to argue that this demonstrates the Genesis Apocryphon's dependence on a more traditional form of the Ionian map, which had Delphi at its center (rather than Jerusalem, as in Jubilees). It is difficult to see how this should be the case since, as Alexander has already noted ("Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 206), an Eastern Sea exists in Jubilees that quite clearly refers to the modern Caspian, and which would fall along Lud's portion. In addition, the name "Maeota Sea" (ים מאיותא) may now be read with relative certainty in 1QapGen 16.16. This sea, not the Eastern Sea, would then equate to the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis), and Jubilees' Me'at Sea.

[177] Alexander ("Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 206) argues that in Jubilees the Eastern Sea cannot be connected to the outer waters because of the east-west orientation of the Tina River (but cf. Excursus 1, above). This is questionable, but would line up with the descriptions of some Hellenistic geographers (e.g. Hecataeus and Eratosthenes). The seemingly more common view among Ionian-dependent geographers (e.g. Strabo, Arrian, and Pseudo-Aristotle) was that the Caspian was open on its northeastern end to the outer sea, thereby forming a large gulf. This is still seen on the famous late 13th century Hereford Mappa Mundi, or the late 14th century Higden world map. If, indeed, Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon disagreed on this point (which I find doubtful) it would be of no mean importance. However, any such difference is impossible to demonstrate at present.

[178] Alternatively, the branch may be the Aegean Sea, but this would require a significant leap in the description, from the Aegean to the Caspian within one or two words. This seems a less likely option.

[179] See the article by W. S. LaSor, "Euphrates," in the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (4 vols; eds G. W. Bromiley et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 2.202–204. Mesopotamia is divisible into three basic regions upper, middle, and lower. The lower region was distinguished in antiquity by an impressive network of irrigation ditches ciphering water away from the Euphrates and enabling a productive environment for agriculture; hence, the "land irrigated by the Euphrates." This region was also regularly inundated by flooding from the Euphrates during the rainy season, which may also be partially responsible for the designation here.

[180] If an island is meant (which I find unlikely), then Cyprus is certainly the best candidate. This would shed some new light on questions about the islands of Caphtor/Kamaturi in Jubilees (cf. Excursus 9, above).

4.2.2.3. *Japheth's Sons: 17.16–19*

The entire subdivision of Japheth's portion between his sons is, not surprisingly, more succinct than the version in Jubilees. To Gomer, the first to receive his share, fell "(an area) in the north, until it reaches the Tina River" (17.16). This description is strikingly similar to Jub. 9:8, which adds only that Gomer received what is "eastward" in the north.

The next two sons are simply listed without further elaboration: "And after him [i.e. Gomer] to Magog, and after him to Madai" (17.16–17). Since we find that Gomer is placed next to the Tina, we may assume that, like Jubilees, the author of the Genesis Apocryphon understands these allotments to be moving consecutively toward the west. Jubilees, however, expands considerably upon both shares.

Javan comes next, receiving "all the islands that are alongside Lud, and (that) between the gulf th[at] is n[ex]t to Lud and the [se]cond gu[lf]." The words "every island" mirror exactly the phrase in Jubilees, but in this portion is also found one of the most intriguing differences between Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon. While the former allots Javan only the Aegean Islands, it is clear that the Apocryphon assigns him the mainland of Greece as well—i.e. the land lying between "the gulf that is next to Lud" (the Aegean Sea) and "the second gulf" (the Adriatic Sea). Fitzmyer, basing himself on Jubilees, has understood "the second gulf" to go along with the following word לתׄוׄבׄל "to Tubal," thereby leaving Lud with only islands as in Jub. 9:10. However, we have no other instance in cols. 16–17 of a site related to one of Noah's sons or grandsons being listed *before* he is named. Considering a probable second mention of "the second gulf" at the beginning of 17.18, it is quite certain that everything preceding לתׄוׄבׄל belongs within the portion of Javan. As in Jubilees, the reference to Lud's share in describing the Aegean Islands demonstrates that Lud (and, therefore, Shem) has already received all of Asia Minor.[181]

Tubal's abrupt description consists of three Aramaic words: "that which is across [the] second g[ulf]" (17:17–18). Here too there is a discrepancy with Jubilees, linked to the disagreement over Javan's lot. While in Jubilees' lengthier account Tubal is apportioned both mainland Greece and Italy, here he receives Italy alone—i.e. that lying to the west of the Adriatic. However, despite disagreeing with the scope of Tubal's share, Jub. 9:11 contains a phrase remarkably similar to that of the Genesis Apocryphon, "…and the other side of the second branch into the third branch."

Of the last two sons, very little legible text remains. It is clear that Meshech is listed after Tubal, although only his name is preserved. His description was quite short—probably four to seven words—and likely mentioned "the third gulf" (the Tyrrhenian Sea) and Gadir, as in Jub. 9:12.

Not even the name of Tiras is extant, although he is undoubtedly the last son to be listed, both by default (his is the only share not yet described) and based on the traditional order employed by Genesis and Jubilees. His account may include reference to the four islands mentioned in Jub. 9:13, since his description appears to conclude with a reference to "[the por]tion of the sons of Ham," as in Jubilees. It is worth noting that there does not seem to be room in the Genesis Apocryphon for Jubilees' additional reminder that the "islands of Kamaturi" emerged as the inheritance of Arpachshad.

A basic parallel in structure may be observed between the subdivisions among Japheth's sons in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. Beyond using the same order of names, both texts describe the allotments in two stages: first, from east to west in the north of Europe, and then once again from east to west in southern Europe.

By all appearances the listing of the shares of Japheth's sons ends the body of the earth's division in the Genesis Apocryphon, although it would likely have been followed by a summary section reviewing the actions taken and solemnizing the occasion with the taking of oaths (cf. Jub. 9:14–15). The probability of a summary is strengthened by the scant text that survives in the following lines, and by a *vacat* four and a half lines after the end of Japheth's subdivision. Unfortunately, from 17.25 until the text can be read again in col. 19 the manuscript is completely illegible. If extant, we would likely read of the dispersion of peoples at the Tower of Babel and the fulfilment of Canaan settling in the land rightfully apportioned to Arpachshad (cf. Jub. 10:18–34), foreseen in Noah's earlier dream. Perhaps it even included the resettlement of Madai in the region of Mesopotamia, as in Jub. 10:35–36.

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[181] As opposed to the view of Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 115 116, 129; and "Isaiah 11:15," 38 45.

4.2.3. *Summary: The Genesis Apocryphon's Division of the Earth and Its Relation to Jubilees*

Having examined the accounts of the earth's apportionment in Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon, we are now in a better position to make some comparative observations. To begin with, the similarities between the two texts are striking, and compellingly demonstrate that they are based on nearly identical exegetical approaches to Gen 10. These similarities only add weight to the widely held notion that the two works are related to each other in some way—an idea advocated even before Avigad and Yadin by Albright and Trever. Some of the most obvious examples of this connection are:

1. The basic, two-fold literary structure of an initial division by Noah and a secondary division by his three sons
2. Shared geographic terminology based on the Ionian world map and not present in Gen 10, such as "gulf/branch,"[182] the Tina River, the Gihon River, the Maeota/Me'at Sea, the Eastern Sea, the Mahaq/Mauq Sea, etc.
3. Use of the Tina and Gihon rivers as borders between the three continents
4. Similar formulae at the beginning and end of each section in the first division, among Noah's sons
5. The basic correspondence between the geographic territories received by each son and grandson
6. The common apologetic background of both works, which promotes the pre-Canaanite possession of the Levant by the Shemite ancestors of the Israelites, not the Hamites

These strong resemblances make it simply untenable to maintain that the Apocryphon and Jubilees represent completely independent exegetical traditions.

Alongside these shared traits, however, a host of noteworthy differences emerge. Perhaps most striking is divergence over the order in which some of Noah's sons and grandsons are presented. These are laid out in the following chart:

Table 1. The Order of the Earth's Division in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees

1QapGen 16–17	*Jubilees 8:8–9:15*	*Genesis 10*
Noah's Sons	*Noah's Sons*	*Noah's Sons*
Japheth (?–16.12)	Shem (8:11–21)	Japheth
Shem (16.14–25)	Ham (8:22–24)	Ham
Ham (16.26–?)	Japheth (8:25–29)	Shem
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Ham's Sons	*Ham's Sons*	*Ham's Sons*
[Cush]	Cush (9:1)	Cush
[Egypt]	Egypt (9:1)	Egypt
[Put]	Put (9:1)	Put
[Canaan]	Canaan (9:1)	Canaan
Shem's Sons	*Shem's Sons*	*Shem's Sons*
Elam (17.7–8)	Elam (9:2)	Elam
Asshur (17.8)	Asshur (9:3)	Asshur
Aram (17.9)	Arpachshad (9:4)	Arpachshad
Lud (17.9–11)	Aram (9:5)	Lud
Arpachshad (17.11–14)	Lud (9:6)	Aram
Japheth's Sons	*Japheth's Sons*	*Japheth's Sons*
Gomer (17.16)	Gomer (9:8)	Gomer
Magog (17.16)	Magog (9:8)	Magog
Madai (17.17)	Madai (9:9)	Madai
Javan (17.17)	Javan (9:10)	Javan
Tubal (17.17–18)	Tubal (9:11)	Tubal
Meshech (17.18)	Meshech (9:12)	Meshech
[Tiras] (17.18–19)	Tiras (9:13)	Tiras

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[182] This is seen especially in a common use of the terms first gulf, second gulf, and third gulf to speak of the Aegean, Adriatic, and Tyrrhenian Seas and to distinguish between the allotments of Japheth's sons Javan, Tubal, and Meshech.

When placed beside each other in this way two major discrepancies in sequence are evident. The first occurs in the initial section dealing with Noah's sons, where the Apocryphon, Jubilees, and Genesis each employ a different order. The second is in the succession Asshur-Aram-Lud-Arpachshad in the subdivision of Shem's sons, again with three different arrangements represented.[183] The question to be asked is whether these differences are of any real significance, or are simply arbitrary. In this case it is quite plain that both the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees are organized according to a central guiding principle, and that these principles are not the same.

In the Genesis Apocryphon Noah's descendants are consistently listed directionally, following their placement on the Ionian map. During the initial division his sons are listed from north to south (or left to right on the ancient map, which is literally "oriented," with east at the top): Japheth, Shem, and Ham. In the framework of the secondary division, among his grandsons, this order is likely reversed, now moving in a chiastic manner from south to north: Ham, Shem, and Japheth. All of the grandsons, with a few necessary exceptions, are listed from east to west (i.e. top to bottom). The placement of Lud in Shem's list is flexible since the author makes clear that his allotment runs along the north edge of three portions belonging to his brothers. The author of the Apocryphon has chosen to put him in the penultimate position, between Aram and Arpachshad. Japheth's sons must be listed in a two-tier structure, with northern and southern groupings, since their allotments do not fit as neatly into a successive east-west alignment as the portions of the sons of Shem and Ham. Finally, Tiras almost certainly received only islands, as in Jubilees, and is appropriately placed at the end of Japheth's division.

In Jubilees the picture is quite different. Here it is obvious that, in general, the author utilized the standard order of names as found in Gen 10, regardless of their placement on the map.[184] One exception is Jubilees' succession of Aram and Lud, which has been reversed from the biblical order of Lud-Aram (Gen 10:22//1 Chr 1:17). While the biblical versions unanimously place Lud before Aram, Josephus also lists these sons as Jubilees does,[185] suggesting that Aram-Lud may once have been an alternate order in one of the Greek recensions. For the initial division among Noah's sons the author chose to follow the more common biblical sequence of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, instead of the unique order of Japheth, Ham, and Shem used in the body of Gen 10. The secondary division lists all of the grandsons in their biblical succession (save Aram and Lud), but the larger structure of the section deviates from this trend by presenting the groups in the sequence Ham, Shem, and Japheth (or south to north), as appears to be the case in the Genesis Apocryphon. In sum, while some incoherence with Gen 10 exists, it is clear that Jub. 8:11–9:15 is based largely on the biblical taxonomy of Noah's descendents.

As mentioned above, this disagreement in organizational strategies is most clearly seen in the initial lists of Noah's sons, and the secondary register of Shem's sons. Most notable in the latter group is Arpachshad, who is moved from the middle to the end of the list in the Apocryphon. We find full agreement between all witnesses for the sons of Japheth and Ham, since here the two strategies of the Apocryphon and Jubilees overlap—they are listed *both* according to the biblical arrangement *and* from east to west.

A second important difference is the brevity of the Genesis Apocryphon when compared to Jubilees. With the exception of Lud, Arpachshad, and Javan, the extant parts of the Apocryphon regularly contain shorter and simpler descriptions of each allotment. Good examples of this are the shares of Elam and Asshur, where Jubilees includes a number of sites not found in the Genesis Apocryphon, such as the waters of Dedan, the Mebri and Ela mountains, and the Wadafa River. As Werman has argued, this seems to suggest a more comprehensive knowledge of geography on the part of Jubilees,[186] especially of those lands in the eastern regions of middle Asia (from the Tigris into India). This disparity cuts against the grain of the standard view, espoused by Avigad and Yadin, Fitzmyer, and others, that the Apocryphon is generally more expansive than Jubilees and 1 Enoch. It also adds another important example to Nickelsburg's caution that such expansion is not always the case.

Finally, there are numerous other differences between Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon regarding geographic details, toponyms, and formulaic language. Taken individually, most of these discrepancies are not of great significance. However, when viewed together they become quite impressive, and demonstrate a sustained divergence in how the allotments are portrayed. Some of the most important examples are:

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[183] In the lower section of the table I have not listed Noah's sons according to their actual order for Gen 10 (i.e. Japheth-Shem-Ham, shown in the upper part of the table), but have adapted them to the sequence employed by the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees (Ham-Shem-Japheth) for comparative purposes. From this point, whenever referring to the biblical order of names, I am basing myself on the genealogy of Gen 10 (//1 Chr 1:1 17). Cf. VanderKam, "Putting Them in their Place," 48 53.

[184] Cf. Gen 6:10, 9:18, 10:1; and 1 Chr 1:4 for Noah's sons, and Gen 10 and 1 Chr 1 for his grandsons.

[185] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.143 45.

[186] Werman, "ספר היובלים," 281.

1. Japheth's portion being described in opposite directions, and with different points of orientation (Gadera in the Apocryphon vs. the northeast end of the Tina River in Jubilees)
2. The direction "west" and the Tigris River being mentioned only in the Genesis Apocryphon's description of Asshur's allotment
3. The Genesis Apocryphon including Mount Ararat and not mentioning the Tigris or Euphrates in Aram's portion
4. The Apocryphon's reference to the Eastern Sea and "three portions to the south" in its description of Lud's share
5. Jubilees' absence of "valleys and plains," coastlands, or Mount Ararat in Arpachshad's allotment
6. Javan's reception of mainland Greece in the Genesis Apocryphon
7. The variation in geographic terms, such as the Apocryphon's independent use of the Great Salt Sea, the Reed Sea (ים סוף), "the land irrigated by the Euphrates," and probably Mount Taurus; or Jubilees' exclusive use of Farnak, Sak, Babel, Shinar, and several other toponyms
8. Formulaic use of the phrase "and after him" (ובתרה) in the Apocryphon to introduce most grandsons

Based on the above observations, what are we to make of the relationship between these works? If one were to presume a direct literary connection between the two texts (i.e. one had direct access to a copy of the other and borrowed from it for its own composition) the balance must tip in favor of the Genesis Apocryphon being the earlier witness. There are at least four factors that argue for this position:

1. Regarding the differences in order, it seems more likely that the later, dependent text would correct *toward* the order of sons and grandsons found in Gen 10, rather than *away* from it. Thus, it is easier to envision Jubilees taking the "directional" account of the Apocryphon and re-presenting it according to the biblical arrangement than vice versa.
2. The fact that the Genesis Apocryphon is typically shorter than Jubilees may be seen as an argument for its priority. As noted in the first chapter, however, respected scholars have used the relative length of a text to argue both sides of this issue—both that the shorter text is earlier (del Medico, Fitzmyer) and that it is later (Avigad and Yadin, Vermes). This should stand as a warning to exercise caution in placing too much emphasis on the relative length of an account.[187] It seems that in each case a most important factor to consider is the broader setting and goals of each text under discussion. It is not entirely surprising, for example, that Jubilees condenses the Enochic story of the Watchers, since this is not a major focus or concern of his work. One would be hard pressed to find a commentator who argues that because Jubilees is shorter in this case, it is also earlier than the Book of Watchers. In the present case, however, one should be surprised if a work like the Genesis Apocryphon—so obviously focused on the topic of geography and Noah's role as divider of the earth throughout the scroll—would pass over the additional geographic and theological material of Jubilees.
3. A related matter is the greater simplicity of the descriptions in the Apocryphon, which regularly exhibit less geographic specificity and elaboration than in Jubilees. A logical inference from this phenomenon, given the scroll's geographic bent, is that its author was working with more rudimentary geographic knowledge than the author of Jubilees.
4. A relatively unexplored aspect of Jub. 8:11–9:15 is its inclusion of what may be called theological and geographical "add-ons." The prime example of this is Jub. 8:17–21, which is appended to the geographic description of Shem's allotment and recasts it in hyperbolic, theological terms. While a study of this passage is beyond our purview, it has the trappings of an authorial observation interpolated into the otherwise orderly structure of Noah's distribution—an added commentary of sorts on the blessedness and excellence of Shem's portion.[188] The aside about Shem's inheritance of the islands of Kamaturi in Jub. 9:13 may be another such addition, as Charles assumed.[189] A less certain example is the brief statement about the climate of each son's region in Jub. 8:30.[190] It is relatively

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[187] One wonders if perhaps the text-critical maxim *lectio brevior lectio potior* has had too much influence on some in this debate.

[188] This passage should be read alongside Jub. 4:26, which lists "four places on earth that belong to the Lord": the Garden of Eden, the Mountain of the East, Mt. Sinai, and Mt. Zion.

[189] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77.

[190] I am not suggesting that these passages are interpolations placed into a simpler form of Jubilees at some secondary stage of

> clear that the Genesis Apocryphon has neither the first or second of these passages, again attesting to the shorter, simpler quality of its account. That Jubilees added some additional comments to the less cluttered Apocryphon seems the more plausible scenario.

Of course, it would be preferable to base an argument for the priority of the Genesis Apocryphon on a firmer foundation, since none of these points can be judged as conclusive evidence. Added to this is the perennial caveat concerning the fragmentary state of the scroll. Still, when viewed together these four factors place the onus on anyone who would argue that Jubilees contains the earlier account. For this to be the case, the author of the Genesis Apocryphon must have had sufficient motive to change the biblically-based order of Jubilees, shorten and simplify the descriptions of most allotments, and pass over Jubilees' theological observations, which would have suited his overall program quite nicely. The latter points may be countered by a supposed desire on the author's part to preserve parchment, but this seems an unsatisfactory argument, and does nothing to address the question of order.

But should we assume that the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees are *directly* related? The numerous discrepancies in order, direction, length, geographic terminology, and other details point away from this theory. A more plausible and satisfying conclusion is that both works depend on a common source or tradition, and that each drew from it in their own, unique way. The evidence strongly suggests that this source was cartographic, and not textual, as Alexander and others have already supposed.[191] If both authors obtained their information from a similar (or the same) map, it would have been perfectly natural for each to list the sons and grandsons according to different principles, or to describe allotments in different directions, with different starting points, and in slightly different ways. This explanation would also lead us to expect the large extent of agreement exhibited between the Apocryphon and Jubilees.

One discrepancy that remains unaccounted for by the common map theory is the variation and independence in geographic terminology. Perhaps each author had access to a different map (but drafted according to the same basic scheme), each of which used slightly alternate terms for certain features. Most disagreements, however, can be explained by the supposition that Jubilees either supplemented the map's sites based on a more extensive knowledge of (primarily eastern) geography, or simply included more of the map's information in his account. The Apocryphon's distinctive terms (with the exception of Mt. Taurus) can be explained as originating from elsewhere in the Bible (e.g. ים סוף), or by common reasoning or idiom (e.g. "the land irrigated by the Euphrates"). In any case, there is no doubt that theorizing a common map, or map tradition, behind both of our texts best accounts for the pastiche of similarities and differences laid out above.

If one accepts that an actual map lay behind both the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, it is worth asking what this map may have looked like. As in the reconstructed map provided earlier in this chapter and the earlier reconstructions of Hölscher, Alexander, and Schmidt,[192] it seems safe to assume that the earth was depicted as a circle (or, less likely, an oval) surrounded by an encompassing body of water. That is to say, the basic design of the map was Ionian. The terrestrial disk would have been penetrated in its center by the Great Sea, from which branched the Tina and Gihon rivers to the northeast and southeast respectively, dividing the circle into three roughly equal portions. Onto this basic layout the sons and grandsons of Noah from Gen 10 were likely inscribed, each in the general geographic region corresponding to his (re-)assigned allotment. It is clear that a number of major landmarks must have been indicated by an illustration and an accompanying written legend. These would have included features such as the Maeota Sea, Mt. Taurus, Mt. Ararat, Karas, the Erythrean Sea, and others. These points of orientation were then used by our two authors to convert the map into a written account by way of an organized description of each heir's allotted territory. As Alexander has observed, there were plenty of discrepancies between this map and Gen 10,[193] and the former must be understood as a remarkable example of theologically and politically motivated biblical exegesis rather than an attempt to accurately portray the biblical Table of Nations (for which one

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the book, but that the original author may have included these comments as further explanation of an earlier, less adorned version of the earth's division, akin to that in the Genesis Apocryphon.

[191] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 197; idem, "Geography and the Bible," 2.982; Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 127–28; Scott, *Paul and the Nations*, 23–24. For some of the evidence for early maps see Chapter 3, n. 31.

[192] All three may be found in either Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 122–23; or VanderKam, "Putting Them in Their Place," 64–65.

[193] Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 200.

should look to Josephus or the Targums). Ironically, this was achieved with the extensive aid of Hellenistic geographic science. The influx of Greek knowledge, influence, and domination following the campaign of Alexander the Great in late fourth century BCE must have laid the groundwork for this creative fusion of the Ionian conception of the earth, Judean politico-religious ideology, and the esteemed book of Genesis. With the Greeks must have come their maps, and it was only a matter of time before some disgruntled groups in Judea utilized these toward their own ends by producing a cleverly revised adaptation.

With the common map theory in mind we may readdress the question of which text might be earlier. Of the four factors leading to the above suggestion that the Genesis Apocryphon should be considered earlier if a direct relationship is assumed, at least two still apply here. The fact that the Genesis Apocryphon is shorter and simpler continues to bear some weight, especially considering the scroll's interest in geographical matters (at least as they relate to the Israelites). Related to this are the additional, and rather exotic, toponyms included by Jubilees that are not present in the Apocryphon. As suggested by Werman, these seem to reflect a more developed geographic lexicon on Jubilees' behalf. Of course, it is entirely possible that two contemporaneous authors in slightly different situations had varied levels of geographic knowledge, or even that the author of the Apocryphon wrote after Jubilees but was simply less educated in distant eastern topography. Yet the fact that both authors wrote exegetical treatments of Genesis, in Judea, and harbored some of the same concerns lessens this possibility appreciably. At present it seems best to assign this part of the Apocryphon chronological priority.

A concluding point worthy of brief comment is the divergent portrayal of the portion of Javan in each work. Is it of any significance that the Apocryphon apportions Javan mainland Greece while Jubilees does not? This certainly appears to mark Jubilees (or, perhaps, its source) with a greater disdain for the Greeks—an unsurprising deportment if its author was writing in the wake of the recent Antiochean persecutions and during the ongoing upheaval of the Hasmonean revolt and expansion efforts. Should the fact that the Apocryphon's author does not deprive Javan of the Greek Peninsula cause us to place him in a different social or historical situation? The very premise of the earth's division and its presupposed map belies a concern over Israelite rights to the Levant, and foreign domination would lead naturally to this position. But foreign domination was not an infrequent occurrence in Judea. A date in the Roman period (after 63 BCE) is quite unlikely for a number of reasons, which will be enumerated in the concluding chapter. A date preceding Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Hasmoneans is more tenable, but the question persists whether this would provide a setting more amicable toward the Greeks. Ultimately, a date either before the Antiochean persecutions (perhaps the post-Ptolemaic feudal wars between the *diadochoi* [c. 223–187 BCE], during which the Judeans must have felt entirely helpless?) or after their memory had faded somewhat under Hasmonean rule seems slightly preferable, but must remain little more than an educated guess at present.

As a final caveat, it should be stated that an earlier date for the Genesis Apocryphon's division of the earth section does not necessarily imply that the work as a whole is earlier than Jubilees. Flusser has argued that the authors of works like these drew freely from a variety of traditions, adding or subtracting from each as their purposes and preferences dictated,[194] and this seems a valid enough statement. Hence, the author of the Apocryphon may easily have adopted an early version of the earth's division and left it relatively unchanged. Yet until proven otherwise, and in lieu of other case studies of the sort undertaken here, the parallel passages treated in this chapter point toward the Apocryphon as the earlier of our two works.

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[194] Flusser, review of Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 382 83.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

In light of the preceding chapters, we may now close with a reappraisal of some of the issues surveyed in Chapter 1. The topics to be covered in this chapter are: 1) the exegetical nature of the Genesis Apocryphon, and 2) its provenance and date of composition. An ancillary goal is to provide a summary of the main points that have emerged in earlier chapters.

5.1. THE EXEGETICAL NATURE OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

The author of the Genesis Apocryphon rewrote at least parts of the book of Genesis, in Aramaic, guided by a demonstrable *modus operandi* and influenced by several distinctive topics of interest. While some portions of his rewriting overlap with elements of the Enochic corpus (e.g. 1 En. 106–107 and the Book of Giants) and the Book of Jubilees (e.g. the chronology of Abram and Sarai in Egypt and the division of the earth), the fruit of our author's labor is unique, and almost never matches these other works precisely.

5.1.1. *Relationship to Genesis*

Much of the scroll reflects a rather free reformulation of what would later be called 'canonical' Genesis, guided by a number of theological, ideological, and stylistic concerns. Some might contend that such exegetical flexibility calls into question the shape and authoritative status of Genesis in the few centuries preceding the Common Era, but this notion does not appear to gain support from the Genesis Apocryphon. As argued in Chapters 3 and 4, both Noah's dream and the earth's division among his children are best understood as interpretive reworkings, intended to alleviate difficulties in Genesis. That is, the Genesis Apocryphon is *scriptural interpretation*. This is most evident in the way that the above two episodes "straighten out" perceived difficulties with Canaan (not Ham) being cursed in Gen 9:25, Shem apparently not receiving the coastal Levant in Gen 10, and the nominally justified obliteration of the Canaanites exhorted in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua. All of these factors impacted the Apocryphon's exegetical deportment, and were woven together with its strong conviction about an exclusive Israelite right to the land. All of this presupposes a form of Genesis at least akin to our major versions (LXX, MT, SP), which was venerated enough to warrant an interpretative rewriting. In addition to these larger interpretive issues, the scroll appears to make exegetical adjustments at a more detailed level, such as its explanatory substitution of לקובלי for את in 1QapGen 21.32 (Gen 14:9) or the clarification that Salem (Gen 14:17–18) is Jerusalem (1QapGen 22.13).[1]

5.1.2. *Exegetical Unevenness: Noah and Abram*

There is wide variation in the extent to which the Apocryphon treats different parts of Genesis. This is most evident in its dissimilar handling of the Noah and Abram narratives. In fact, were these two parts of the scroll preserved on different manuscripts, and in two different scribal hands, it is quite conceivable that they would be considered two different works by modern scholars.

The Noah section is supplemented with an astounding amount of extra-biblical material, to the point that the narrative as we know it from Genesis nearly disappears (although the fragmentary state of the scroll likely contributes to this perception). The Abram columns, however, contain much less expansion, intimating that traditions attached to this patriarch were less developed at the time when the scroll was written, at least within the particular circles in which the Apocryphon was produced. Whatever the situation, the scroll's author pays far more attention to Noah. Significantly, almost all of the extra-biblical information pertaining to Abram is unique, and did not find its way into later traditions. The same cannot be said for the Noah section.

The question of different sources for the two sections is one deserving of further study.[2] Significant differences beyond the extent of exegetical expansion appear to exist, such as variation in Aramaic syntax and the use of divine epithets.[3] There are, however, numerous connections as well, such as the employment of symbolic dreams and the shared geographic concern discussed in the preceding chapters. If different written sources do underlie the text (which I suspect is the case), they have been carefully woven together by our author with overarching strategies in mind.

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[1] Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 44, 245.

[2] See the early comments of P. Winter, "Das aramäische Genesis Apokryphon," *TLZ* 82 (1957): 257 62 [260]. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 34.

5.1.3. *The Exalted Status of Noah (and Abram)*

Noah's impeccably righteous status is a striking feature of the Genesis Apocryphon.[4] His exaltation is, in fact, unrivalled by any other work from the second temple or rabbinic periods.[5] The one event that is either omitted, neutralized, or understood negatively by nearly every other ancient Jewish exegete (Noah's drunken episode) is creatively turned into a positive by the Apocryphon through converting the story into a locus for the divine revelation of heavenly mysteries. Even Enoch's presence in the scroll seems to be supportive of Noah, pointing forward to the "righteous planting" to come (cf. 1QapGen 6.1–2). It is clear that messianic expectations and an *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology are at play in Noah's depiction, with his setting in an utterly corrupt generation and divinely mandated role as a righteous remnant foreshadowing things to come again in the future.[6]

While Noah's premier status is among the most distinctive aspects of the scroll, he is not the only patriarch to receive a makeover. Abram is also the beneficiary of a very positive image, a fact evident in his reception of a symbolic dream on the cusp of entering Egypt. The dream is quite plainly intended to clear Abram of all selfish or malicious intent in asking Sarai to act as his sister during their stay by attributing the impetus for this move to the Lord himself. One might justifiably ask the author if the decision reflects any better on the Lord than it does Abram, but at least all culpability is removed from the latter (and we may safely assume that such a divine mandate was considered well beyond questioning). In general, then, the author of the Genesis Apocryphon was interested in presenting all of the patriarchs, and especially Noah, in a most blameless light.

5.1.4. *Apocalypticism and Heavenly Wisdom*

The messianic and *Urzeit-Endzeit* themes in Enoch's prophetic portrayal of Noah have already been noted. These and other factors indicate that the author and authorizing community of the Genesis Apocryphon embraced an apocalyptic worldview.[7] This is perhaps seen most clearly in Noah's dream-visions in columns 6–7 and 13–15, both of which may be properly termed "apocalypses." The outlook was one that viewed history as moving imminently toward a (second) cataclysmic judgment and placed a premium on the divine "mysteries" (רזיא),[8] which were revealed to a succession of righteous individuals through angelically mediated visions. A cache of heavenly wisdom figured prominently in these dream-visions, and was identified by the author with true righteousness in the eyes of the Lord. In a number of second temple Jewish works this wisdom was viewed to have passed through an eminently pedigreed chain of individuals, within which Enoch, Noah, Shem, and Abram were important links. In 1QapGen 19.24–29 Abram is depicted as a purveyor of this divine wisdom to Pharaoh's courtiers, which may have been an attempt to attribute any useful wisdom found in Egyptian circles at the time of the scroll's formulation to the Israelite hero. This reserve of knowledge was apparently broad, notably including calendrical, sacrificial, and medical (apotropaic) teachings.

5.1.5. *Dreams*

Dream-visions are the preferred mode of divine revelation in the scroll.[9] They are often, but not always, symbolic. Both Noah and Abram experience such dreams, although Abram's pair is of a slightly different type. In the first dream (1QapGen 19.14–21) he does not receive an angelic interpretation, as in both of Noah's visions, but rather deciphers its meaning himself. His second vision is neither symbolic nor interpreted by an angel, relating directly the dimensions of the Promised Land. More generally, Abram's dreams do not deal with the transcendental divine mysteries, as Noah's do, but rather the more pressing, mundane exigencies of his physical wellbeing in Egypt, and the allotted borders of his land (cf. the connection to Noah in 1QapGen 11.15–20). The complete absence of these dreams in Jubilees constitutes a considerable departure from the Apocryphon, and attests to Jubilees' reticence to embrace this mode of revelation.

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[3] The former point has been suggested to me by Dr. Randall Buth (Hebrew University, Jerusalem) in personal communication, and the latter is argued convincingly by Moshe Bernstein in his article, "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon" (forthcoming; *Journal of Biblical Literature*). I thank him for kindly sharing his work with me.

[4] Exciting new work is being done on the figure of Noah by two scholars; Dorothy Peters and Matthias Weigold. For a sample of Peters' work see her article "The Tension between Enoch and Noah in the Aramaic Enoch Texts at Qumran," *Henoch* 29/1 (2007): 11 29. The work of Weigold has been largely confined to presentations at professional conferences thus far, but I look forward to his publications on the topic in the near future.

[5] For the sources see VanderKam, "The Righteousness of Noah;" and my article, "Noah," in the *Dictionary of Early Judaism* (eds J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; forthcoming).

[6] For similar motifs in Jubilees see Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism*, 35 (esp. n. 53).

[7] So Lignée, *Les Textes de Qumran*, 2.211 12.

[8] For a thorough study of the mysteries see the recently completed doctoral dissertation of S. I. Thomas, *The Revelation of the raz in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Cosmic and Earthly Dimensions* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Notre Dame, 2007).

[9] See 1QapGen 6 7; 13 15; 19.14–21; and 21.8 14.

5.1.6. *Rights to the Land of Israel*

The right of Israelites to inhabit and rule over the Land of Israel—i.e. the region allotted to Arpachshad during the earth's division—was of extreme importance to our author. Chapter 3 outlined the breadth of this motif in the Genesis Apocryphon, and its truncated presence in Jubilees. Indeed, the Apocryphon is peerless in its emphasis on Noah's authorized position as apportioner of the habitable earth. The stress placed on original rights to the land seems most plausibly to reflect a social situation where the authorizing community felt either threatened by foreign domination and/or criticism, in which case it fills a retaliatory and paraenetic function, or a need to justify and propagandize its own right to rule. Of course, these two options are not mutually exclusive, and could have operated at the same time.

5.1.7. *Hellenistic Influence*

Like Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon displays a considerable amount of Greek influence. Most significant in both works are a heavy indebtedness to the Ionian world map—a dependence explored at length in Chapter 4. Other possible examples occur during Abram's exploits in Egypt and Canaan, such as use of the name Hyrcanus (חרקנוש) for one of Pharaoh's nobles,[10] the description of Sarai's beauty in 1QapGen 20.2–8,[11] and the association of King Arioch with Cappadocia (כפתוך) in Asia Minor (21.23).[12] These factors speak to an interaction with Hellenistic science and culture, and, together with the preceding points, reveal a composition far from the unbiased, fresh, and simplistic work described by Vermes and others.[13] The presence of these Greek elements provides a very early *terminus post quem* for the scroll of approximately the early 3rd cent. BCE. Presumably, this is the earliest we could expect significant penetration of Hellenistic geographic science into Judea (probably via one of the outlying Greek cultural centers, such as Samaria, Gaza, or Alexandria).

5.1.8. *Purpose*

Why was the Genesis Apocryphon written? As mentioned earlier, one might ask whether works now dubbed rewritten Bible, or parabiblical, were originally intended to supplant, or at least be on equal footing with, their eventually victorious canonical counterparts.[14] If so, books like Jubilees and 1 Enoch might be considered "canonically challenged," failing to ultimately succeed in their allotted task (at least over the long run). Of course, it is now virtually impossible to affirm or deny such a question, but in response we might ask what biblical interpretation looked like before the method so familiar to us now—i.e. a

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[10] 1QapGen 20.8. See the important discussion of Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 197–99. J. H. A. Hart (in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*; 11th ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1910, 14:210) suggests that Hyrcanus (Ὑρκανός) is "a Greek surname, of unknown origin, borne by several Jews of the Maccabaean period." That the name is of Greek origin is uncertain, especially since the lexeme '*hur*' ('υρ) is not typically found at the beginning of Greek names. Contra Hart, Hyrcanus seems to be a primary or alternate/secondary name rather than a surname. In Josephus there are three individuals bearing the name: 1) Joseph the Tobiad's son, simply named Hyrcanus (c. 200 BCE; born, interestingly enough, out of an Alexandrian affair; *Antiquities* 12.186); 2) the Jewish high priest John, son of Simon, who was "also called Hyrcanus" (high priest c. 135–104 BCE; now often referred to as Hyrcanus I; *Jewish War* 1.54); and 3) Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra (high priest c. 79–40 BCE; now typically called Hyrcanus II; *Jewish War* 1.109). Fitzmyer and others favor John Hyrcanus II as the most likely historical allusion in the Genesis Apocryphon, but this is highly questionable. All of the individuals listed above had connections to the Ptolemies of Egypt, causing one to wonder if the name is actually Egyptian in origin, rather than Greek. The entire topic is deserving of further study.

[11] See S. J. D. Cohen, "The Beauty of Flora and the Beauty of Sarai," *Helios* 8 (1981): 41–53. Others have noted the Ancient Near Eastern setting of the description. See the summary of this view in M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Brill: Leiden, 2007), 286–87.

[12] The Apocryphon is apparently the first to make this association, although there are grounds to believe that the Hebrew exemplar of the LXX once read כפתוך as well. See Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 231–32.

[13] See section 1.2.2.1. in Chapter 1 (esp. p. 6).

[14] Cf. the discussion of literary genre in section 1.2.1. in Chapter 1.

lemmatized scripture passage followed by a discrete segment of commentary (or "midrash" in the rabbinic sense). The first sure instances of this type of exegesis are the Qumran Pesharim, which appear to be later than most (but by no means all) examples of rewritten Bible.

The historical first of the Pesharim, with their distinctive lemmatized structure, presents us with at least three alternatives regarding their place within the development of biblical interpretation: 1) lemmatized commentaries existed before the Pesharim, but we simply lack any surviving examples of the genre; 2) interpretive texts preceding the Pesharim (e.g. rewritten Bible) were not considered commentaries *on* the authoritative text of Genesis, Leviticus, or the like, but were intended as a new and equally authoritative version of it; or 3) the so-called rewritten Bible genre was actually what biblical interpretation looked like before lemmatized commentaries were introduced, and audiences simply knew the difference between the authoritative text (e.g. Genesis) and the text interpreting it (e.g. the Genesis Apocryphon). I tend to view the Genesis Apocryphon, and the rewritten Bible genre more generally, as a combination of points 2 and 3. The Pesharim, and even moreso the rabbinic midrashim, attest to the concretization of what may be termed Scripture, or Bible—a text which claims ultimate authority over all others (or under which all others are subsumed). Here the distinction between Scripture and interpretation was fairly sharp, and little ambiguity existed aside from that which arose from versional or *qeri/ketiv* disagreements. The line was much fuzzier with works like the Genesis Apocryphon, Jubilees, and Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, but this does not mean there was no line at all. Rewritten Bible seems to be an interpretive genre standing between the halcyon days of "inner-biblical exegesis," when the scriptures were still relatively open to change, and the dawn of lemmatized commentary with pesharim-type texts.

The Genesis Apocryphon, then, is an exegetical work based on the book of Genesis. Standing at a crossroads in scriptural interpretation, it was meant to be read *alongside* the authoritative text, and not instead of it. It filled perceived gaps in information, addressed interpretative perplexities, and drew explicit connections between varied events or persons in the narrative. Based on its particular theological and ideological concerns, it also emphasized certain themes, characters, or events, and even revised certain stories. In short, the scroll provided its constituency the proper lens through which to read Genesis. While the nature and purpose of the Apocryphon greatly resemble the Book of Jubilees, the preceding chapters have shown that its characteristic methods and concerns have less in common. Of course, it is understandable that works like this—obviously taken to be divinely revealed and authoritative in their circles of composition—could have come to rival or effectually replace the text of Genesis in practice.

5.2. Provenance and Date

A number of factors have exerted considerable influence on the now standard dating of the Genesis Apocryphon to the 1st cent. BCE. Several of these are founded on false or outdated assumptions, and so the time is ripe to readdress the topic in light of our findings.

5.2.1. *The Judean Compositional Setting*

The Genesis Apocryphon has commonly been considered a product of Judea. For some this was rooted in an assumption that the scroll was written by the Essenes at Qumran, but this has rightly been questioned and rejected (see below). A more solid reason for locating the scroll's composition in Judea is the geographic knowledge that it contains. Noteworthy in this regard is the double mention of Ramat-Hazor in 1QapGen 21.8–9, which Bardtke justifiably labeled "palästinisches Lokalkolorit."[15] Other toponyms suggest an intimate familiarity with the geography of this part of the Levant, such as the unique use of "the Great Valley" (חלתא רבתא) to refer to the Jordan Valley in 1QapGen 22.4,[16] the mention of an unknown people group (the Zumzam) in Ammon in 1QapGen 21.29,[17] and the qualification that "the Valley of Shaveh, which is the Valley of the King" in Gen 14:17 also goes by the name "the Valley of Bet-Hakerem."[18] That the author knew the hitherto unattested name of the easternmost branch of the Nile Delta (the Karmon [כרמונא];1QapGen 19.11) is also striking, and together with the possibly Egyptian origin of the name Hyrcanus may suggest some familiarity with Lower Egypt as well. One might also call attention to the observation of Kutscher and Fitzmyer that the Aramaic employed by the scroll shows affinity with other Western dialects,[19] or the many connections with other Jewish works widely regarded to be of Judean origin (e.g. Jubilees and the Enochic literature). When we add that the scroll was discovered in the Judean Desert there is every reason to believe that the scroll was composed in Judea, and none to contradict it.

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[15] H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer*, 150.

[16] Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 241.

[17] Ibid., 236. This name is used instead of the biblical Zuzim (זוזים; Gen 14:5). This may, however, be viewed as merely a versional discrepancy.

[18] Perhaps modern Ramat-Raḥel, situated just east of the main road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. See Y. Aharoni, "Beth-Haccherem," in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (ed. D. W. Thomas; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 171 84. This has been challenged, however, by Gabriel Barkay, "Royal Palace, Royal Portrait?" *BAR* 32:5 (2006): 34–44. Barkay argues that ancient Bet-Hakerem is in fact modern Ein-Kerem, which seems quite plausible given the evidence.

5.2.2. *A non-Qumran (but Qumran-friendly) Work*

The Judean origins of the scroll make it theoretically possible that it was composed by the faction of Essenes still considered by most scholars to have resided at Khirbet Qumran.[20] As noted in Chapter 1, a number of early commentators took this stance,[21] but it has subsequently been almost totally abandoned. There are at least two sound reasons for this retreat. First, as Fitzmyer has argued at some length, "there is nothing in this text that clearly links it with any of the known beliefs or customs of the Qumran sect."[22] One might add that a work not originating with the group responsible for the Qumran sectarian literature does not necessarily mean that it is not Essene,[23] since the Essenes appear to have been a rather large parent group of those who cordoned themselves off at Qumran. Still, Jubilees and the Enochic literature were found at Qumran and are not typically considered sectarian, and Fitzmyer is justified in placing the Apocryphon alongside these as an imported work.

A second reason to doubt a Qumran origin is the scroll's language of composition. The Aramaic literature from the Qumran caves simply does not seem to share the same theological and ideological outlook as the Hebrew sectarian literature. This has already been argued by Segert[24] and Lamadrid,[25] and was later affirmed by Fitzmyer,[26] Dimant,[27] and others. We could add to these points Dimant's observation that the sectarian literature lacks any apocalyptic visions of the type found in the Apocryphon,[28] or that the scroll does not exhibit the traits argued by Tov to belong to a Qumran scribal school.[29]

Although the Genesis Apocryphon was not composed by the Essenes of Qumran, it was certainly read and used there. When considering the theological and ideological tenets underlying the scroll one can see why this was the case. The Apocryphon's apocalyptic perspective, emphasis on exclusive Israelite rights to the Land of Israel, concern with the esoteric divine mysteries, interest in calendrical issues (evident in the scant remnants of col. 8), exaltation of the patriarchs, and perhaps even its penchant for dreams and their interpretations, line up with interests present either in the sectarian literature or outside descriptions of the Essenes more generally (e.g. in Josephus or Pliny the Elder). Hence, there are plenty of elements in the scroll that could have been embraced by the sect, even if all of its details may not have suited their needs or tastes.

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[19] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36; idem, "Aramaic," in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols; eds L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University, 2000), 1:48 51 [50]; and M. Sokoloff, "Qumran Aramaic in Relation to the Aramaic Dialects," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (eds L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Shrine of the Book, 2000), 746 54 [747]. Cf. the statements of Kutscher to this effect in "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 15.

[20] I stand in the camp of F. M. Cross, J. C. VanderKam, E. C. Ulrich, D. Dimant, E. Tov, and many others, who consider most of the so-called "sectarian scrolls" to have been produced by a faction of Essenes (either celibate or married, it is difficult to tell for certain) living at Qumran. This hypothesis, however, has been repeatedly questioned, most recently by Yizhak Magen. See Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavations and Research, 1993 2004," *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17 19, 2002* (STDJ 57; eds K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55 113. Cf. H. Shanks, "Qumran the Pottery Factory," *BAR* 32:5 (2006). Magen and Peleg have been subsequently refuted, however, by Jodi Magness, review article of K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert and J. Zangenberg, eds., *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, *RevQ* 22/88 (2007): 641 64. The debate is somewhat tertiary to the present discussion, since the real question is not whether the Genesis Apocryphon was composed by monk-like Essenes along the shore of the Dead Sea, but whether it was written by those who produced the sectarian literature (e.g. the Community Rule texts, the War Scroll, the Cave 4 Instruction texts, etc.).

[21] See the discussion of the scroll's literary genre in Chapter 1. This also appears to be the opinion of F. García Martínez (*Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 140 41), when he says the mention of Mt. Lubar "here [*4QpsDan*^{b}] and in the narrative of the deluge in *1QapGn* XII, 10–13, gives the impression that it constitutes a Qumranic tradition."

[22] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 23. This is a marked departure from the position held in his earlier edition (1966), where he favored Essene authorship. Cf. Dimant, "The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character," *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery*, 170–76 [176], for a similar view.

[23] This, however, is the assumption of Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 22. My understanding of the "sectarian literature" is essentially synonymous with that of Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/II; ed. M. E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984), 483 550 [esp. 487 89].

[24] S. Segert, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, *JSS* 13:2 (1968): 281 83 [282].

[25] A. G. Lamadrid, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, *Estudios biblicos* 28 (1969): 168 69 [169].

[26] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 24.

[27] Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 488. Cf. idem, "The Library of Qumran," 175.

[28] Ibid.

[29] E. Tov, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School," *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery*, 199 216. In further support of the Genesis Apocryphon's difference regarding scribal practices is its unique placement of successive letters in the upper, right-hand corner of each parchment sheet.

5.2.3. *Is 1Q20 the Autograph of the Genesis Apocryphon?*

Some scholars have speculated that the single manuscript on which the Genesis Apocryphon is preserved (1Q20) may, in fact, be the composition's autograph. This notion was first proposed by Fitzmyer,[30] and received guarded votes of confidence from Moraldi[31] and Kaufman.[32] If this were the case, dating the scroll would become much easier, since we could then depend directly on the relatively reliable tools of paleography and Carbon-14 or Accelerator Mass Spectroscopy dating.

There are, however, multiple reasons to reject this claim.[33] Armin Lange suggested that the Apocryphon could not be an autograph based on what he considered a gloss in the description of Sarai's beauty in 1QapGen 20.6,[34] but his case was somewhat deficient.[35] More convincing are the comments of Hammershaimb[36] and Wise,[37] both of whom give numerous reasons to doubt that any of the scrolls from the Qumran caves (and, in Wise's case, especially 1Q20) are autographs. Based on their argumentation, the numerous supralinear additions, scribal corrections, and particularly fine manuscript execution of 1Q20 show beyond doubt that it is not an autograph.[38] Especially determinative is Wise's recourse to known autographs from the Cairo Geniza, which exhibit very different characteristics than any of the scrolls from Qumran. To this could be added that those documents from the Judean Desert that are undoubtedly original compositions are written in cursive, not formal, square scripts. This suggests that composition was typically done in cursive and then converted by a professionally trained scribe (in a formal hand) into a scribal copy. Considering these points, it seems safe to assume that 1Q20 is a copy of an earlier work. Of course, the distance between the composition and its copy is another matter.

5.2.4. *Date of the Present Manuscript (1Q20)*

Fitzmyer has already gathered most of the relevant information for dating 1Q20 by paleographic and other technological means.[39] The various opinions regarding the date of the Apocryphon's script specifically, or the Herodian scripts more generally, are:

Author(s)	*Date*
Avigad and Yadin[40]	End of 1st cent. BCE–First half of 1st cent. CE
Avigad[41]	50 BCE–70 CE
Milik[42]	50 BCE–50 CE
Birnbaum[43]	Third quarter of 1st cent. CE
Cross[44]	30 BCE–70 CE

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[30] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (1966), 12, 16 [cf. 2004, 24–25].

[31] L. Moraldi, *I manoscritti di Qumrân* (Turin: Unione Tipografico: Editrice Torinese, 1971), 609.

[32] S. A. Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," *JOAS* 93:3 (1973): 317 27 [327, n. 62].

[33] Some criteria for whether to consider a particular manuscript an autograph have been proposed by Tov, but none are particularly helpful in connection with 1Q20. See E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 28 29.

[34] A. Lange, "1QGenAp XIX$_{10}$ XX$_{32}$ as Paradigm of the Wisdom Didactic Narrative," *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumran seminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society der Biblical Literature, Münster, 25. 26. Juli 1993* (SIJD 4; eds H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 191 204 [192].

[35] In my opinion, he does not adequately counter the earlier conclusions of VanderKam, "The Poetry of 1QGenAp XX, 2 8a," *RevQ* 10 (1979 81): 57 66.

[36] E. Hammershaimb, "On the Method, Applied in the Copying of Manuscripts in Qumran," *VT* 9:4 (1959): 415 18.

[37] Wise, *Thunder in Gemini*, 121 n. 58.

[38] A pertinent example is the supralinear, exclamatory particle הא in 1QapGen 13.14, which is inserted after the similar particle/conjuction ארי and appears to be in the same hand as the main text. There is no grammatically compelling reason for this doubling of exclamations, for the phrase makes perfect sense without the הא, and ארי is not followed by this word in other parts of the scroll. The most likely explanation for this unnecessary word is that it is a correction, based either on an exemplar or the identical phrase in the preceding line.

[39] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 25 26.

[40] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 15, 38 [לב, יב].

[41] N. Avigad, "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; eds C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 56 87 [71, 74].

[42] J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 135. Milik does not specify the Genesis Apocryphon as exhibiting the Herodian script, but clearly places it alongside other manuscripts from this period elsewhere.

[43] S. A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts* (2 parts; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 1:150–55 [87B, 87C].

[44] F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 169 264 [174].

Burrows[45]	First half of 1st cent. CE
Dupont-Sommer[46]	End of 1st cent. BCE—First half of 1st cent. CE
Fitzmyer[47]	End of 1st cent. BCE—Beginning of 1st cent. CE
Beyer[48]	Around 0 (i.e. early Herodian)

Although Cross never dated the Genesis Apocryphon specifically, he assigned the War Scroll (1QM) to the early Herodian period (ca. 30–1 BCE).[49] As noted by Avigad, the script of the Apocryphon closely resembles that of 1QM, and therefore it is likely that Cross would date both manuscripts to the late 1st cent. BCE. The tendency to date scripts with such precision has been criticized by Gregory Doudna, who laid out some of the shortcomings of this method while affirming its basic usefulness.[50] More broadly, Doudna has led a charge to shift the dating of the scrolls earlier by approximately a century,[51] but his views have gained little adherence to date.

The initial radiocarbon date of the Genesis Apocryphon was 2013 ± 32 years (= 73 BCE–14 CE).[52] A robust debate has ensued among specialists in the field over the technical veracity of the initial findings, with a handful of scientists arguing for a slightly later date than first proposed.[53] These critiques have been responded to in kind, with the above date still being favored by the majority of researchers.[54] The median date suggested by all of the studies does not deviate far from the turn of the era. When combined with the paleographic dates assigned to the scroll, a date around the late 1st cent. BCE for this copy emerges as most tenable.[55]

5.2.5. *Language*

The final and most decisive recourse for dating the Apocryphon (i.e. its composition, and not the present copy) has typically been to the philological study of its Aramaic language.[56] The early and insightful work of Kutscher has been exceedingly influential in this regard,[57] impacting the proposed date of Avigad and Yadin even before his study had been published.[58] Kutscher did not enjoy the benefit of working with the entire Aramaic corpus from the Judean Desert, and was thus forced to use Biblical Aramaic (BA; especially Daniel) and the Western Aramaic (WA) targum and dialect traditions (especially Targum Onqelos [TO] and Palestinian Christian Aramaic [CA]) as his main points of orientation. Curiously, he does not settle on a basic date for any of these, save CA (ca. 500 CE). He supplemented the two ends of his spectrum with other, admittedly distant, reference points, such as Nabataean and Palmyrene. In the end, the best Kutscher could do with such a limited body of comparative material was say that the Aramaic of the Apocryphon fell somewhere between BA and the later TO and CA dialects. Thus, he settled on a date in the 1st cent. BCE (– 1st cent. CE).[59] While judicious and well wrought, the study leaves one wishing for a more secure mooring by which to date the scroll. Especially helpful would be a proposed relative date for BA.

A more detailed, comprehensive comparison with Daniel was performed by Rowley several years after Kutscher's article was published. Although overlooked by some subsequent commentators, he credibly demonstrated that, "[w]hile most of the points that have been examined could singly sustain no firm argument, their cumulative weight makes it clear that the language of the scroll is very close to that of the Aramaic parts of the book of Daniel, though slightly later."[60] He concluded that, "[o]n linguistic grounds there is nothing to preclude a date in the second century B.C., since there is nothing that would require any long interval between the date of the Aramaic of Daniel and the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon*."[61] Similar sentiments were expressed by Black and Fitzmyer.[62] Fitzmyer added his own linguistic treatment of the scroll's language in his commentary, and ended in agreement with the conclusions of Kutscher, "the Aramaic of this scroll is a representative of Middle Aramaic and forms a transition between Daniel and later Western Aramaic."[63]

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[45] M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955), 119.

[46] A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Oxford: Blackwell, 1962; repr. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973), 281.

[47] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 25–26.

[48] Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 165.

[49] Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," 176, line 4.

[50] G. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 675–682. Cf. idem, "The Legacy of an Error in Archaeological Interpretation: The Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran," *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 147–57.

[51] See G. Doudna, "Redating the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran: the Case for 63 B.C.E.," *The Qumran Chronicle* 8:4 (1999).

[52] See G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *'Atiqot* 20 (1991): 27–32 [30].

[53] See G. A. Rodley, "An Assessment of the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon* 35:2 (1993): 335–38 [337]; and J. Atwill and S. Braunheim, "Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 11:2 (2004): 143–157.

[54] See I. Carmi, "Are the ^{14}C Dates of the Dead Sea Scrolls Affected by Castor Oil Contamination?" *Radiocarbon* 44:1 (2002): 213–216 [214]; and J. van der Plicht, "Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on 'Redating,'" *DSD* 14:1 (2007): 77–89. Carmi slightly adjusts the calibration used by Bonani et al. for the earlier date, resulting in a range of 45 BCE–50 CE.

[55] This date has also been independently suggested in personal communication by a Polish epigrapher working with the Dead Sea Scrolls, Dr. Przemyslaw Dec (Department of Jewish Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow). He believes the script to fall toward the earlier end of Avigad's proposed spectrum.

[56] See, e.g., the statement of Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 27–28), "When all these reasons are considered, they are not very convincing, except for the philological argument of Kutscher. The rest, for what they are worth, serve merely to confirm his dating..."

[57] Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon.'"

[58] Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 38 [לב-לא].

[59] Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 22, 28.

Later studies sought to refine Kutscher's verdict as more of the Aramaic texts from the Judean Desert were published, a task only recently completed.[64] Out of this corpus a third major point of reference was introduced with the publication of the Job Targum from Cave 11 (11QtgJob). The original editors sought to fit this scroll into the serological typology laid out by Kutscher, though they admitted that "Il est plus difficile de déterminer la date, ou la période de l'origine du texte."[65] They judged, however, that "notre targum de Job soit plus ancient [than the Apocryphon] et que sa garammaire soit plus proche de l'araméen de Daniel que du *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QGenAp)."[66] Hence, the Aramaic of the Job Targum was placed between that of Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, resulting in a suggested date of the second half of the 2nd cent. BCE. Rather meager comparative evidence was provided to support this claim, but this shortage was remedied by the later studies of Kaufman[67] and Sokoloff.[68] Kaufman offered some astute comments, such as his suggestion that 1QapGen and 11QtgJob represent two different literary Aramaic traditions:[69]

> The first, represented by the Job Targum, is chronologically closer to Official Aramaic but less imitative of it. The second, as in the Genesis Apocryphon, is more distant but more imitative, at least as regards certain specific features. The relationship between these two traditions remains unclear, but it does not appear to be merely a matter of straight-line development.

Kaufman ultimately shifted the date of the Job Targum's Aramaic to the 1st cent. BCE, and that of the Apocryphon to the 1st cent. CE. This modification, however, was based firmly on a supposition that the Aramaic of Daniel must be fixed around the middle of the 2nd cent. BCE. Sokoloff, marshalling a good deal of linguistic data, essentially agreed with the earlier dates of Kutscher and the Targum's original editors.[70]

From the above studies a standard litany of linguistic traits emerged, which has been used to determine the relative age of the Aramaic of our scroll. These include characteristics which argue both for "later" and "earlier" dates, with the usual orientation points being the book of Daniel and the Job Targum. Those in the "earlier" camp are generally considered on par with Daniel and earlier than 11QtgJob, while the "later" group is thought to postdate both texts. Some of the most common examples are listed below:

Traits suggesting that the Genesis Apocryphon is later than 11QtgJob and Daniel

1. The Apocryphon's occasional use of the relative pronoun ד־ instead of די (roughly 6% of the time). Only the latter is used in BA and 11QtgJob, while ד־ predominates in later dialects.[71] The late date of ד־ is now seriously questioned by its presence in other manuscripts of widely acknowledged early works (e.g. 4Q196 [Tobit], 4Q213a [Aramaic Levi Document], and 4Q201 [Book of Watchers]), and should not be considered decisive.
2. The Apocryphon frequently (but not always) employs the demonstrative pronoun דן rather than

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[60] H. H. Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver* (eds D. Winton Thomas and W. D. McHardy; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 116–129 [129].

[61] Ibid. It should be borne in mind that elsewhere Rowley has argued for a relatively late, 2nd cent. BCE date for the Aramaic of Daniel, which undoubtedly affected how early he was willing to date the Apocryphon's language. See H. H. Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1929).

[62] Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 197–98; Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35) proclaimed, "it can be seen that the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is not far removed from that of Daniel. When one allows for Hebraisms in the latter and its fairly clear Masoretic encrustations, the language is otherwise closely related."

[63] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36.

[64] A desideratum in Qumran Aramaic has recently been filled by the grammar of U. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte: 1. Grammaire* (Instruments pour l'étude des Langues de l'Orient Ancien 5; Prahins: Éditions du Zèbre, 2004).

[65] *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân* (eds J. P. M. van der Ploeg, A. S. van der Woude, and B. Jongeling; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3.

[66] Ibid, 4.

[67] Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran."

[68] M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan, 1974), 9–26.

[69] Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 326.

[70] Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 9.

[71] Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 6; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 121; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 22; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

the form normally found in BA (דנא).[72] The only occurrence of this word in 11QtgJob is presumably the later form דן. Again, the early use of דן is now attested in 4Q209 [Astronomical Enoch] and other 3rd–2nd cent. BCE works.

3. The Genesis Apocryphon employs either א or ה in a number of situations where BA and 11QtgJob have only ה, a good example being the scroll's mixed use of אן and הן ("if, whether"). In general, the Apocryphon is not uniform in its use of these two letters.[73] The form אן is now attested in 4Q438–39 [Testaments of Judah and Joseph] as well.
4. The Apocryphon quite consistently uses a preformative א in the causative conjugations (*aphʿel*), rather than the much more dominant ה of BA and 11QtgJob (*haphʿel*).[74] Kutscher and Sokoloff misleadingly imply that the same phenomenon in the reflexive/passive *ʾitpeʿel/hitpeʿel* stem gives further testimony of the Apocryphon's later character. Cook, however, has shown that this example proves quite the opposite, and would favor an earlier date for the Apocryphon.[75] As it turns out, the *aphʿel* dominates in Qumran Aramaic more generally, even in the earliest texts (e.g. 4Q196 [Tobit], and 4Q209 [Astronomical Enoch]). The *haphʿel* seems to be preserved only as a historical relic.[76]
5. The Genesis Apocryphon employs the later form תמן ("there") rather than the earlier תמה, found in both BA and 11QtgJob.[77] As with the above examples, the "later" form has now been found in a number of early works from Qumran.

Traits suggesting that the Genesis Apocryphon is earlier than 11QtgJob

1. 11QtgJob employs the *nota accusativi* ית (in יתהון) at least once, in addition to one instance in Daniel 4:22, while the Apocryphon always has the allegedly earlier direct object marker –ל.[78] ית is also found in the New Jerusalem texts (4Q554ª and 5Q15) and the Wadi Murabbaʿat and Naḥal Ḥever contracts, but is otherwise missing from Qumran Aramaic.[79]
2. The Genesis Apocryphon assimilates the letter נ significantly less than 11QtgJob, and even BA. It also dissimilates the geminate root and exhibits nasalization (insertion of the letter נ) more often.[80] These have generally been understood as earlier traits, but Fitzmyer has questioned their relevance.[81] They are now recognized to represent a wider trend in the Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran.[82]

These few examples readily demonstrate that the publication and scrutiny of the Aramaic corpus from the Judean Desert has cast the most compelling factors for a later date of the Genesis Apocryphon into grave doubt. The orthography of the scroll has occasionally been discussed as an indicator for relative dating as well, but this too has been seriously questioned by Cook and Fitzmyer.[83]

Although it is frequently left unsettled in the above studies, the date assigned to Daniel's Aramaic plays a critical role in any relative dating of the Genesis Apocryphon or the Job Targum. While some parts of Daniel were almost certainly penned around the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (ca. 174–164 BCE), it is widely acknowledged that the majority of its Aramaic chapters are earlier than this.[84] Albright, basing himself on the more exhaustive work of Wilson,[85] argued that the majority of the Aramaic portions of Daniel originated in the 3rd cent. BCE, and that Ezra must have preceded this by around a century.[86] Allowances for similar or significantly earlier dates were made by Driver,[87] Rosenthal,[88] and Kitchen.[89] Most recently, Collins appears to have settled somewhere in the early 3rd century with his judgment that "the balance of probability... favors a date in the early Hellenistic period for the Aramaic portions of Daniel."[90] If one sides with the majority in assigning the brunt of Daniel's Aramaic to the early 3rd cent. BCE (and Ezra's to at least the 4th), then what compelling evidence is there to date the Genesis Apocryphon, which appears to be only slightly later than Daniel on linguistic grounds, to the 1st cent. BCE? Even allowing for a full century of development the scroll could date to the early 2nd cent. BCE, and there is nothing in the scroll's content to preclude such a date. When one digs deeper, however, it becomes clear that the 1st cent. BCE date is based largely on the assumption by some (e.g. most scholars working on Qumran Aramaic) that the "Aramaic of Daniel" must date to around 165 BCE, when the book's redaction came to a close.[91] Most Daniel scholars would reject this oversimplistic, late dating.

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[72] Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4, 17 18; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 121; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 324; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 21; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

[73] Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4, 19; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 118 120; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; and Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 23.

[74] Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4, 18 19; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 123; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 16; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

[75] E. M. Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology," *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Abr-Nahrain, Sup. 3; ed. T. Muraoka; Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 1 21 [13 14]. Also see the distinction in Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 123.

[76] Cf. E. M. Cook, "The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (2 vols; eds P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:359 78 [373]; and Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 73 74.

[77] Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 23.

[78] Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 20 21; *Le Targum de Job*, 4 (where one other instance is reconstructed; XXXIV, 9); Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 16; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

[79] Cf. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 103, 121.

[80] Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 5, 19 20; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 125; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 17 18.

[81] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36 n. 112.

[82] Cf. Cook, "Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 363; Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 44–45.

[83] Cook, "Qumran Aramaic," 1 7; idem, "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 44:2 (1993): 205 219; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36 n. 112.

[84] See the helpful sketch of J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 38. Also see his overview of the Aramaic dating, 13 20.

Alongside these considerations one should factor the following points: 1) Kutscher's conviction that BA originated from eastern Aramaic (in contrast to the Apocryphon);[92] 2) the almost timeless quality of the so-called 'Reichsaramäische' used by Daniel, which changed very little over a several-century stretch (beginning as early as the 6th cent. BCE);[93] and 3) the opinions of several scholars who have voiced legitimate concerns over dating texts from varied, unknown locales and social circles within a typological series, as Kutscher, Sokoloff, Kaufman, Fitzmyer, and others have done.[94] This point is especially poignant in light of solid evidence that several distinct orthographies operated in Qumran Aramaic around the same time, probably due to slightly different authorial settings or individual scribal penchants.[95]

Together, the above points make clear that a relative date of the Genesis Apocryphon's Aramaic to the 1st cent. BCE on linguistic grounds breaks down significantly under scrutiny. If one were to take seriously the typological placement of the scroll in relation to BA (and it is not clear that this is the way to proceed), then the date widely agreed upon by Daniel experts should be used as an orientation point—i.e. the early 3rd cent. BCE. Theoretically, this would allow for a date for the Apocryphon as early as the late 3rd or early 2nd cent. BCE, even when taking into account the Job Targum. However, the most compelling support for a significantly earlier date comes from other Aramaic texts found at Qumran. A number of these date to the 2nd cent. BCE based on paleography and radiocarbon measurement, or are datable to this period on other grounds, and yet are written in an Aramaic that does not differ substantially from that of the Apocryphon.[96] Given the culmination of evidence, it seems time to adjust the linguistic *terminus post quem* of the Genesis Apocryphon from the 1st cent. BCE to at least the early 2nd cent. BCE.

5.2.6. *Relationship to Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and Other Works*

Fitzmyer has meticulously argued that every attempt to find concrete historical allusions in the Apocryphon so far has failed to pass muster.[97] Lacking such data, the best prospects for assigning the scroll a general date remain comparative analyses with other early Jewish works. This and other studies have stressed the Genesis Apocryphon's affinity with texts like 1 Enoch (including the Book of Giants), Jubilees, the testamentary literature (especially Levi and Qahat), and even Daniel—all works dating from the 3rd to 2nd centuries BCE in their original forms. This affinity is evinced in the scroll's literary genre, basic (apocalyptic) worldview, specific theological concerns, stance on divine revelation, and even language of composition (with the exception of Jubilees). Put simply, the Genesis Apocryphon "belongs" with these texts. To this group might be added many of the remaining Aramaic texts from Qumran, such as the Amram and Pseudo-Daniel fragments.

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[85] R. D. Wilson, "The Aramaic of Daniel," in *Biblical and Theological Studies by the Members of the Faculty of the Princeton Theological Seminary Published in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Seminary* (New York: Scribner's, 1912), 261–306.

[86] W. F. Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler," *JBL* 40 (1921): 115–117.

[87] G. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Scribner's, 1913 [rev. ed.]), 502–503.

[88] F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden: Brill, 1939; repr. 1964), 66.

[89] K. A. Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," in *Notes on some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (ed. D. J. Wiseman; London: Tyndale, 1965), 31–79.

[90] Collins, *Daniel*, 17.

[91] See the similar perplexity at this late date expressed by Cook, "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath," 205–219 [217].

[92] Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 2. Cf. *Le Targum de Job*, 8–9.

[93] See the landmark study of H. H. Schaeder, "Iranische Beiträge I," *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, geisteswiss. Kl., 6/5* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1930), 199–296.

[94] R. I. Vasholz, "An Additional Note on the 4QEnoch Fragments and 11QtgJob," *Maarav* 3 (1982): 115–18; Wise, *Thunder in Gemini*, 103–151; and Cook, "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath," 218–19.

[95] Cf. Cook, "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath," 218–19.

[96] E.g. 4Q201–203 (Book of Watchers, Animal Apocalypse, Book of Giants); 4Q208–209 (Astronomical Enoch); 4Q213–14 (Aramaic Levi); 4Q542 (Testament of Qahat); 4Q543–549 (Visions of Amram); to name only the earliest manuscripts.

[97] Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 26–28 (and in various other places throughout his commentary).

The Genesis Apocryphon's relationship to Jubilees is mixed. On first inspection there are a number of striking similarities between the two, as in the case of the earth's division, some chronological details, or the basic literary genre employed. These parallels certainly speak to some sort of association. Yet, when the related motifs are scrutinized further it becomes clear that they are used in different ways, and to different extents. Along with this we find more basic differences, such as a dissimilar attitude toward apocalyptic dream-visions, disparate portrayals of Noah, and even different languages of composition. At present, the best explanation for this mixture is that both works originated in Judea around same period of time and drew from a common reserve of exegetical traditions surrounding Genesis. As argued in Chapter 4, one of the shared sources accessible to both authors seems to have been a map re-visioning the Table of Nations from Gen 10 according to an Ionian scheme and in concert with a robust apologetic stance on the Land of Israel.[98] However, the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees do not appear dependently related such that one drew directly from the other, and this should exhort the utmost care in using their parallel passages for relative dating.

A similar picture emerges with regard to the Enochic literature. Again there are some striking similarities, most noticeably the birth of Noah parallel (1QapGen 2–5 and 1 En. 106–107). But there are also marked differences in details of the stories and their handling. In 1 Enoch, the purpose of chapters 106–107 is somewhat ambiguous, although it seems to be primarily paraenetic, warning its hearers of acting in a way akin to the Watchers and tying into the surrounding Epistle of Enoch. In the Apocryphon the story functions very differently, being largely directed toward the exaltation of Noah and his unique, salvific role in human history. The connection of the Book of Giants to 1 Enoch remains uncertain,[99] but here too we have seen similarities with the Genesis Apocryphon. Although the relationship between the Enochic corpus and the Apocryphon has not been a focus of the present study, it is an area highly deserving of further research.

The publication of all of the Genesis Apocryphon's extant columns has finally made it possible to place each of its fragmentary portions within a broader (albeit still patchy) narrative framework. This has revealed what may be the most striking and important difference between the scroll and the two works with which it is so often compared: the two most significant parallels (1QapGen 16–17//Jub. 8:11–9:15 and 1QapGen 2–5//1 En. 106–107) are much more at home in the Genesis Apocryphon than they are in the other books. We have seen that the division of the earth in the Apocryphon is the culmination of a process that begins at Noah's birth, and is stressed multiple times throughout the scroll. Moreover, the theme continues on with Abram, who is unambiguously cast as Arpachshad's *geographic* successor. The same cannot be said for Jubilees, where the theme pops onto the narratological scene for a brief time, and then disappears again. The story of Noah's birth is even starker. In 1 Enoch these chapters have every indication of being an add-on, largely unmoored from their surroundings.[100] In contrast, the tale plays several important roles in the larger narrative structure of the Apocryphon, not least of which is a heightening of Noah's status and a foreshadowing of his future roles. If Milik and Nickelsburg are correct in supposing that 1 En. 106–107 incorporated older Noachic traditions, then it is likely that 1QapGen 2–5 looks very much like what was used. In the Apocryphon both stories are parts of an organic whole. This does not seem to be the case in Jubilees and 1 Enoch.

It is not entirely certain what to make of this situation, but the most logical conclusion seems to be that the Genesis Apocryphon preserves the stories in their original setting (or something rather close to it), while Jubilees and 1 Enoch do not. If this is deemed correct, then we have perhaps the strongest argument yet for the preliminary suggestion of Avigad and Yadin that the Apocryphon is an earlier witness to these Noah traditions than any other known works.

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[98] If one were to subscribe to a "Book of Noah," it is certain that this tradition was part of it. Cf. Chapter 1, n. 85.

[99] See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 8, 11, 172 73.

[100] Ibid., 539 42.

5.2.7. *Summary: A Second Century BCE Companion to Genesis*

After surveying the evidence, there are a number of factors recommending an early to mid 2nd cent. BCE date for the Genesis Apocryphon, rather than the now standard 1st cent. BCE thesis:

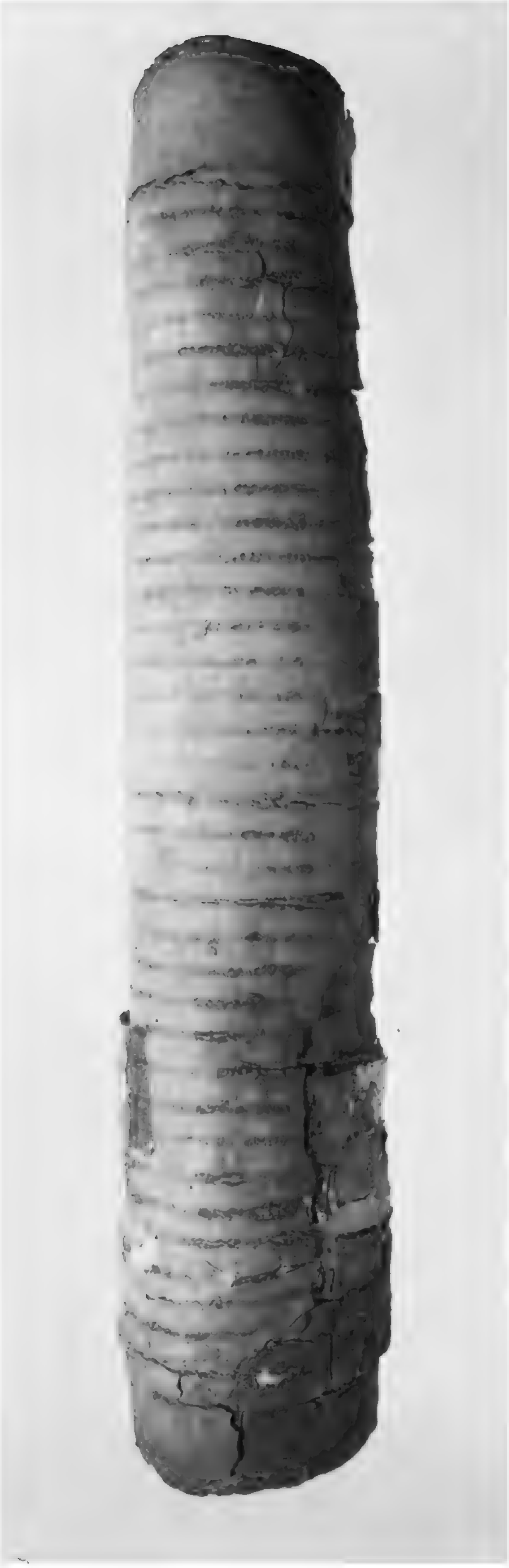
1. Its fondness of apocalyptic, symbolic dream-visions
2. The literary genre it employs (so-called rewritten Bible/scripture)
3. The unique portrayal of Noah, which seems to predate the more suppressed Noah sections of 1 Enoch
4. The name Herqanosh (חרקנוש), which probably does not refer to one of the historical figures mentioned by Josephus, but is only known as a name from the late 3rd cent. BCE (Hyrcanus the Tobiad) to early 1st cent. BCE (the Jewish high priest Hyrcanus II)—i.e. the pre-Hasmonean and Hasmonean periods
5. The brevity and simplicity of its account of the earth's division relative to Jubilees
6. The fact that the parallels with Jubilees and 1 Enoch are more integrated into the narrative of the Apocryphon
7. The scroll's apologetic tenor regarding the exclusive Israelite right to inhabit the Land of Israel, which seems most at home in a pre-Hasmonean (i.e. Diadochian) or Hasmonean setting

None of these points is very convincing on its own, but their cumulative weight is more significant. In general, the above features demonstrate that the Genesis Apocryphon is allied most closely with other literature from the 3rd–2nd cents BCE—it is in this period that the scroll finds its literary home. Additionally, we have seen that the Aramaic of the Apocryphon does not stand in the way of a 2nd century date. In fact, it may now be possible to list the scroll's language as one of the factors arguing *for* this period. I favor a date close to that of Jubilees; perhaps slightly earlier based on points 1, 5, and 6, as well as its employment of Aramaic as the language of composition. A safe range would be 200–150 BCE, although an even earlier, 3rd century date should not be ruled out absolutely.

The Genesis Apocryphon is a remarkably creative and rare example of second temple period Jewish exegesis from the Hellenistic era. At one and the same time it embraced a Hellenistic understanding of the earth, and used that understanding to advocate a radical adherence to the "Most High God" and an exclusive Israelite right to inhabit the Levant. Along with Jubilees and some other Jewish Hellenistic works it demonstrates how biblical exegesis transitioned between so-called inner-biblical exegesis and later, lemmatized commentaries such as the Pesharim (although it was no doubt synonymous with both of these for a period). Behind our scroll was a community aware of the culture around it, but eminently concerned to uphold its own traditions and system of beliefs. One can only hope that with future discoveries in the partially unpublished Aramaic and Syriac corpora we might find further attestation of some of the Genesis Apocryphon's missing pieces, and gain a yet better understanding of this fascinating text.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Proper accreditation for images ISF_DO_00667 and ISF_DO_00665 on p. 7: photograph by Bruce Zuckerman and Marilyn Lundberg, West Semitic Research. Courtesy Department of Antiquities, Jordan; ISF_DO_00661 on p. 8: photograph by Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman, West Semitic Research. Courtesy Department of Antiquities, Jordan.



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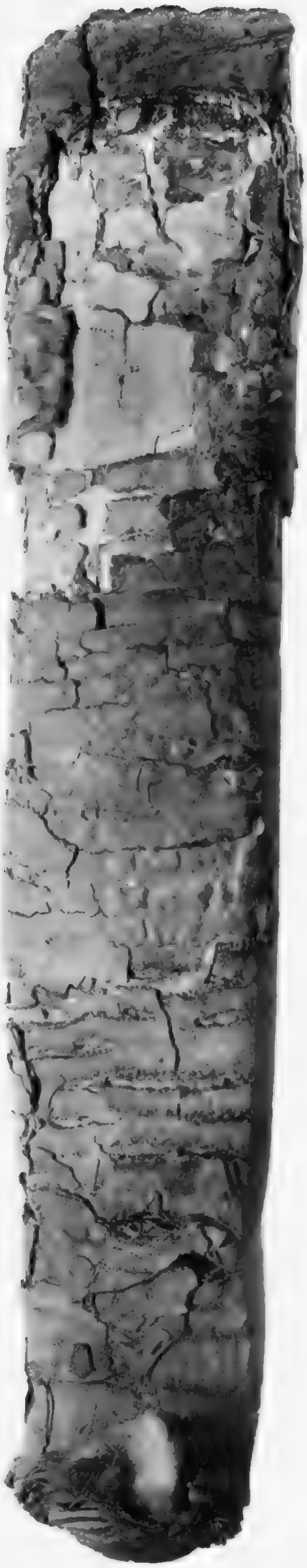

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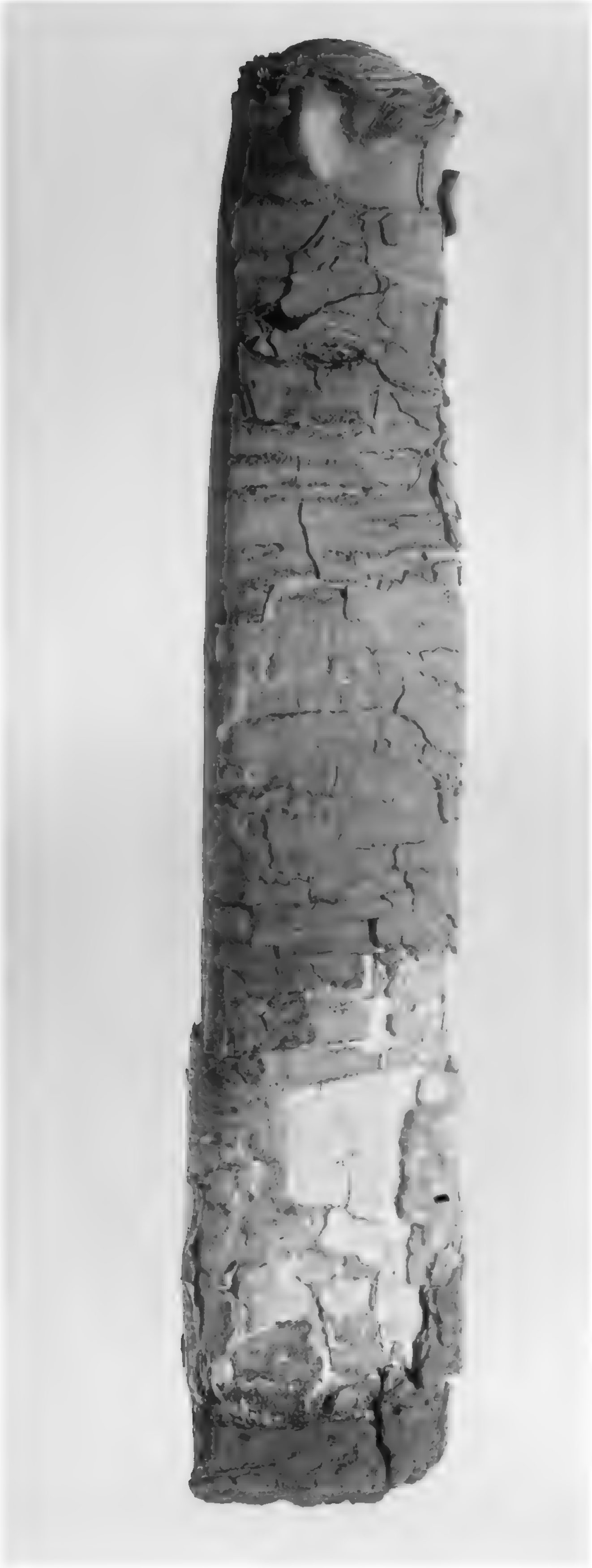

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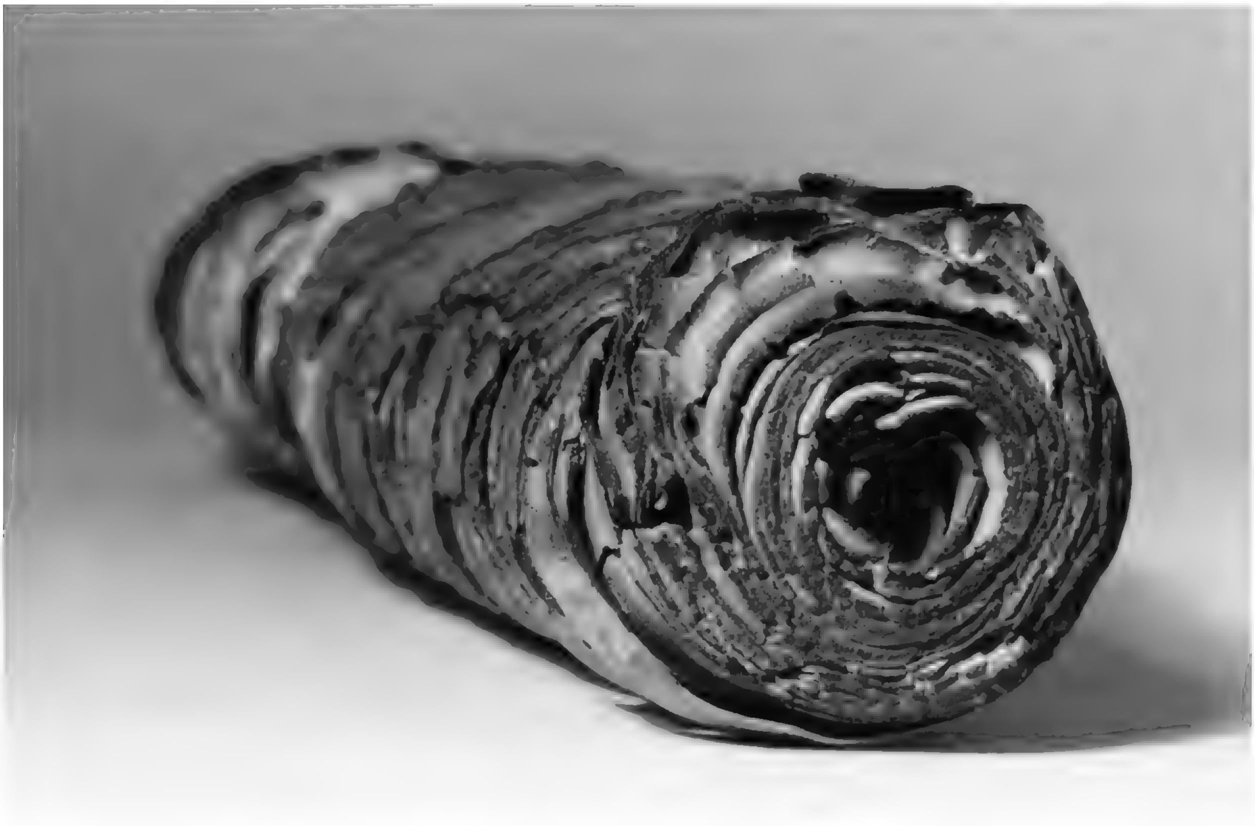

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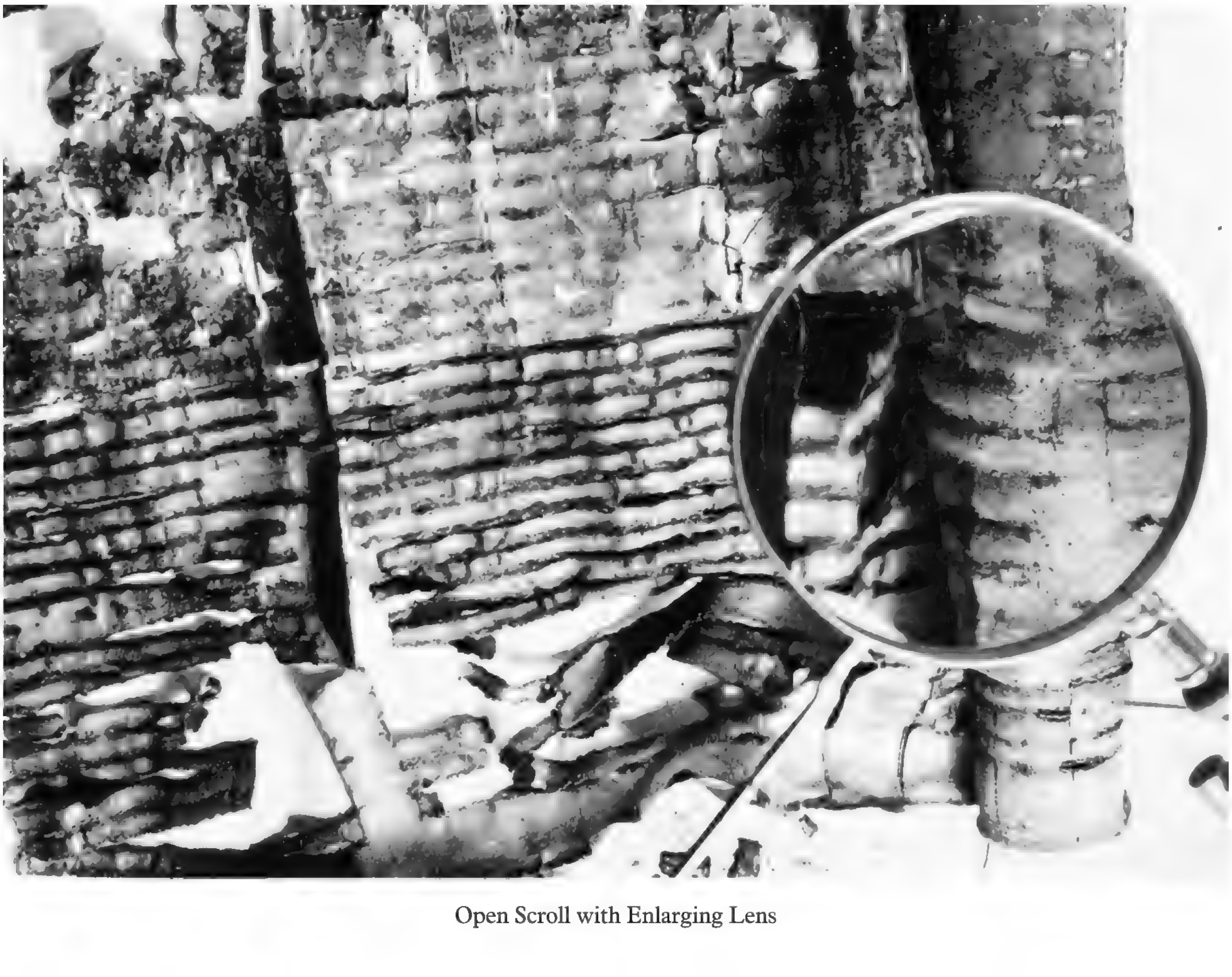

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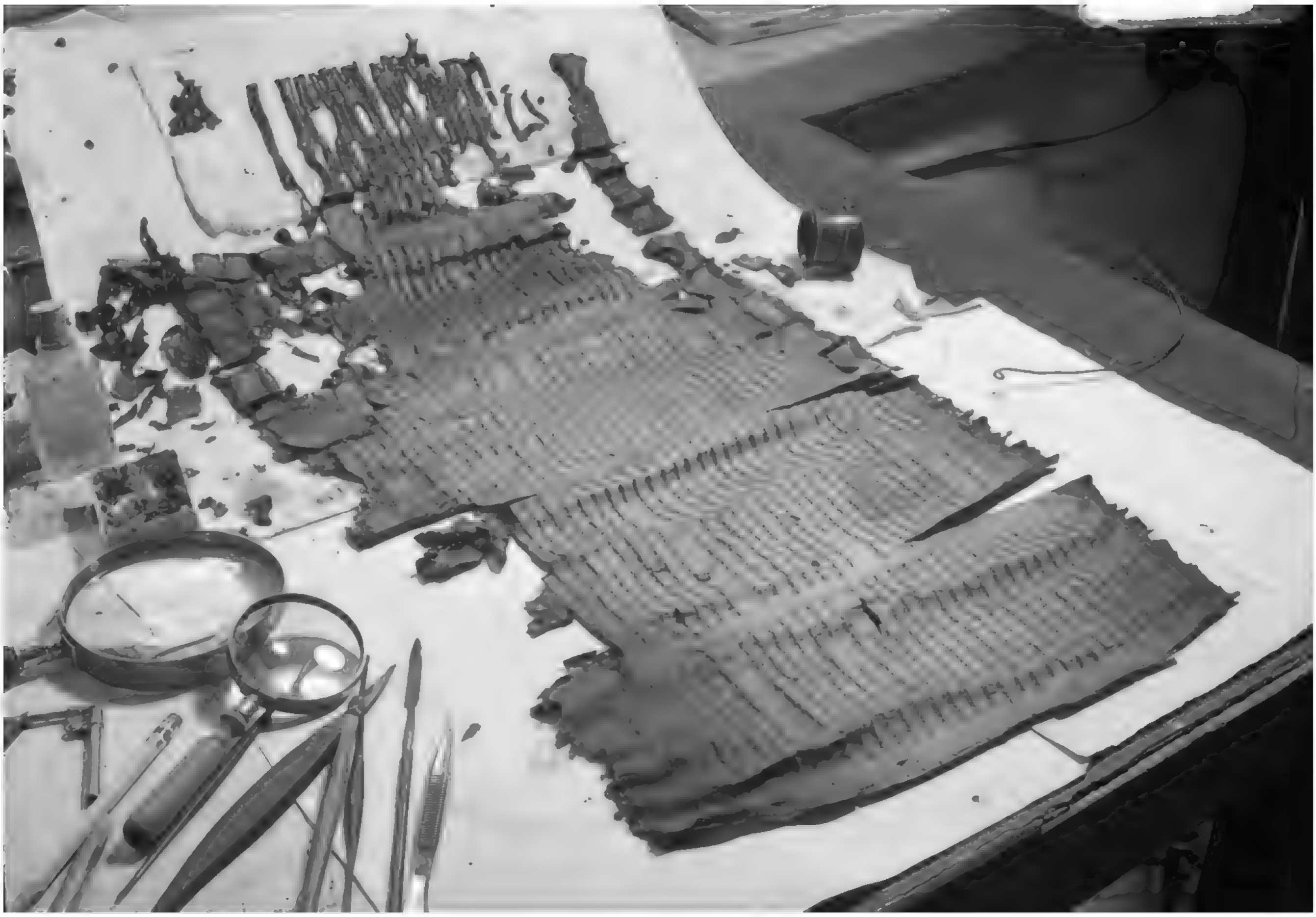

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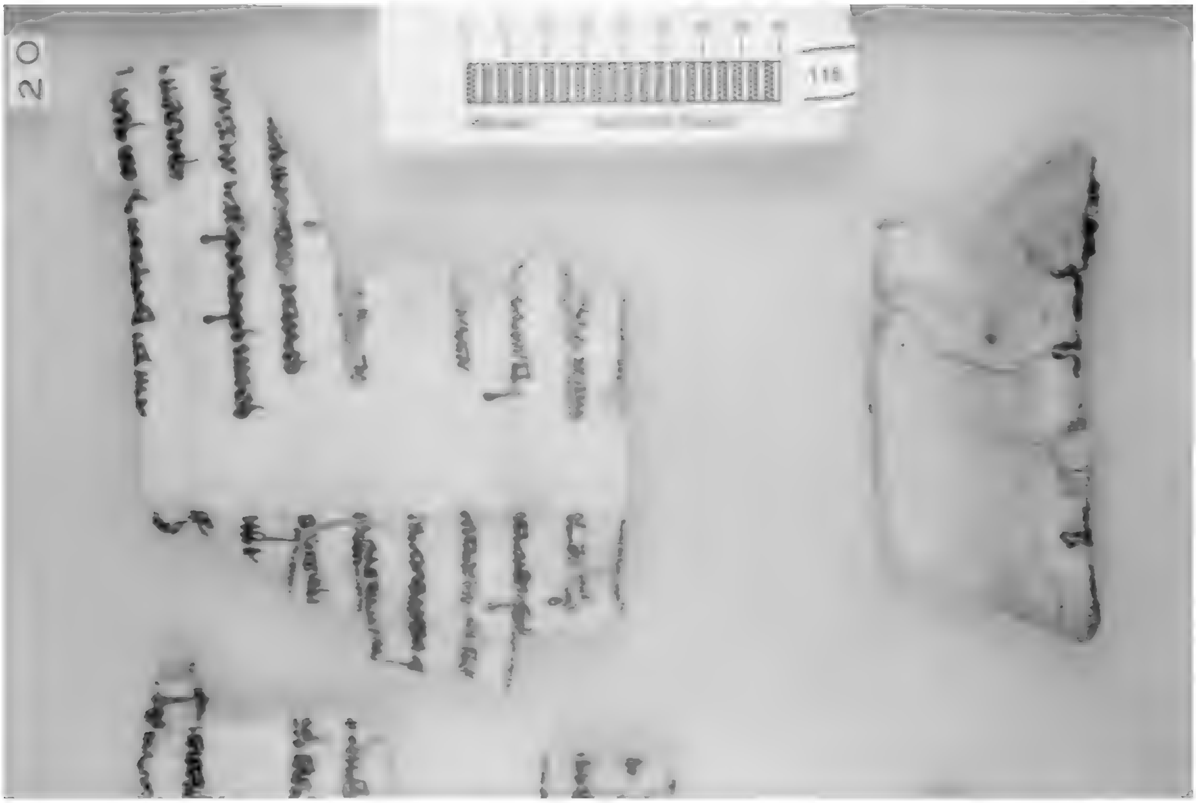

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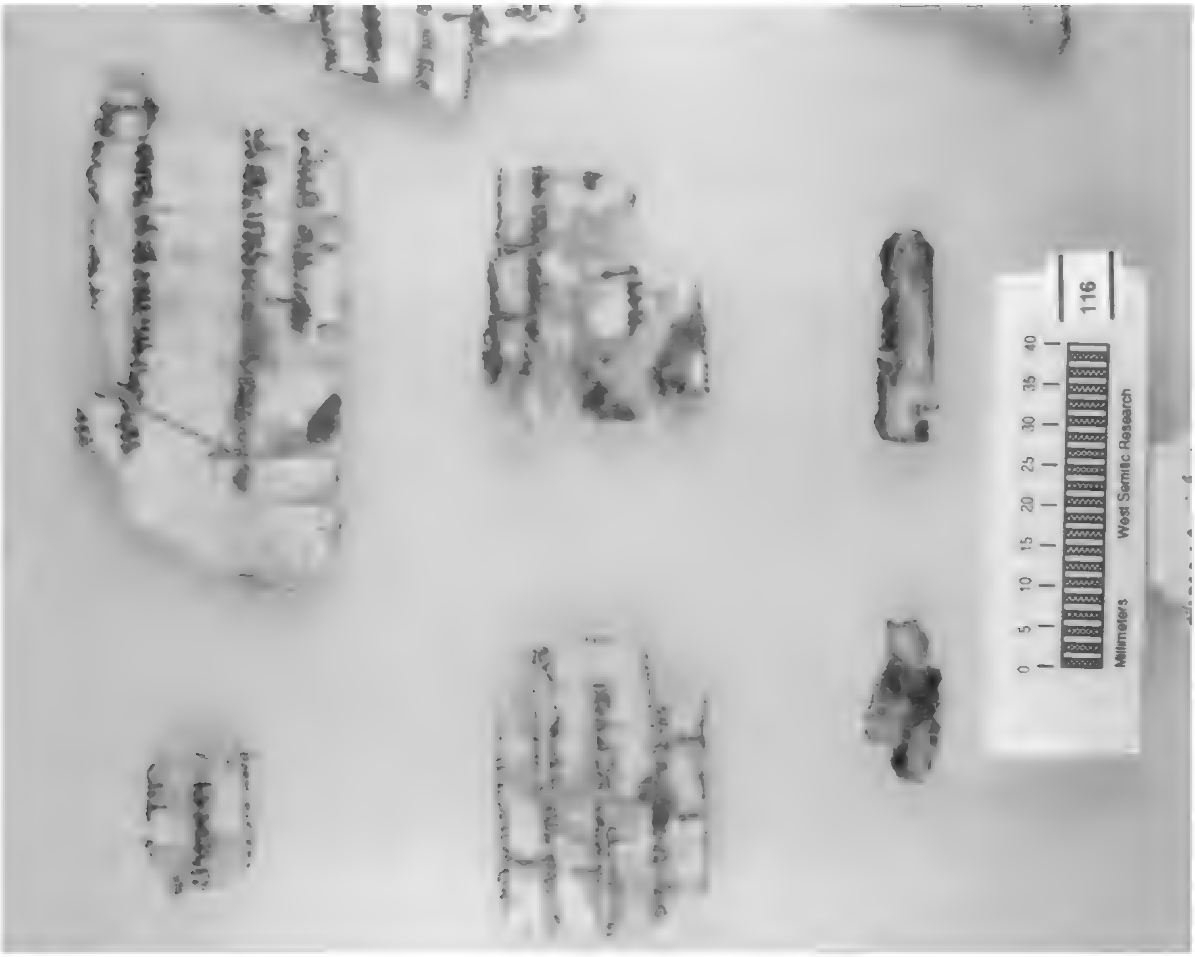
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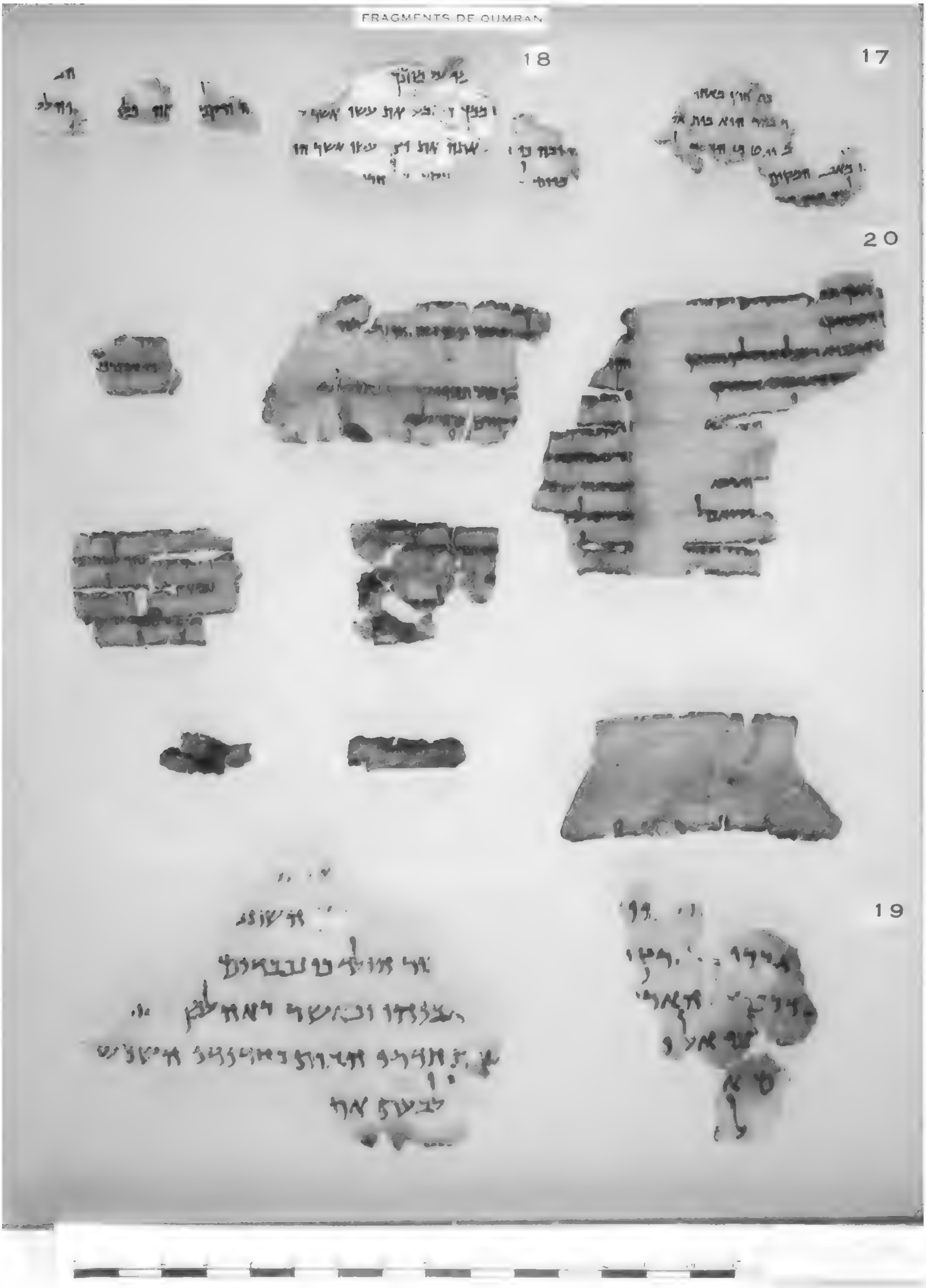
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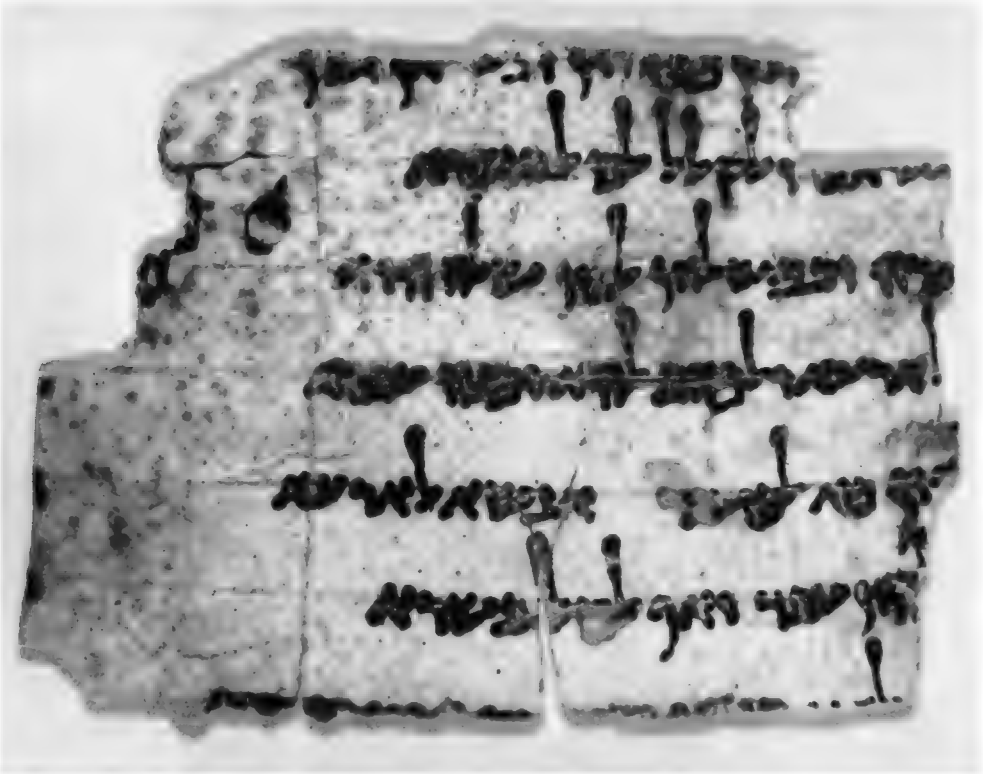

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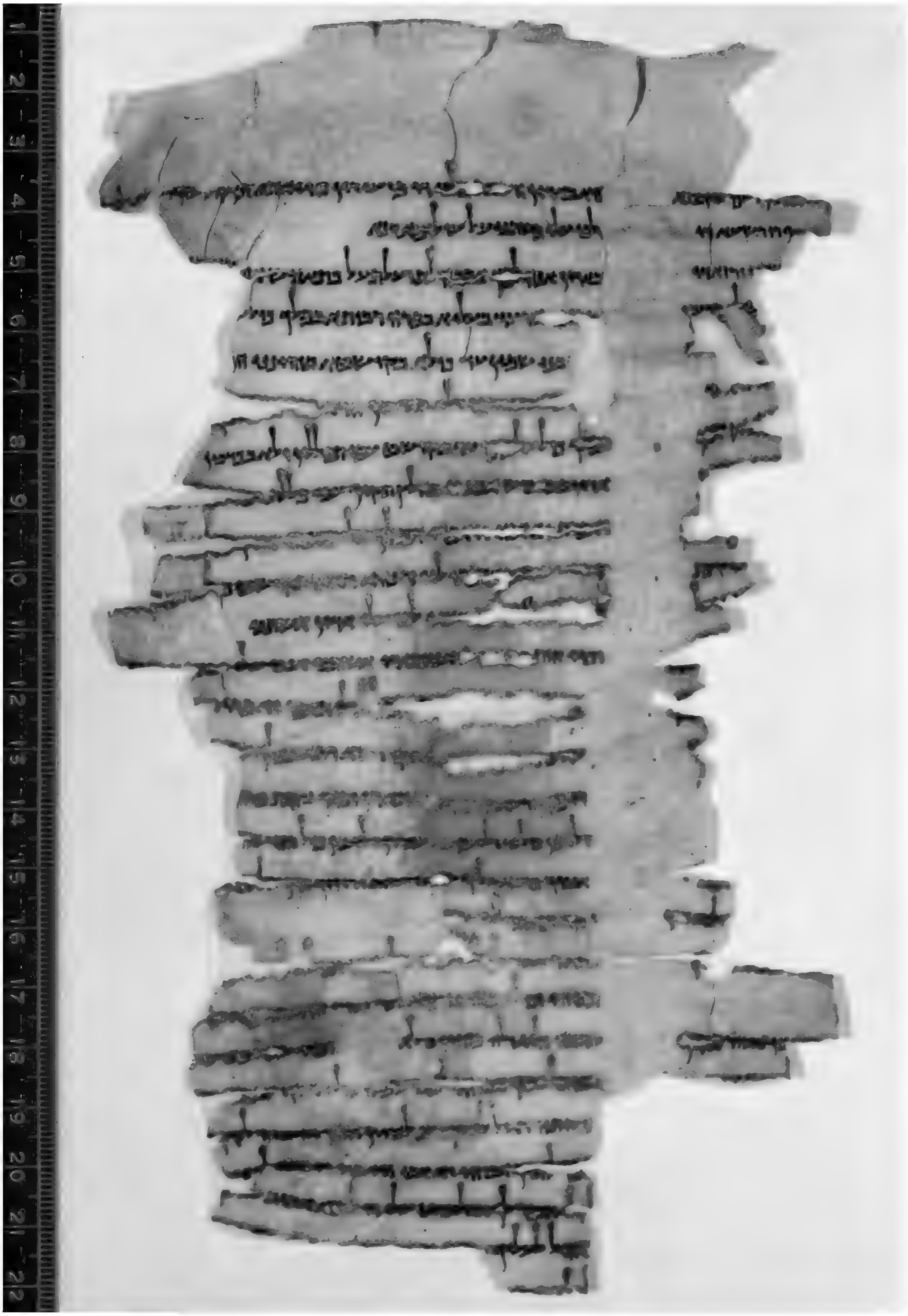

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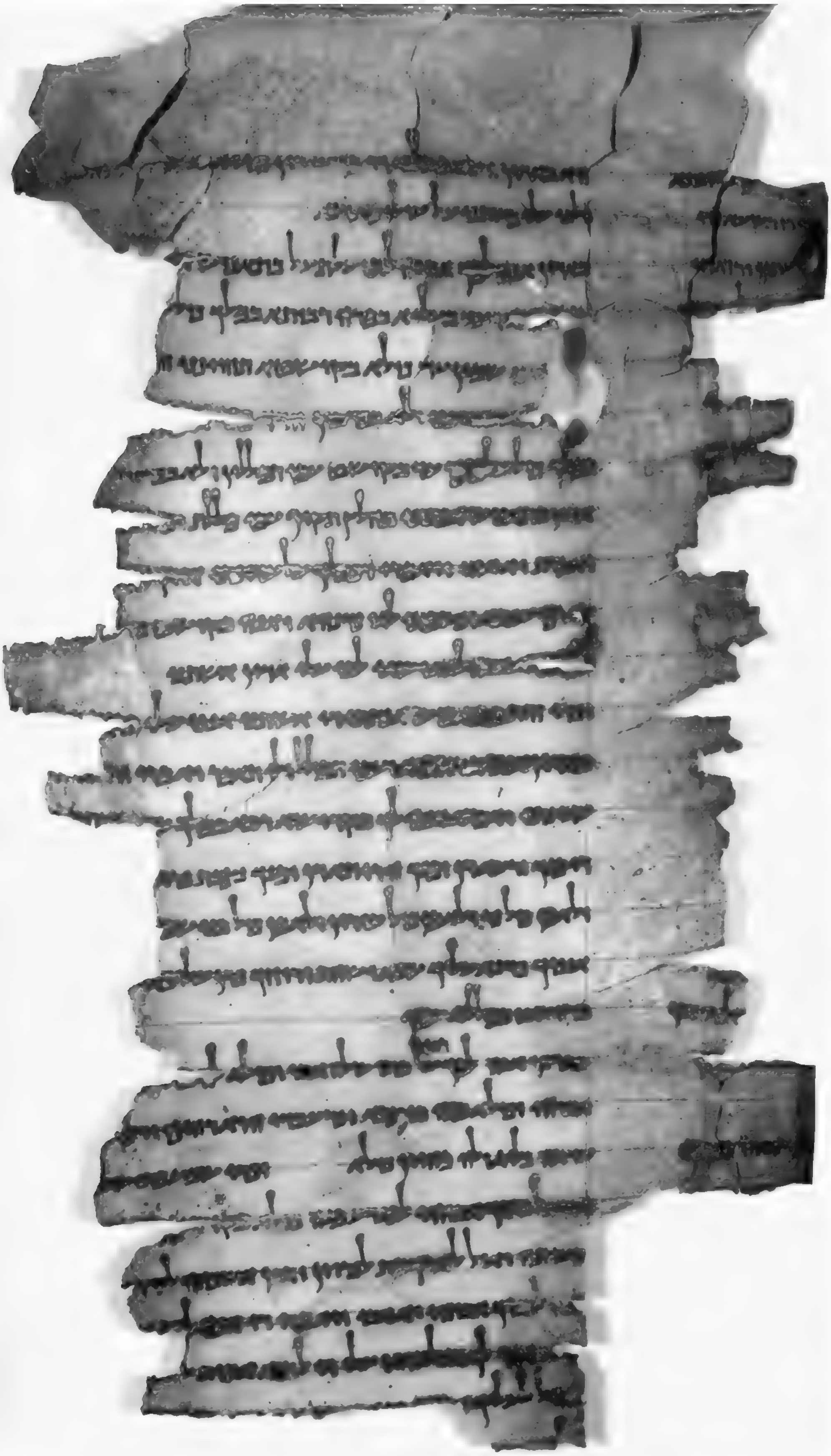

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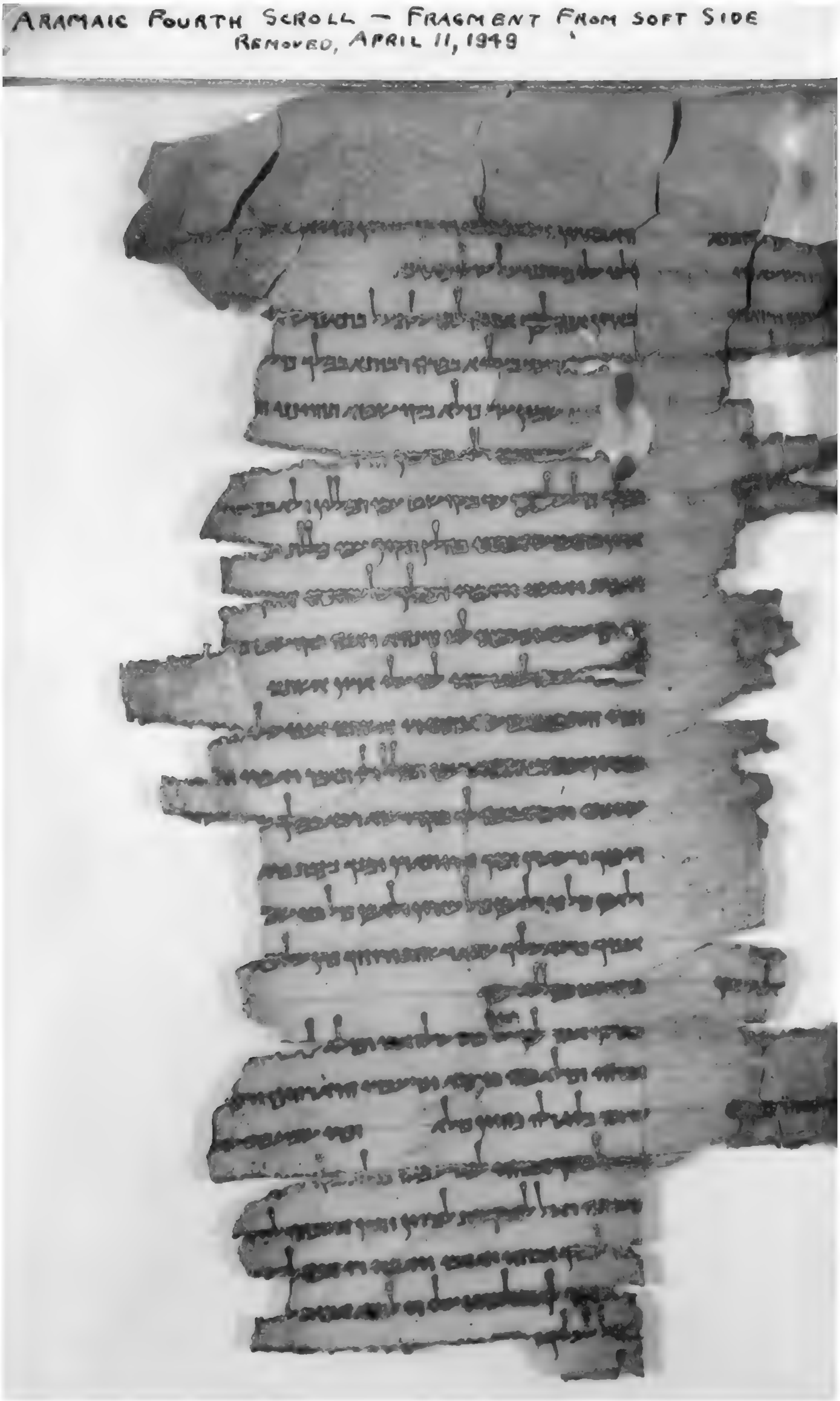
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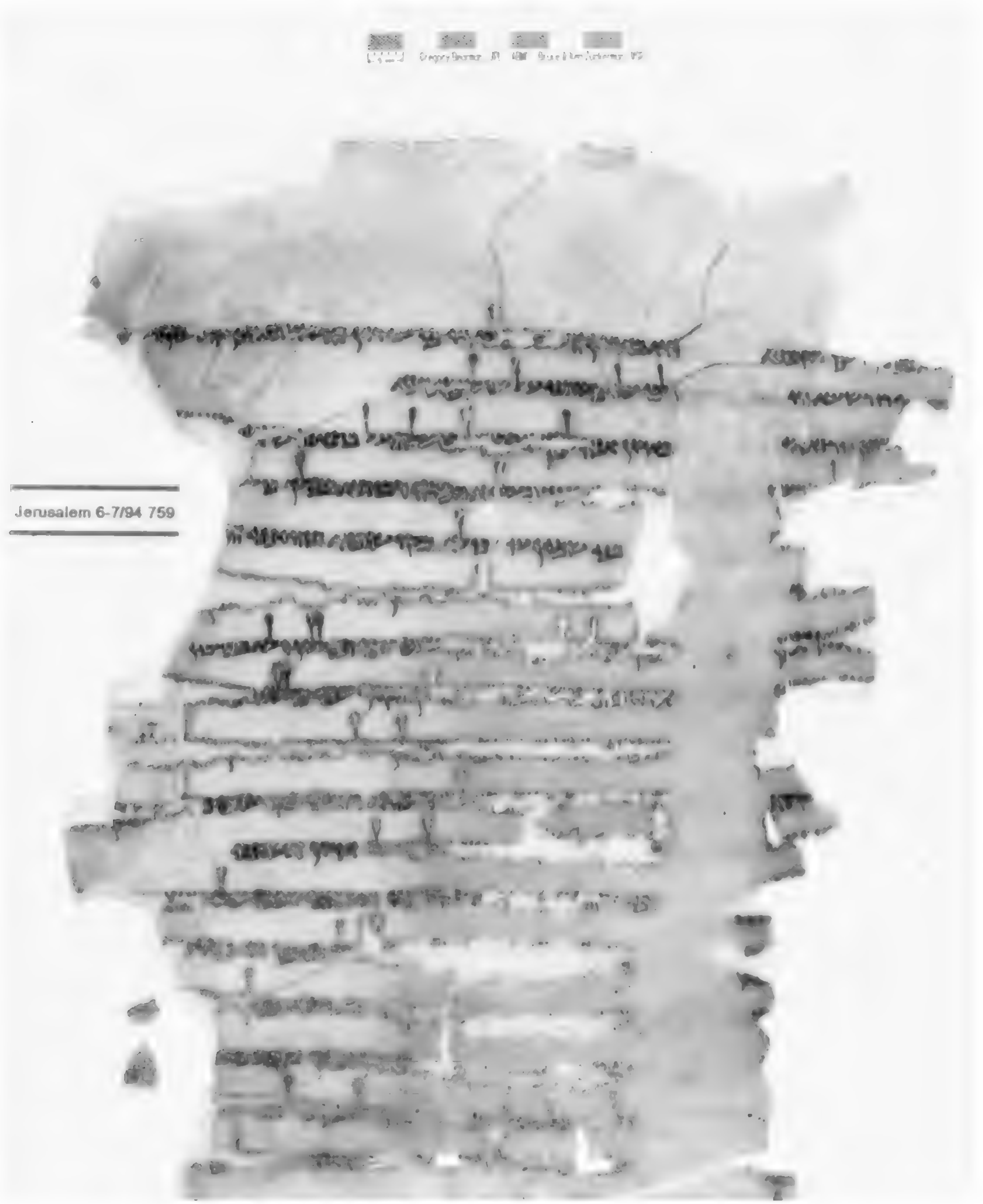
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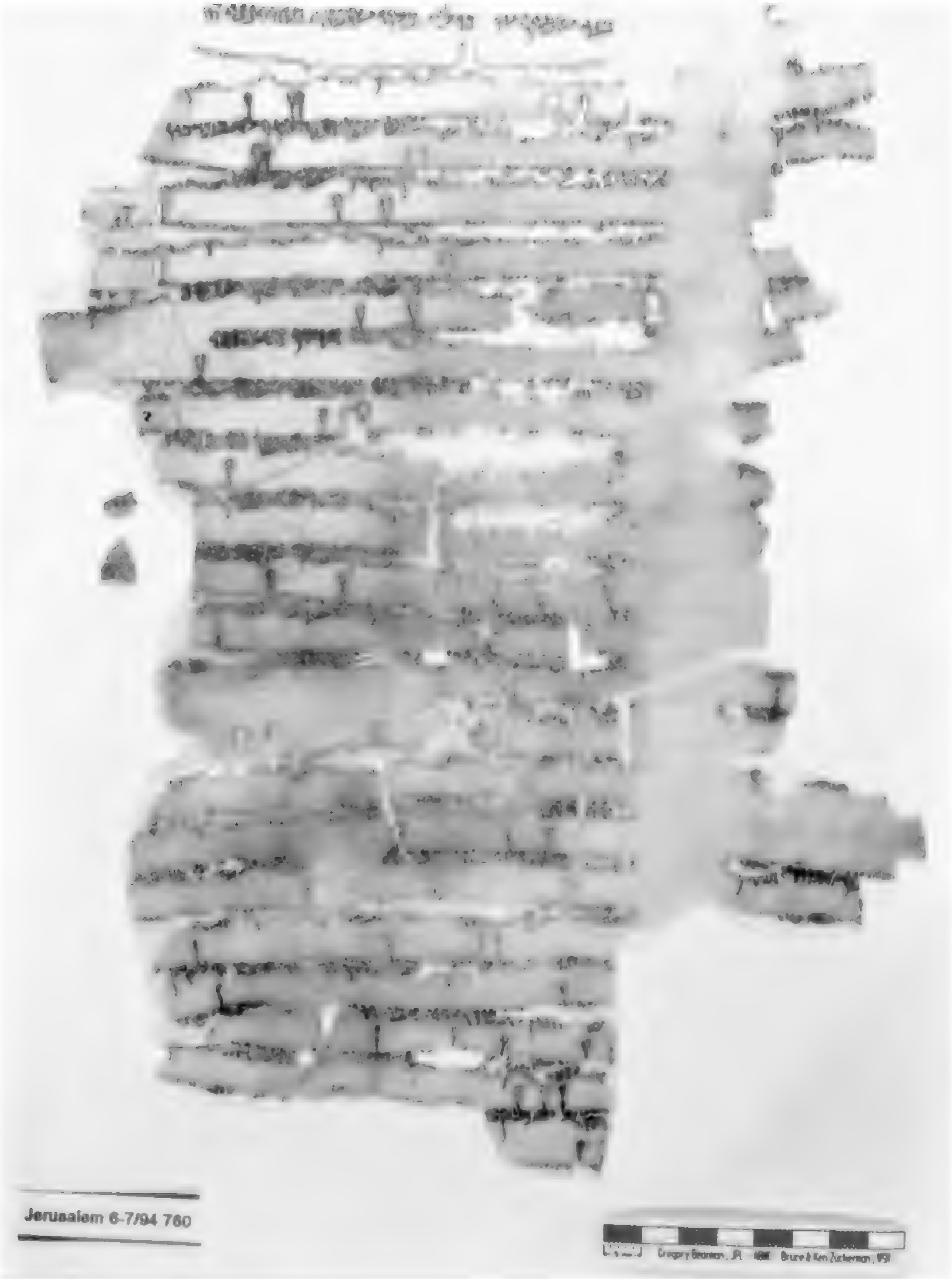
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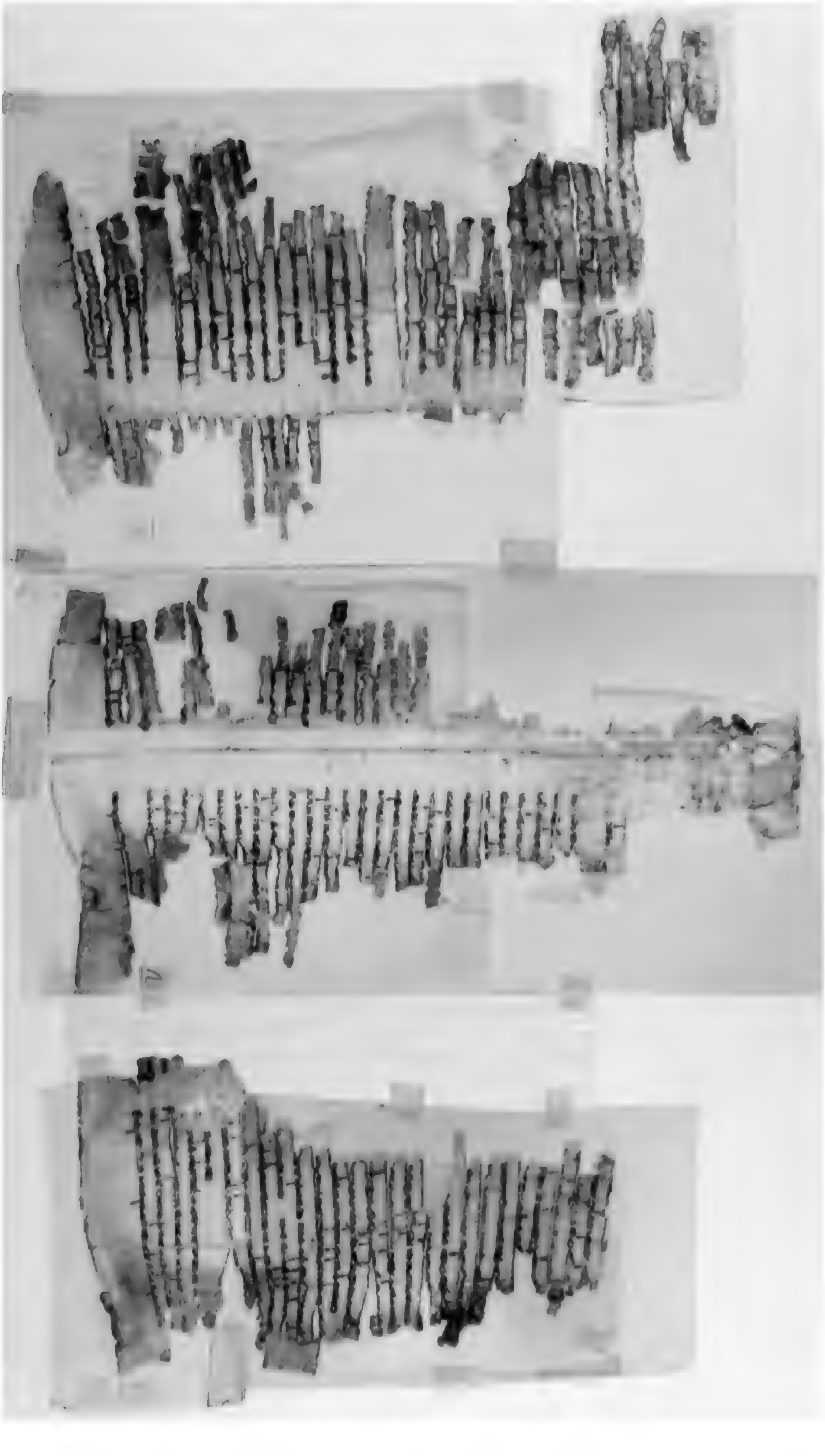

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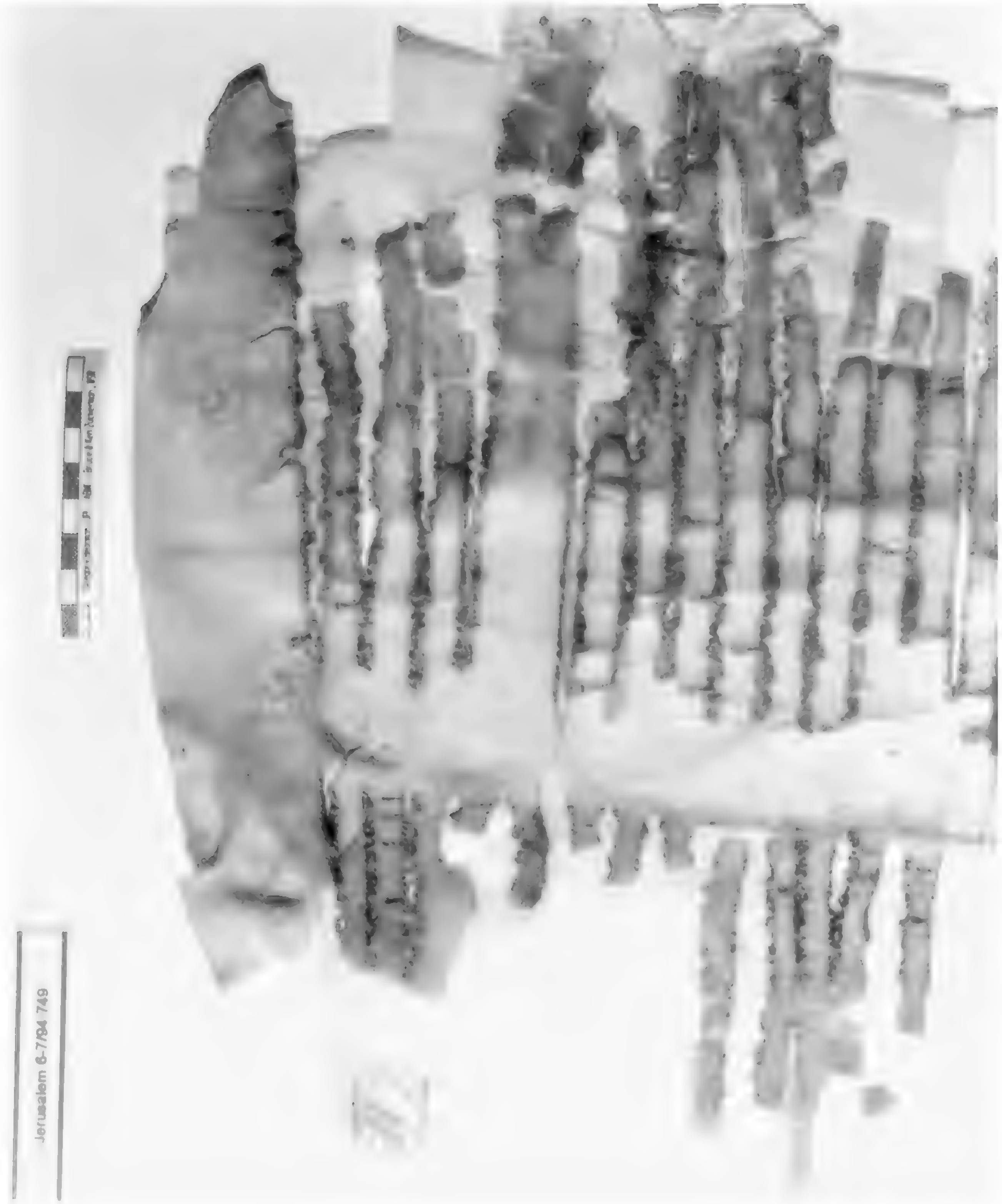
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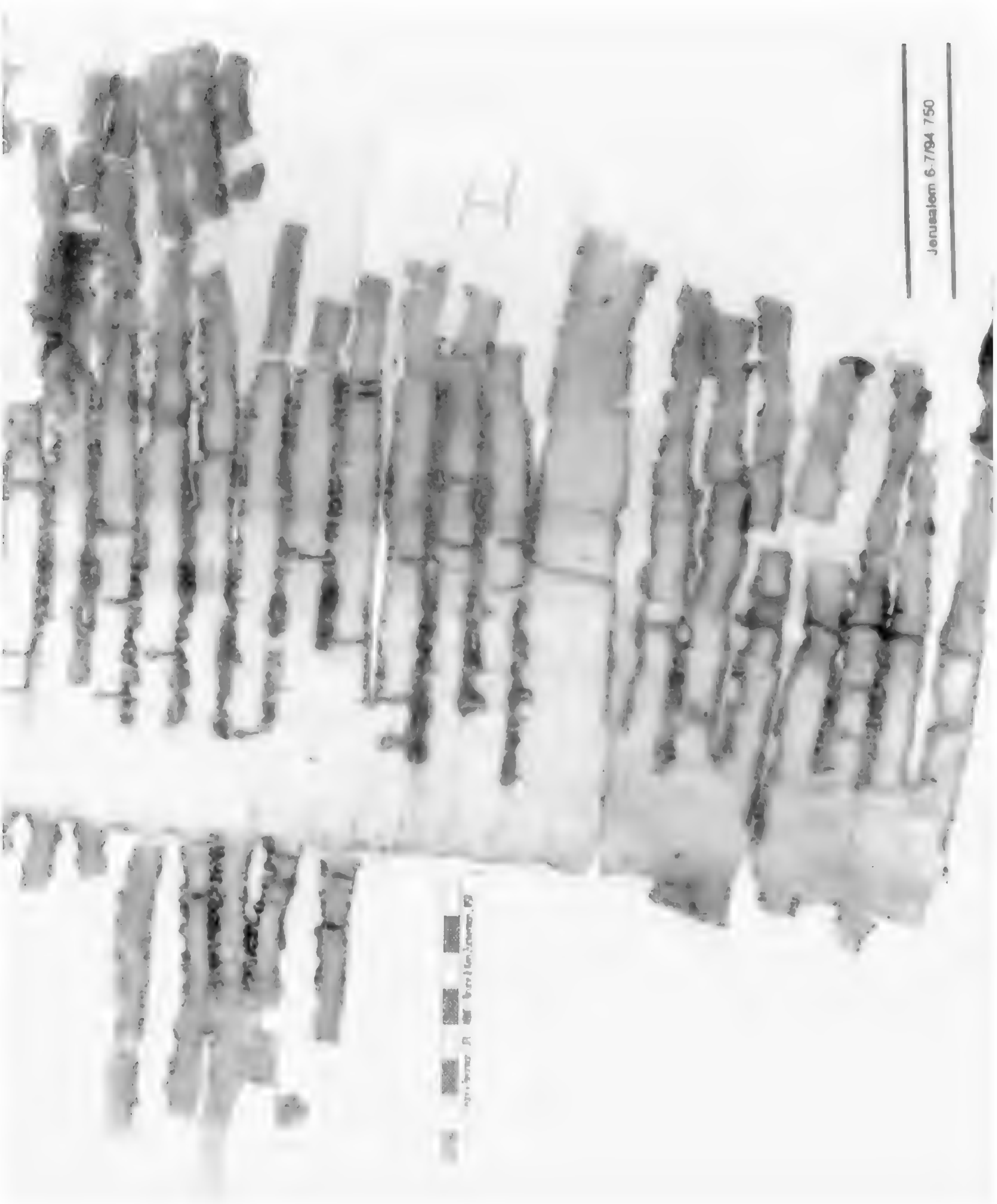
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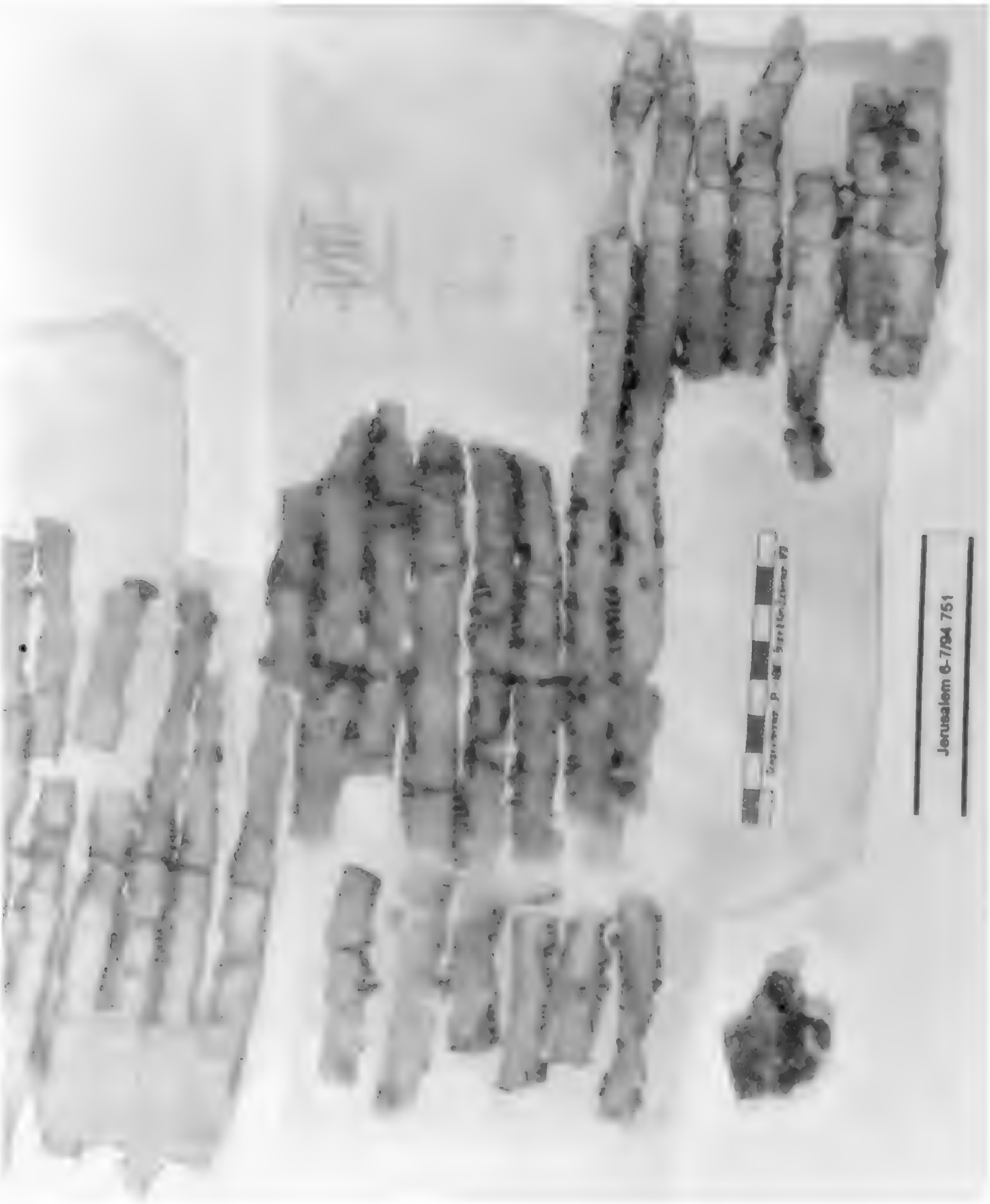
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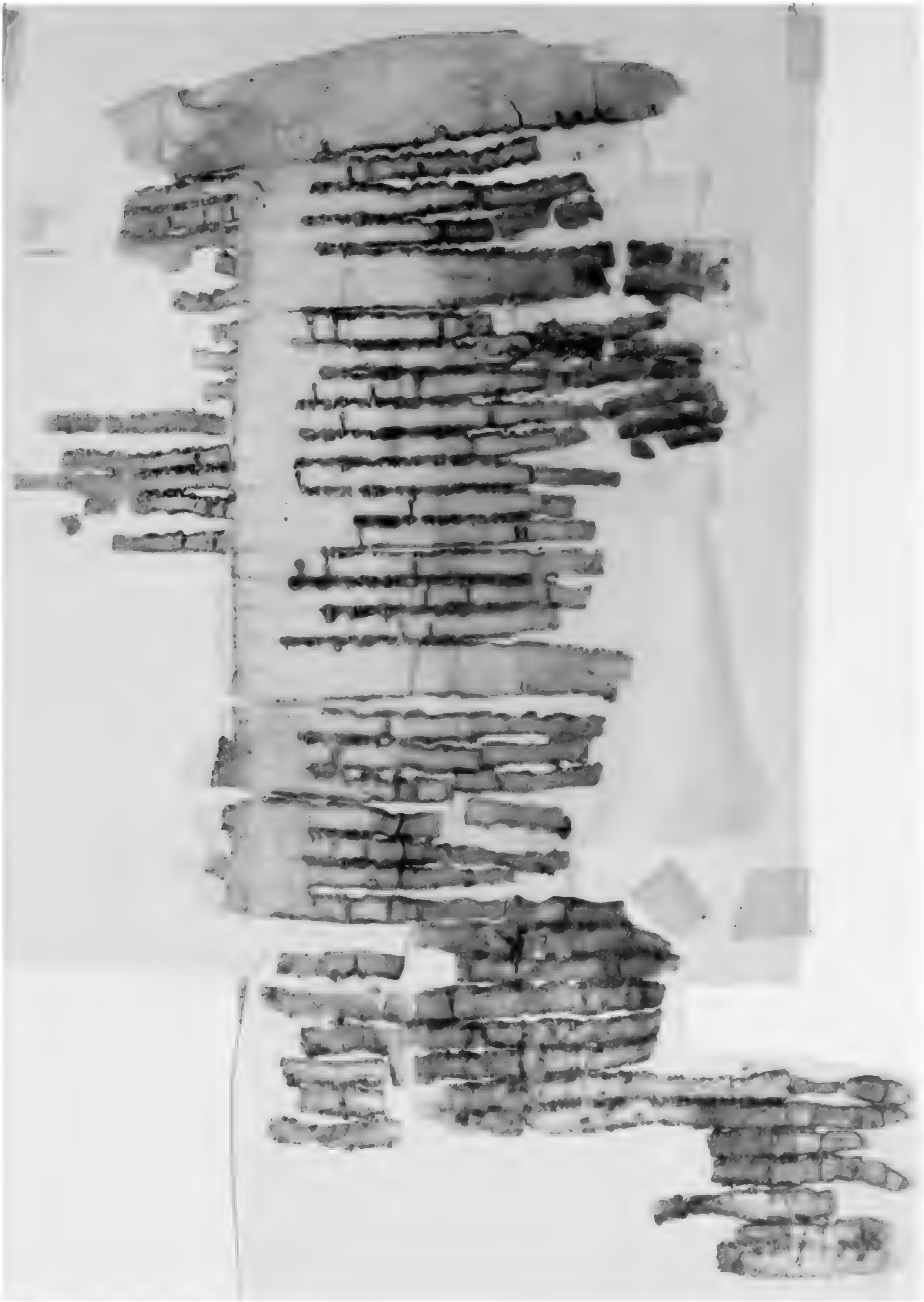

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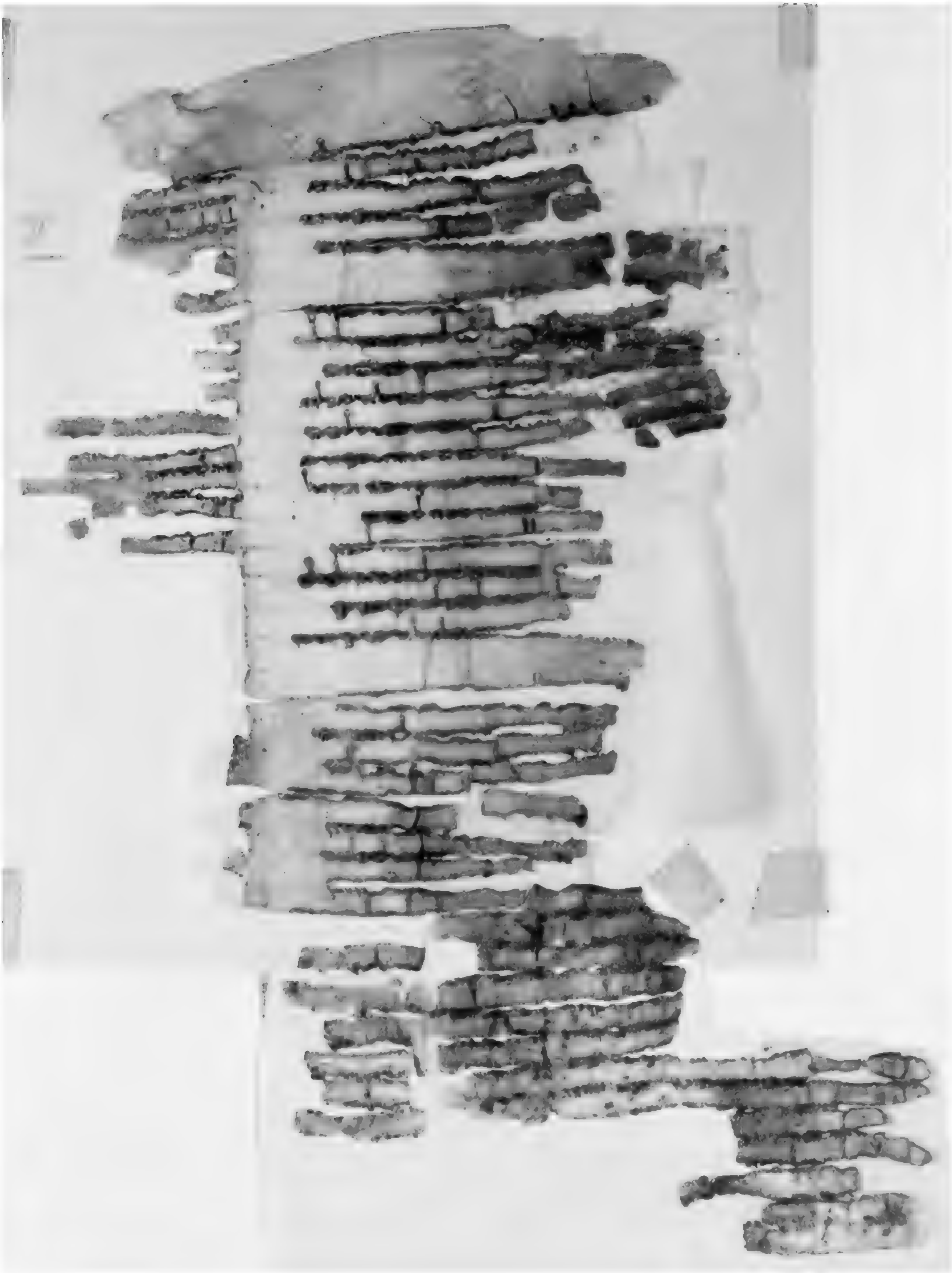

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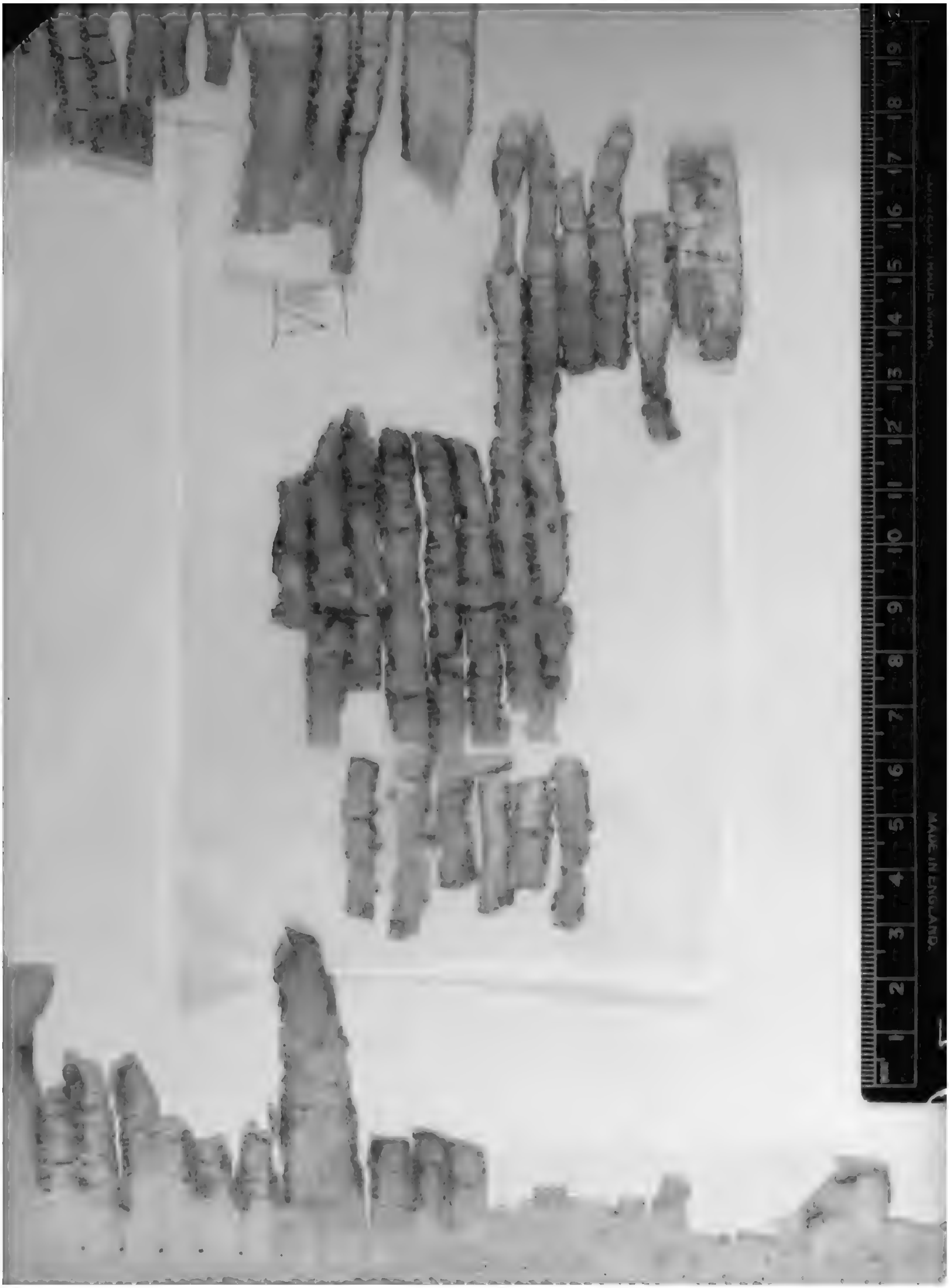
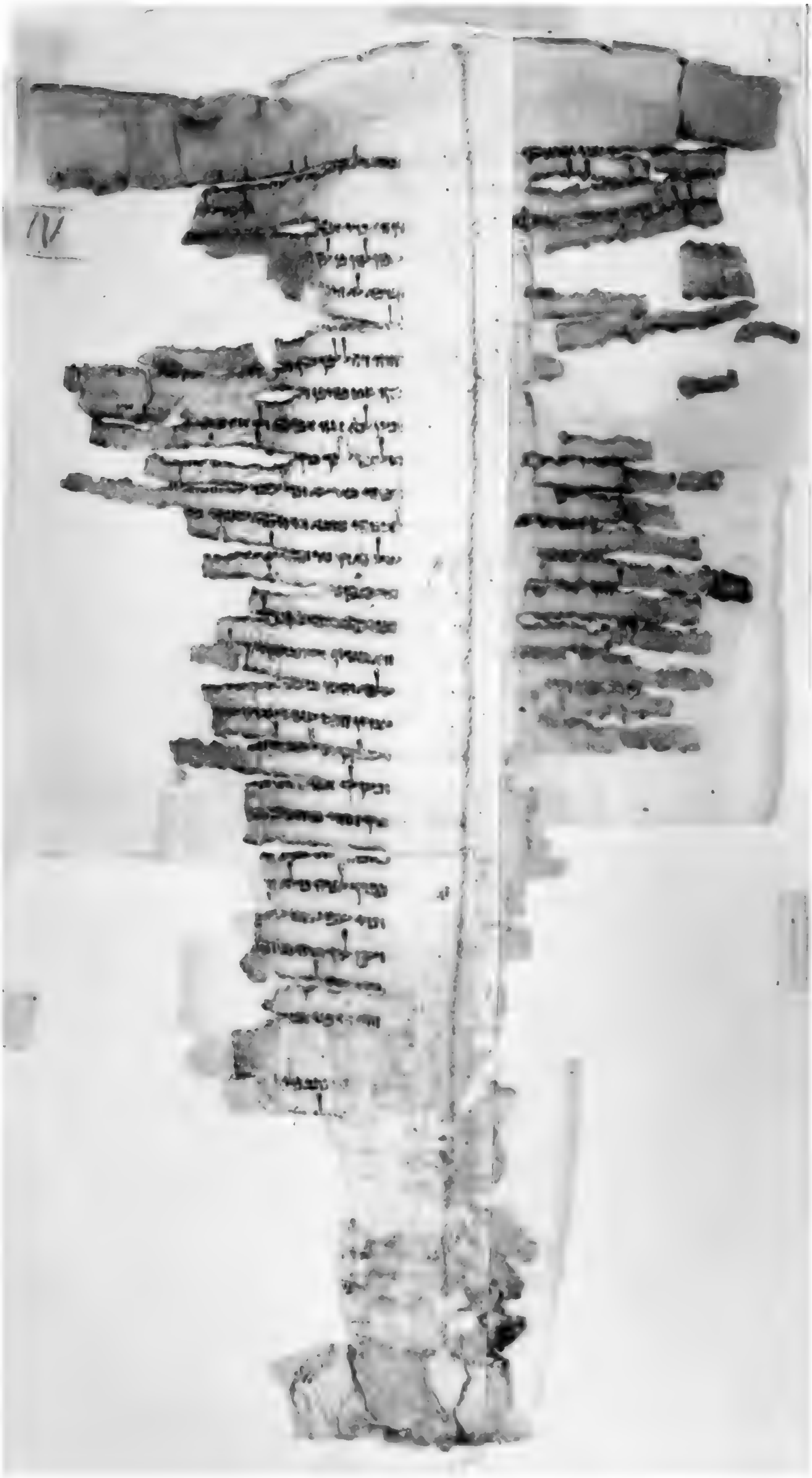


MADE IN ENGLAND

IMneg. 3837



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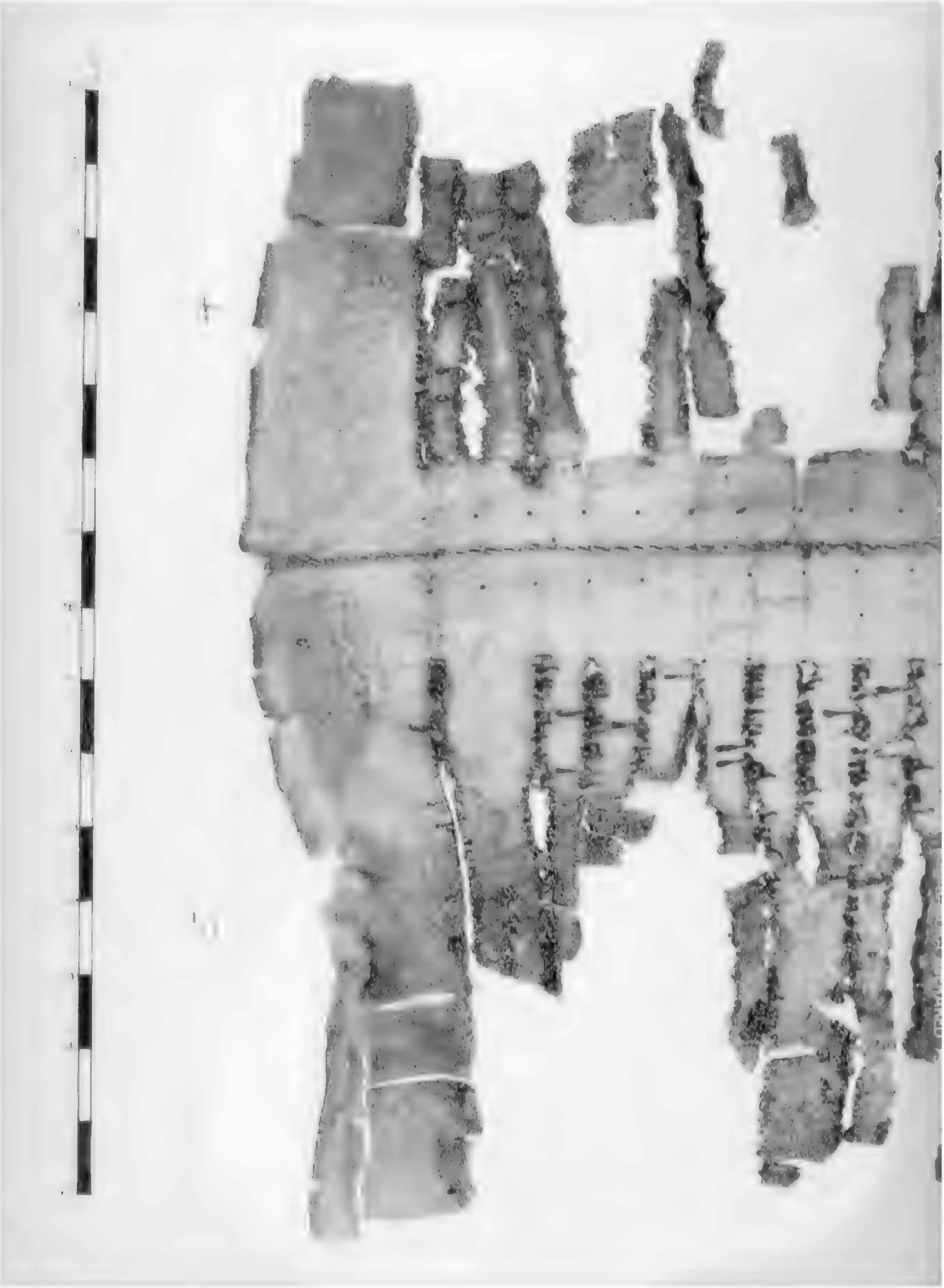

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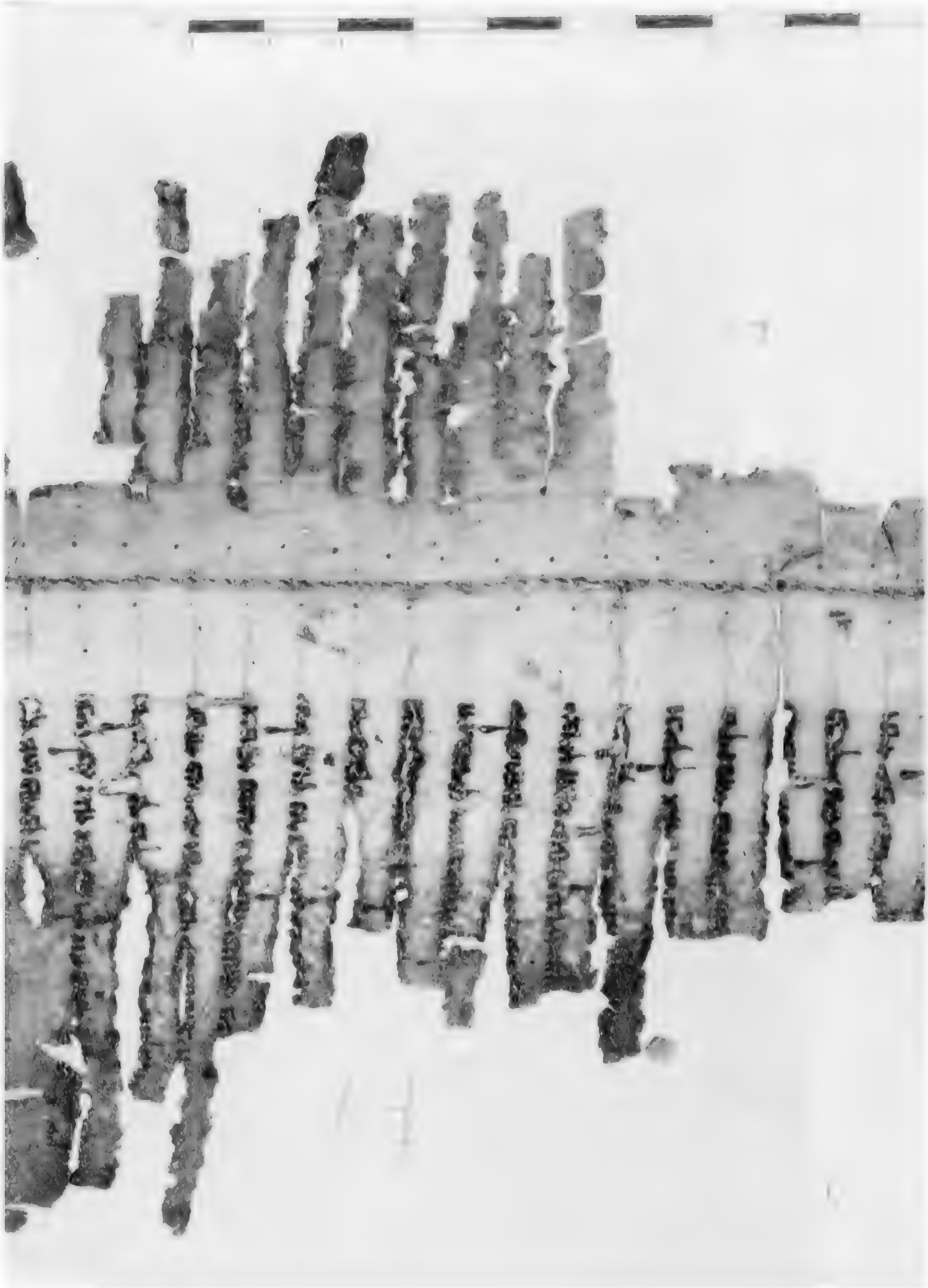

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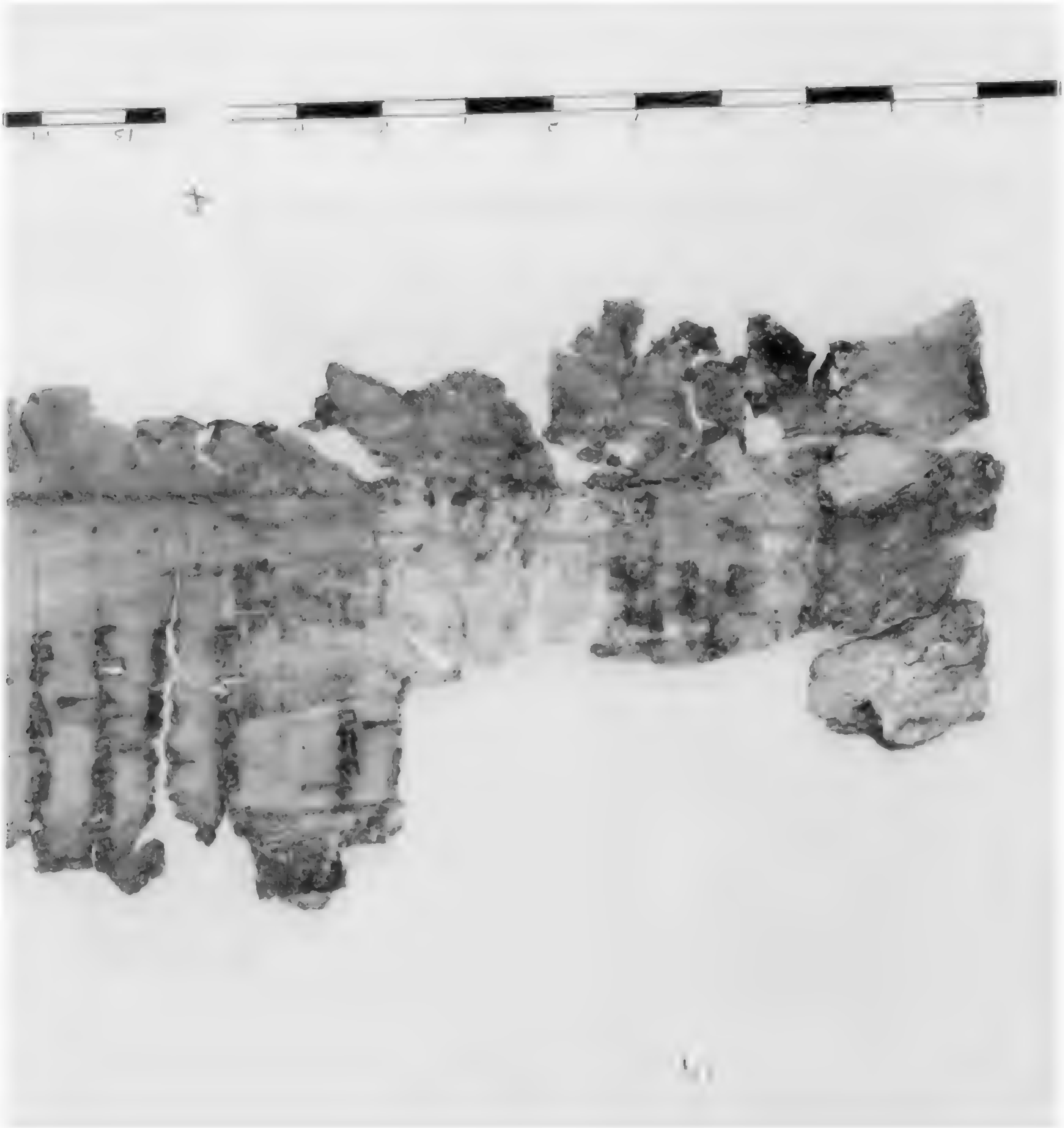

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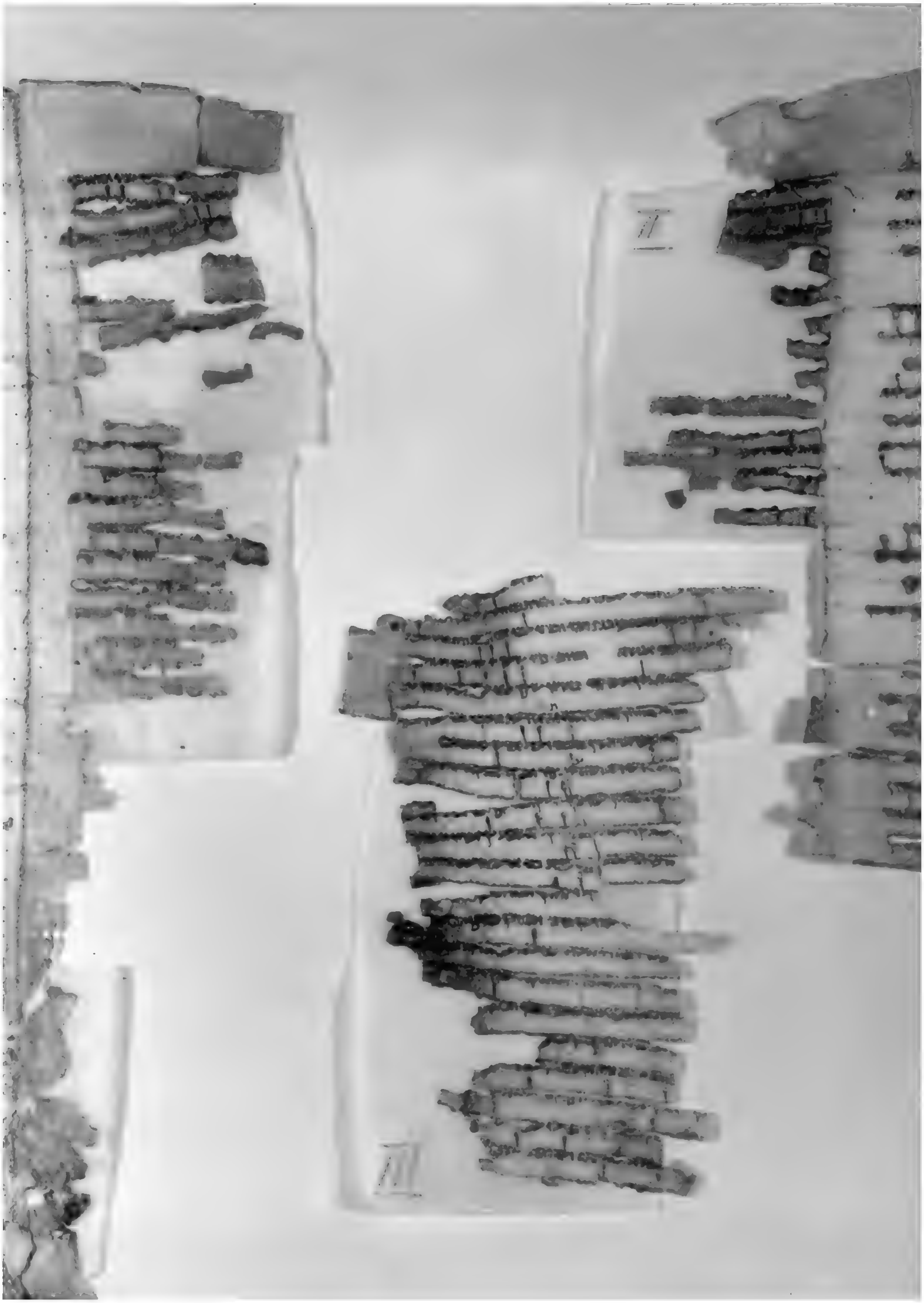

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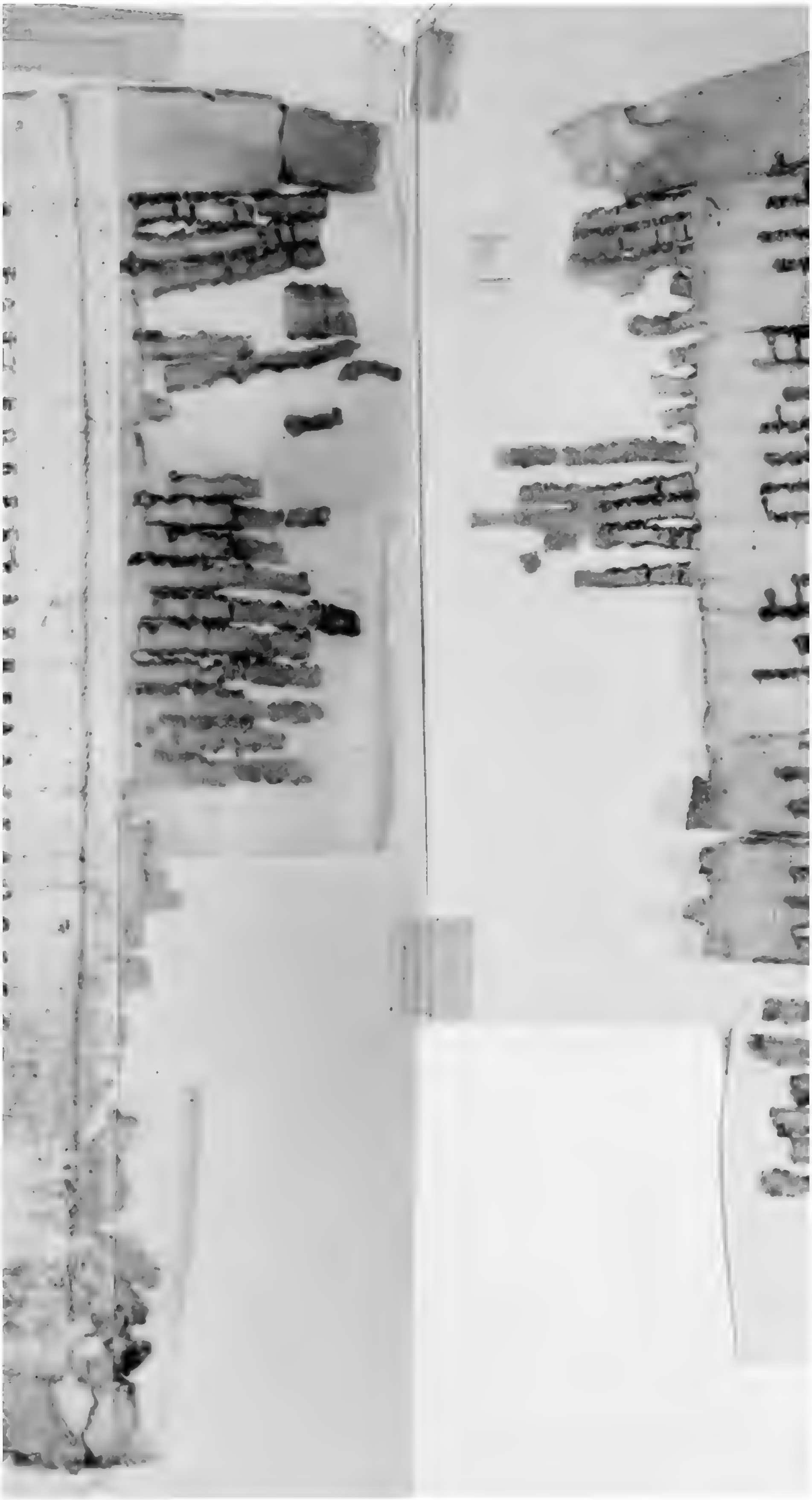

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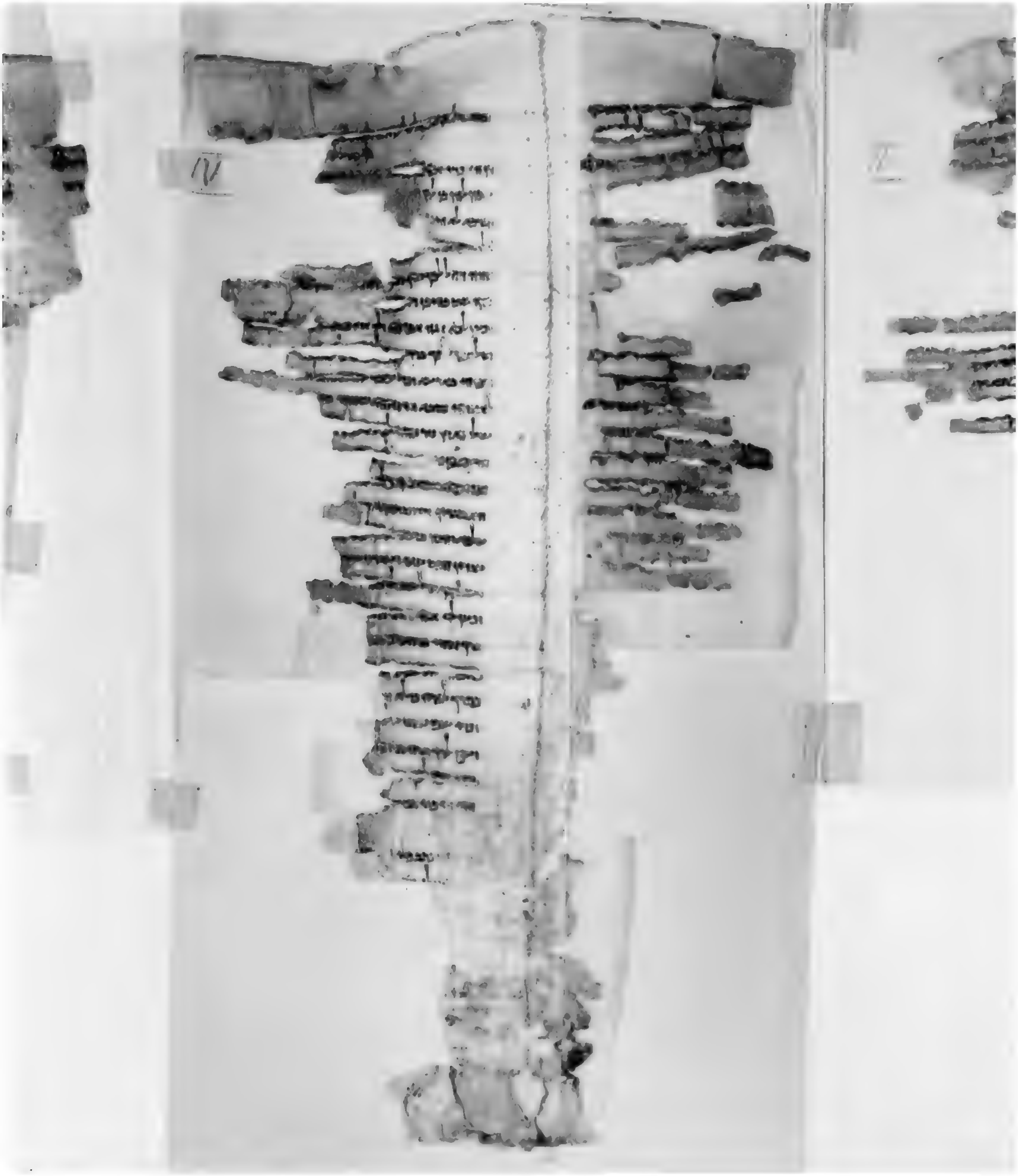

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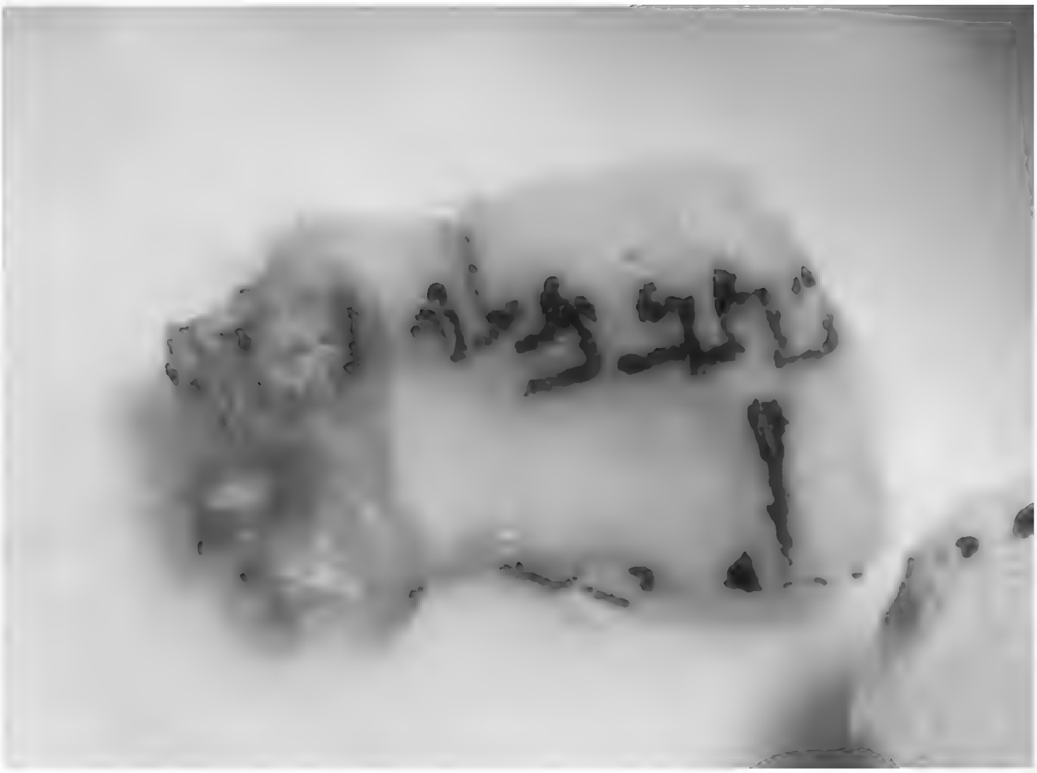

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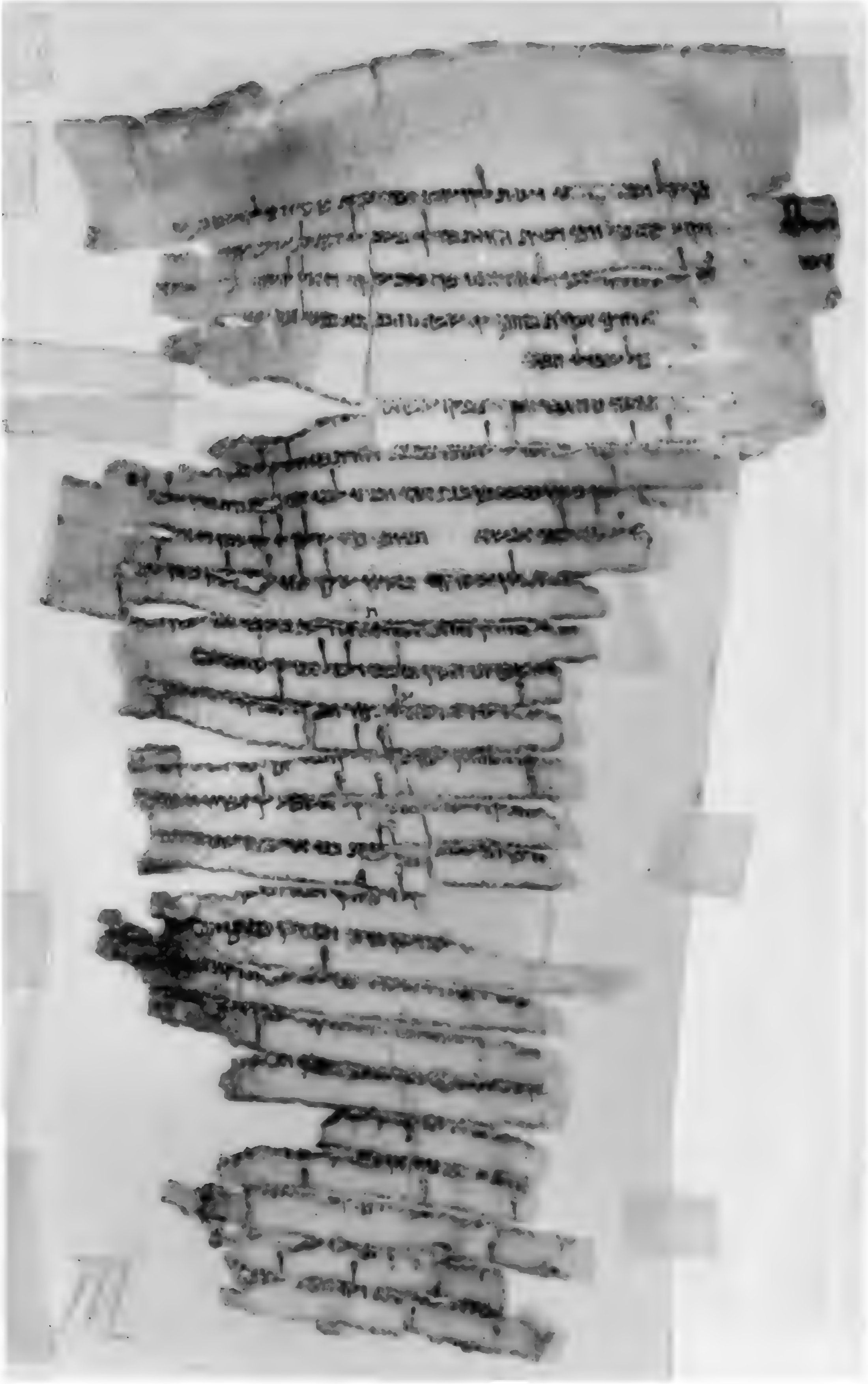

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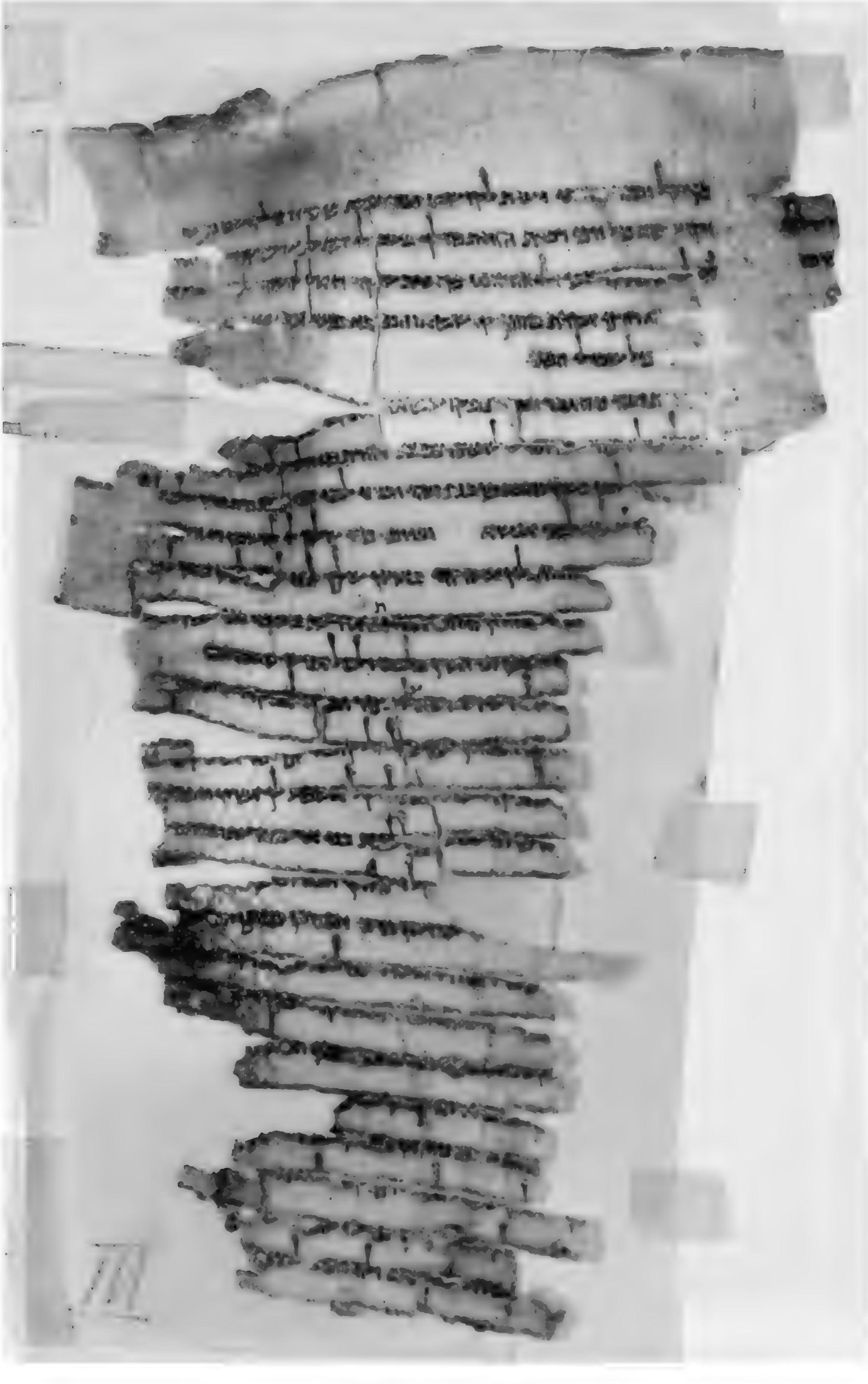

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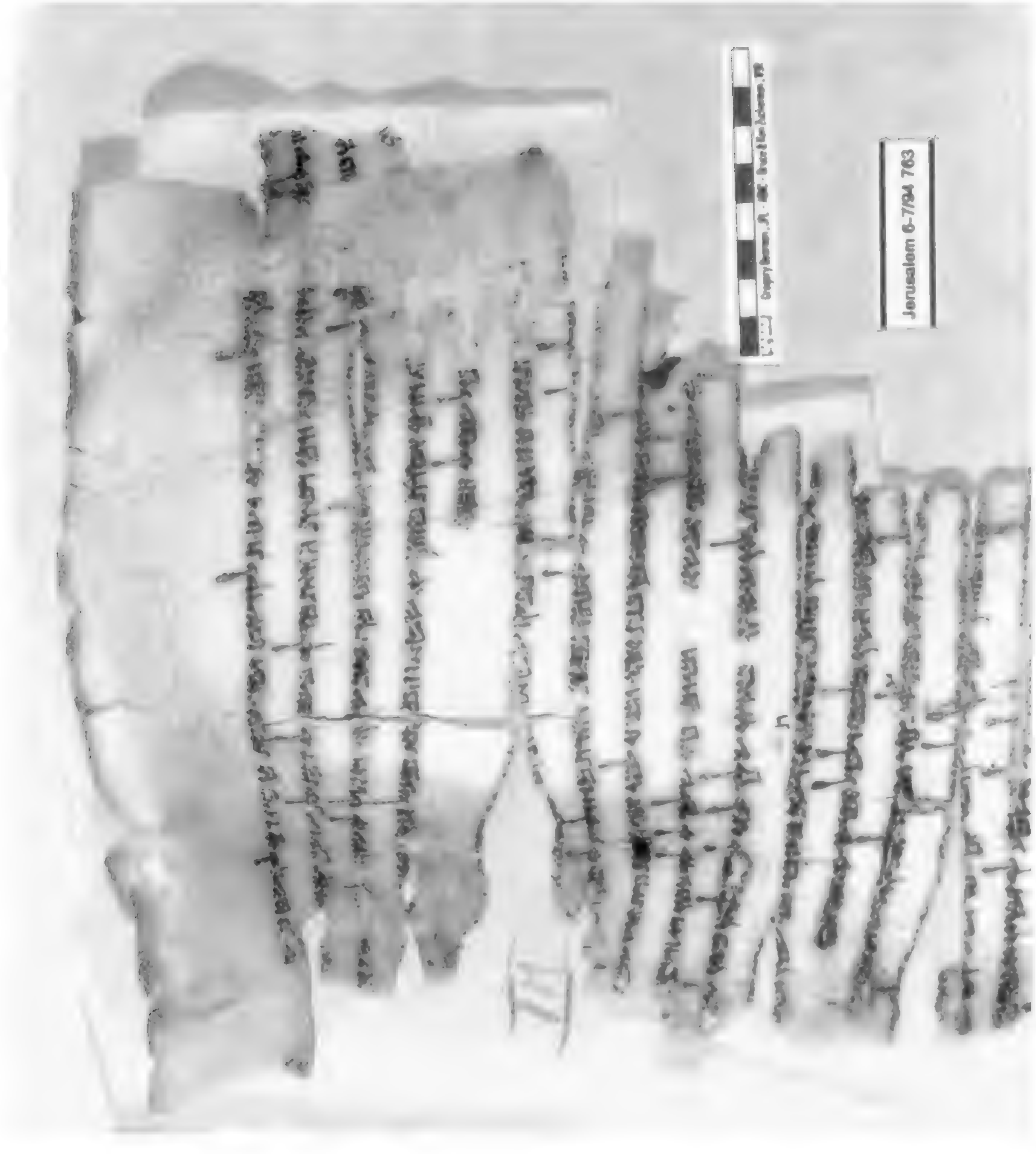
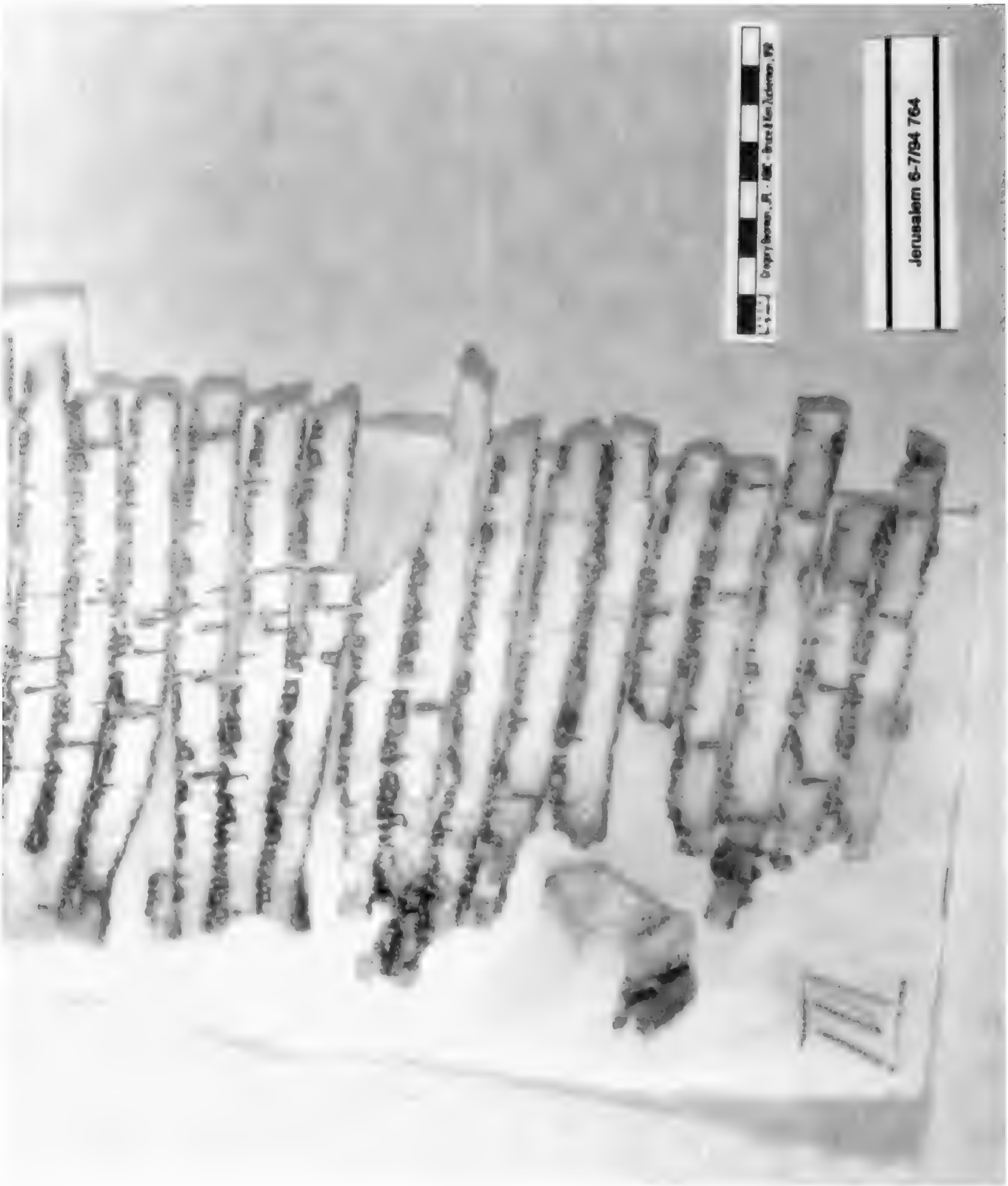
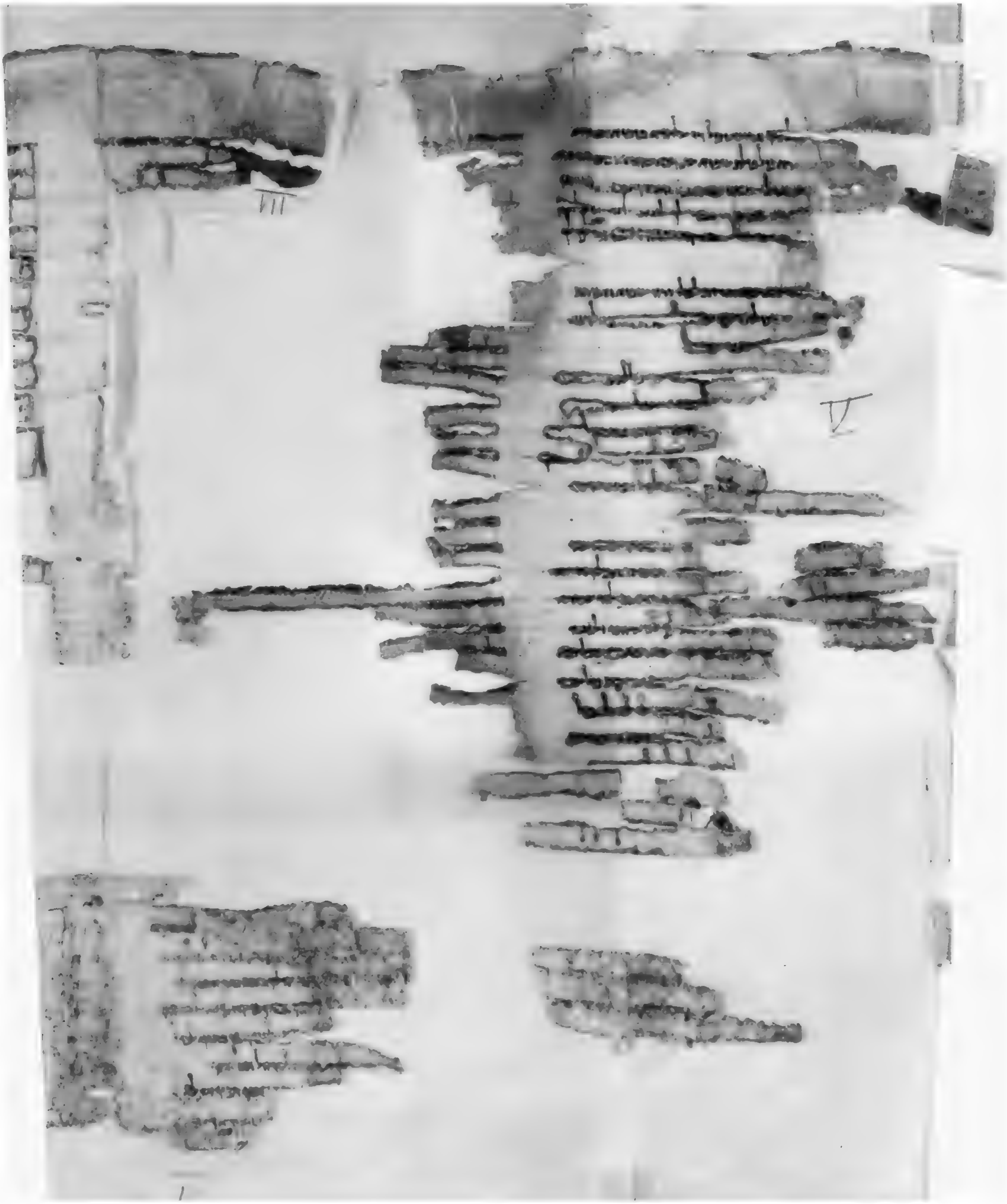

Jerusalem 6-7/94 763

BZ6T


Jerusalem 6-7/94 764

BZ6B



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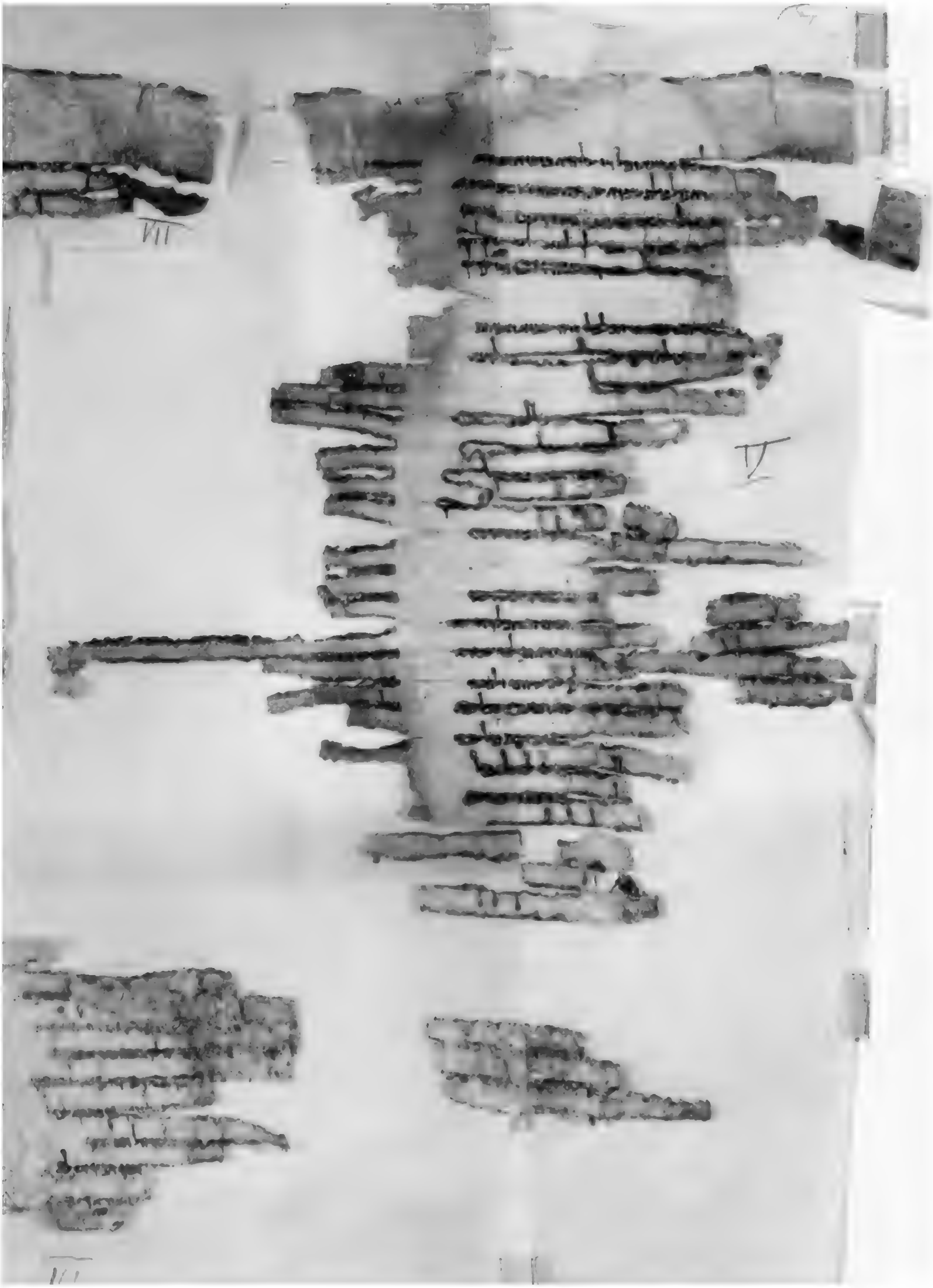

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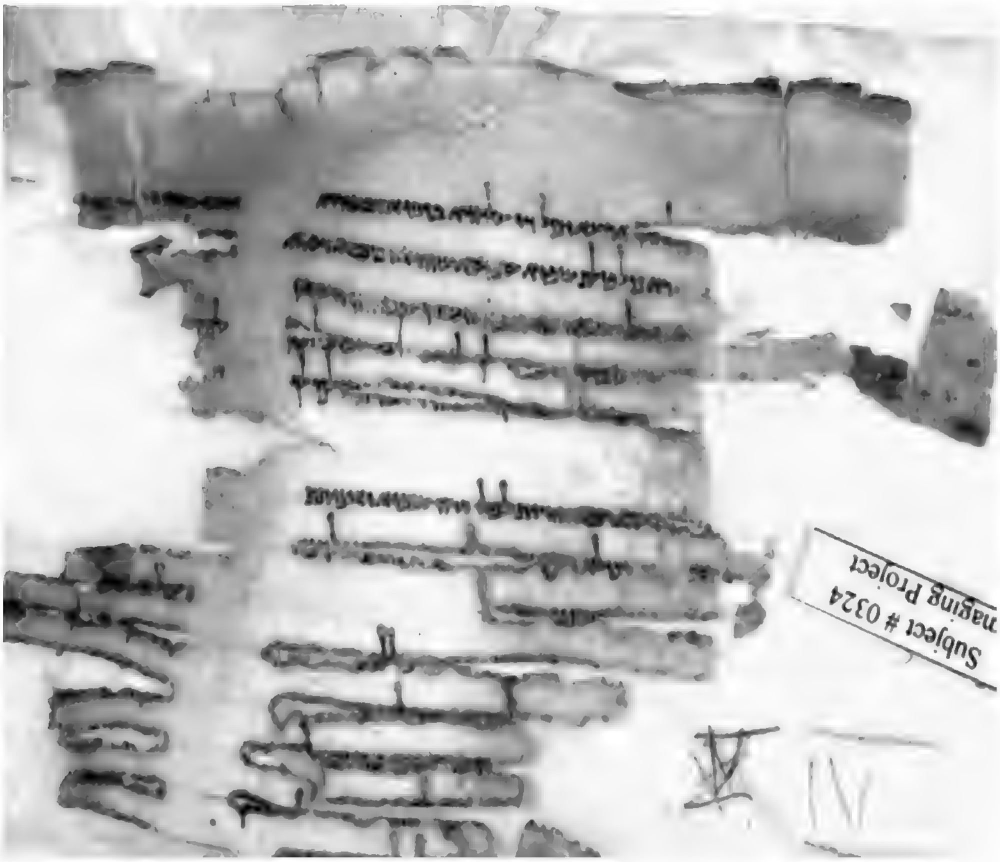
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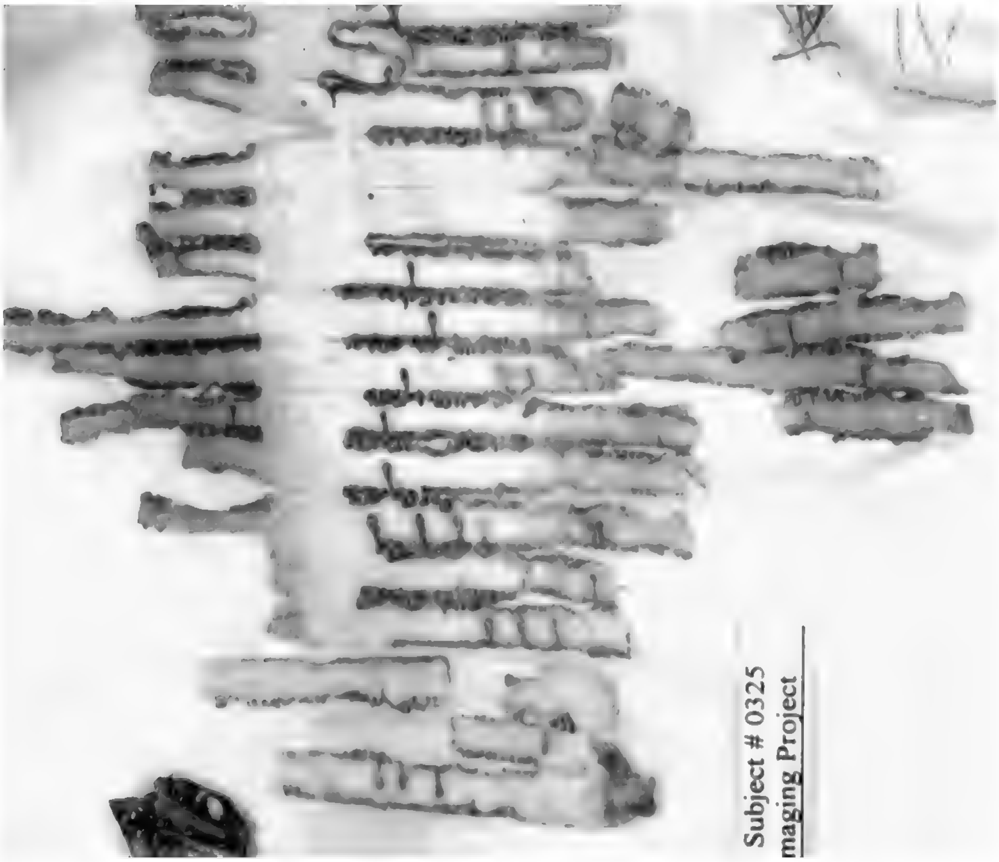
Bearman #0324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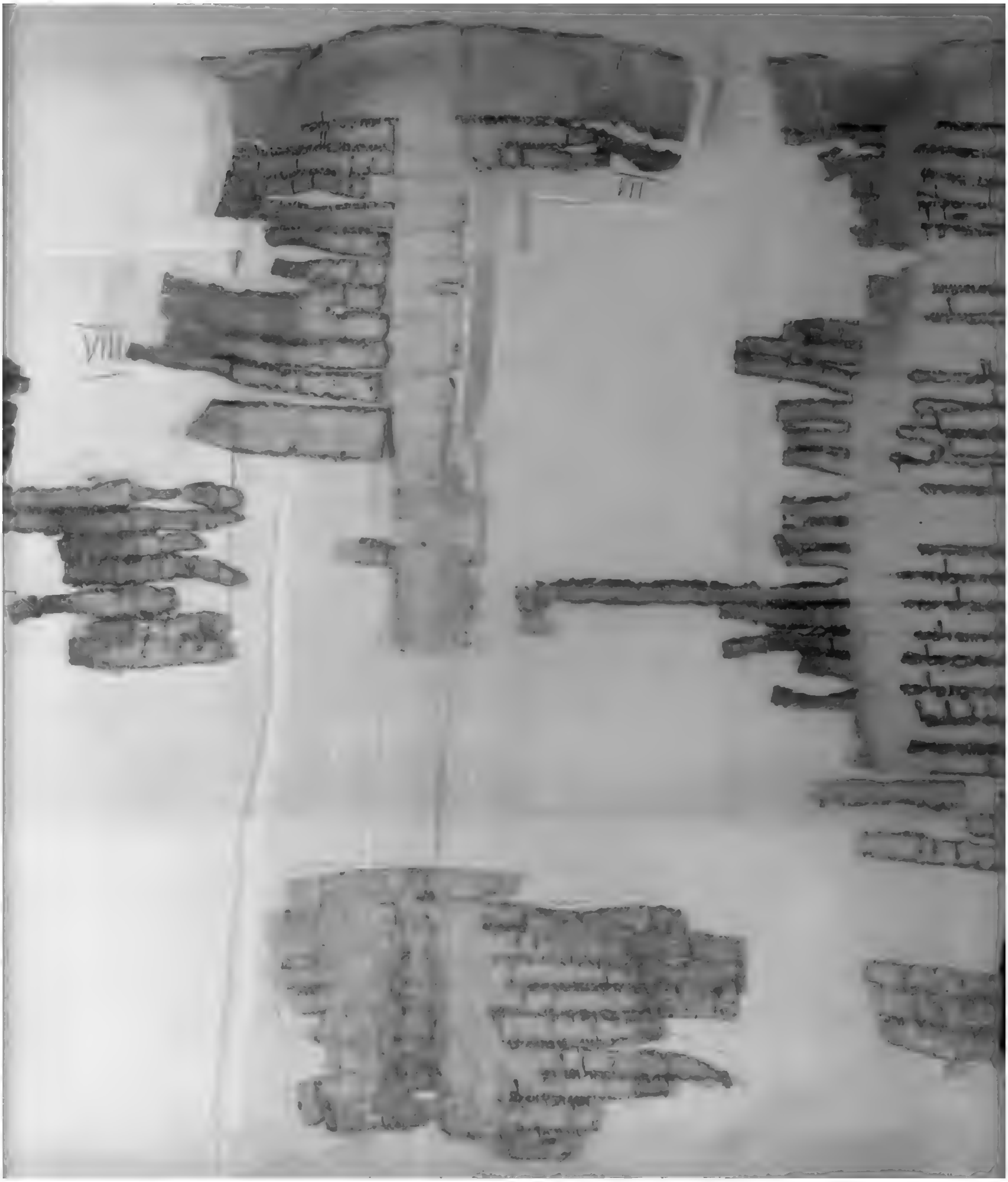
maging Project

Bearman #0325



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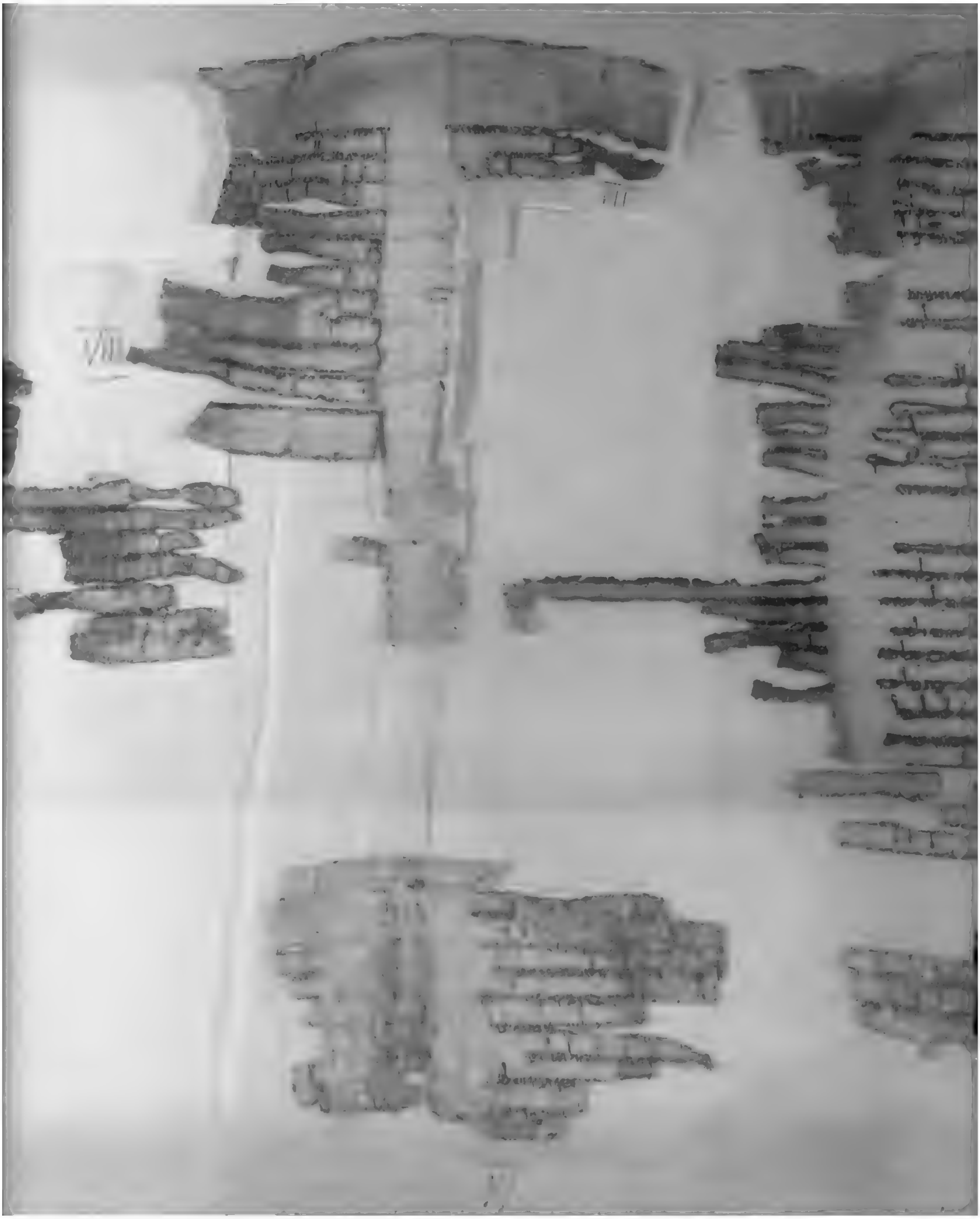

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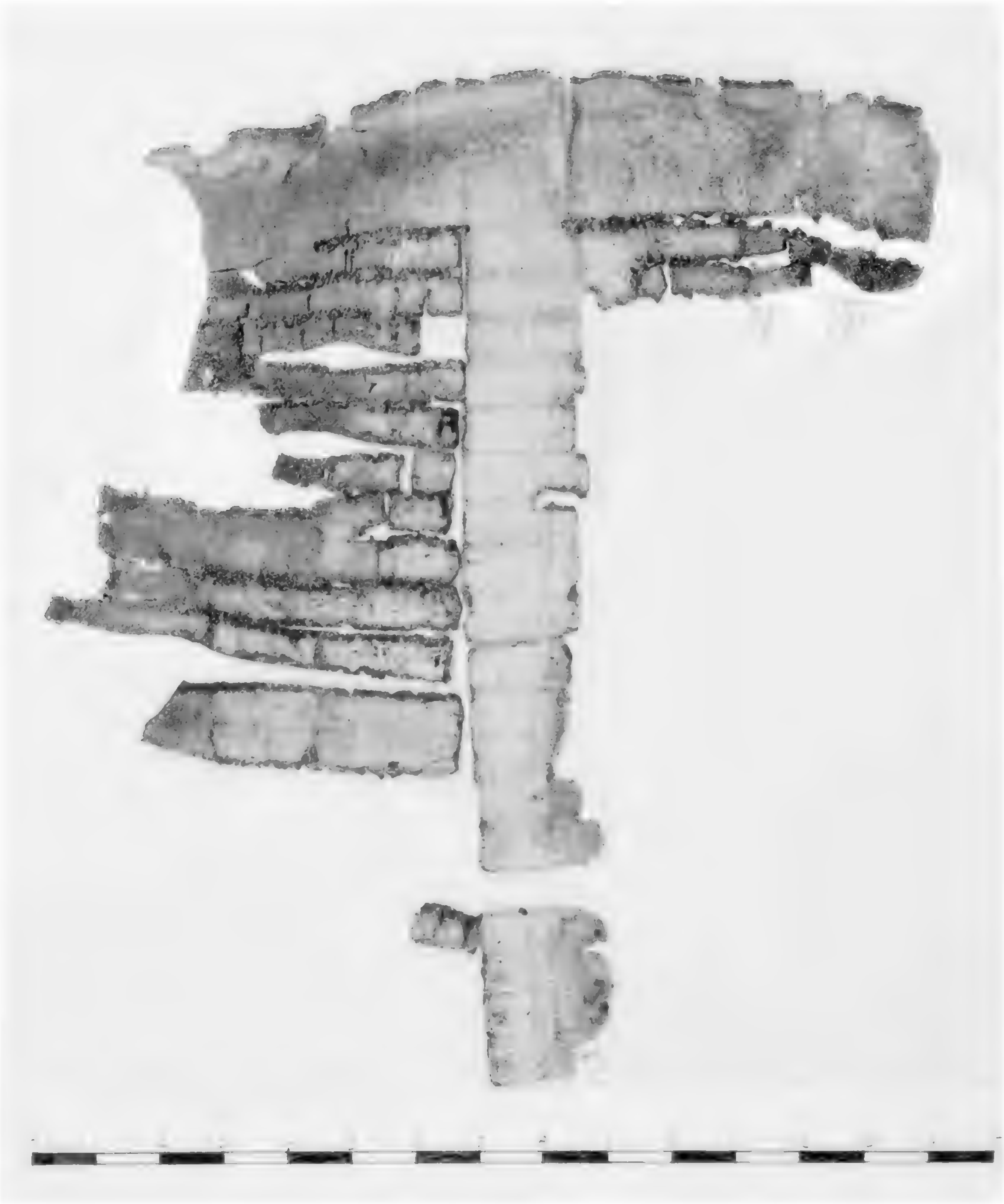
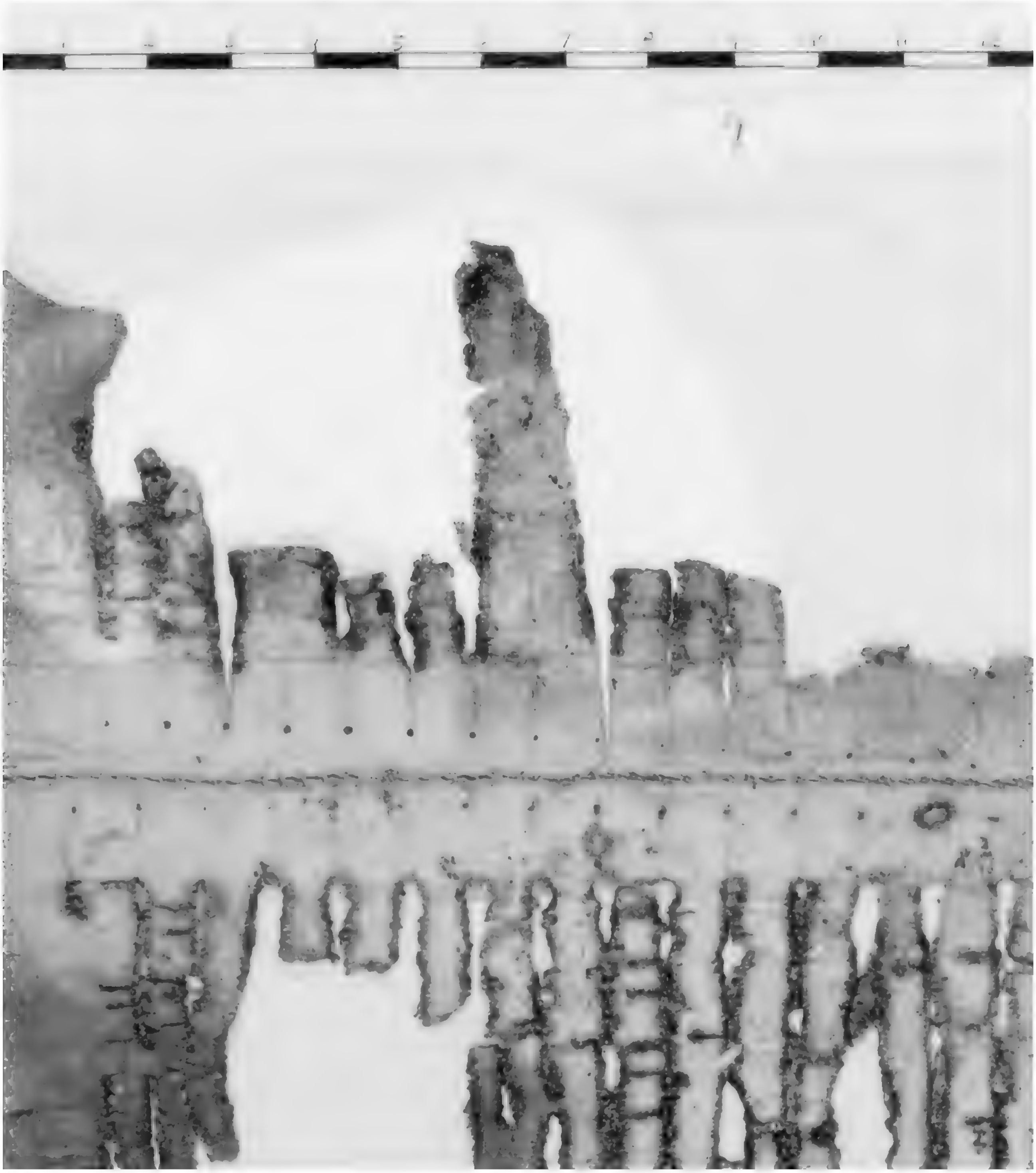


BZ8-9



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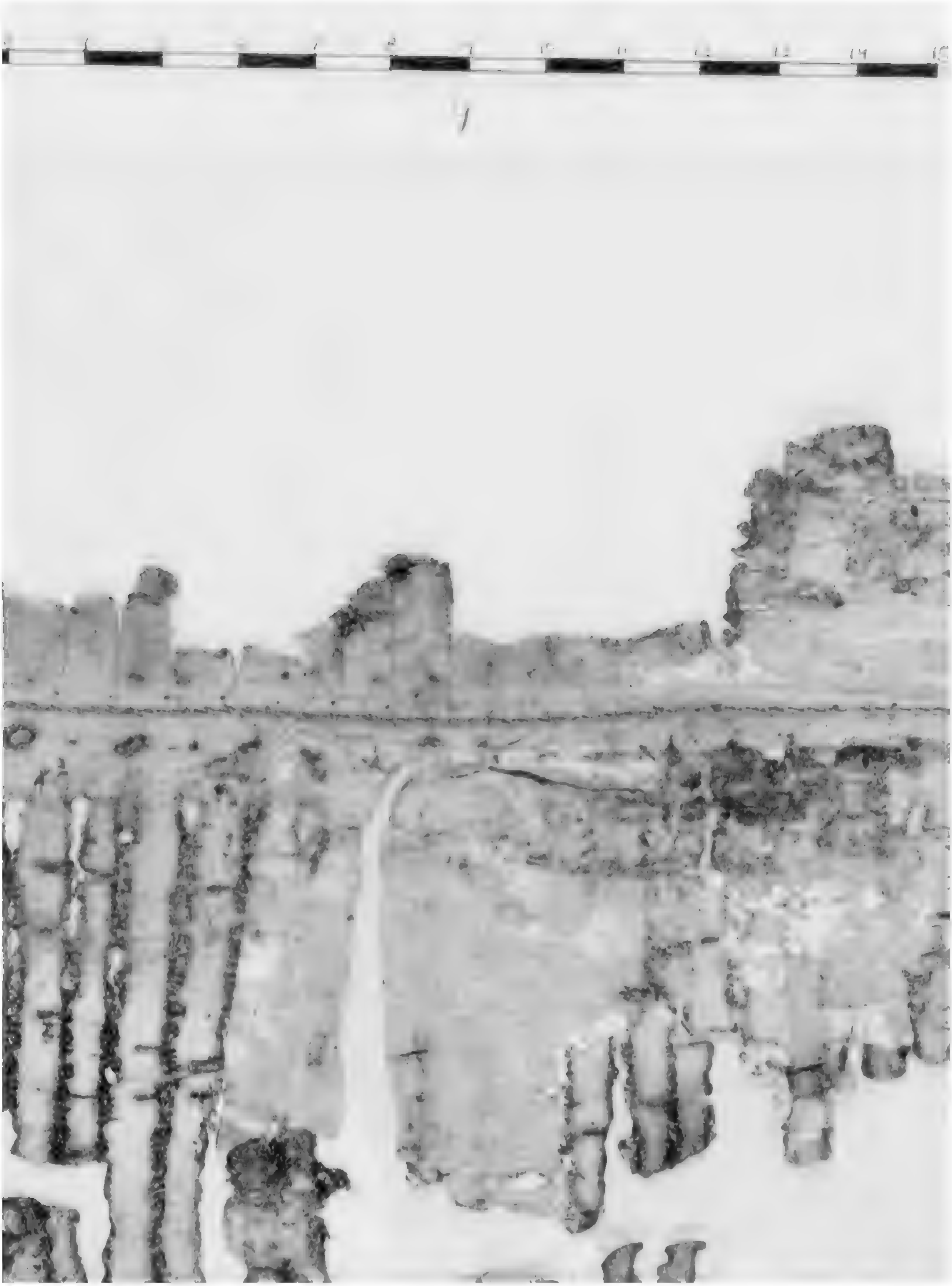

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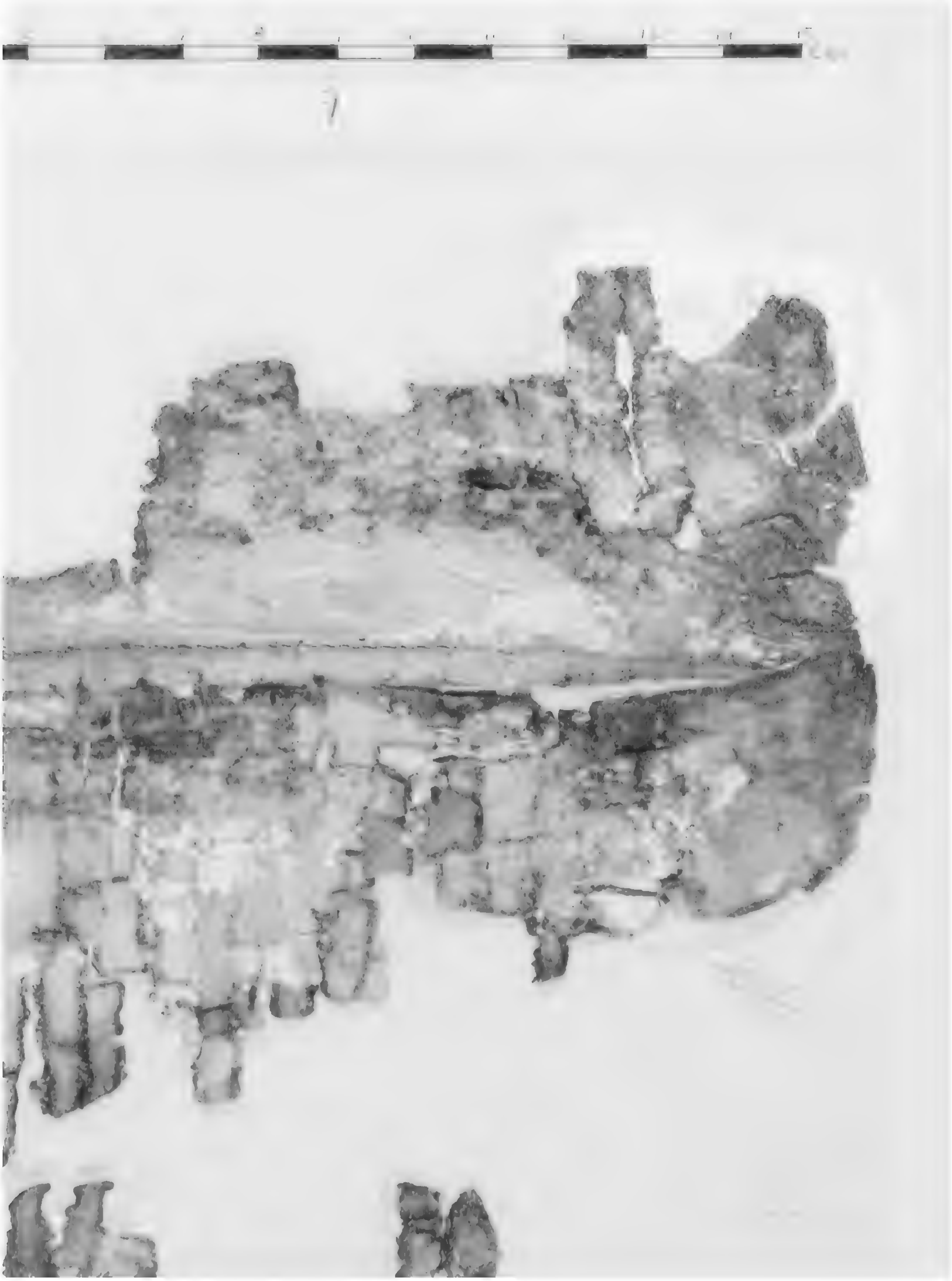

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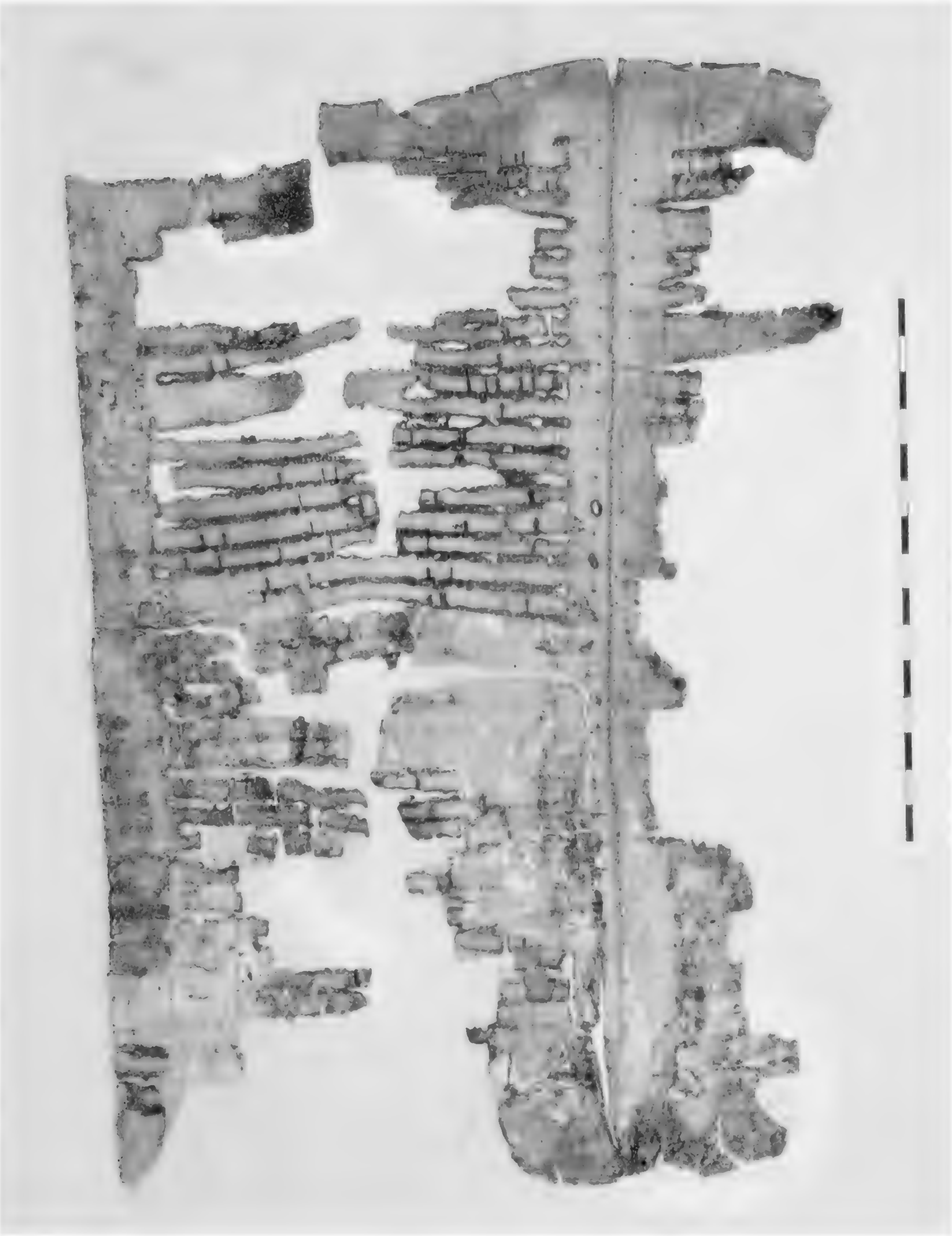
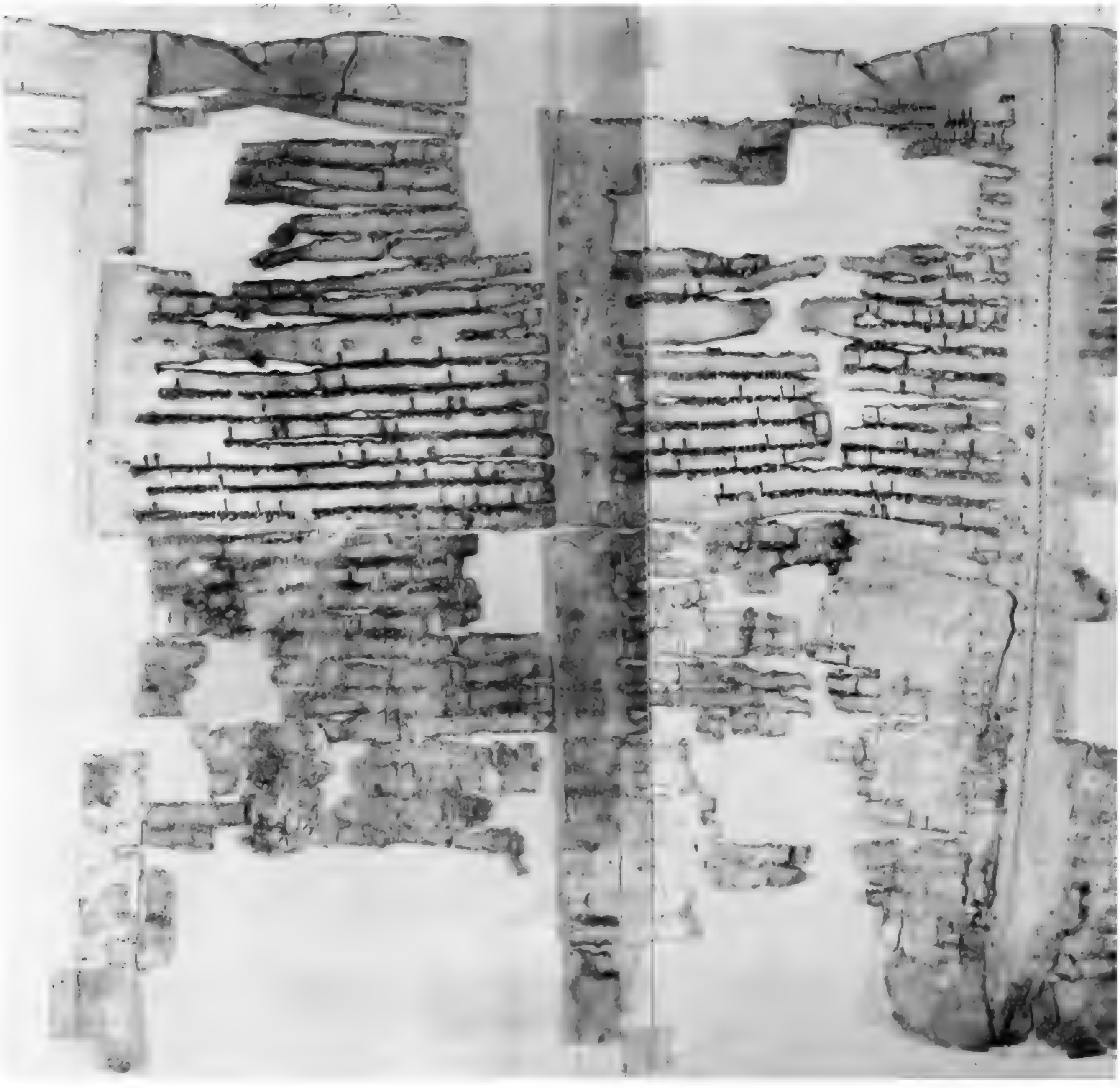


BZ9-10



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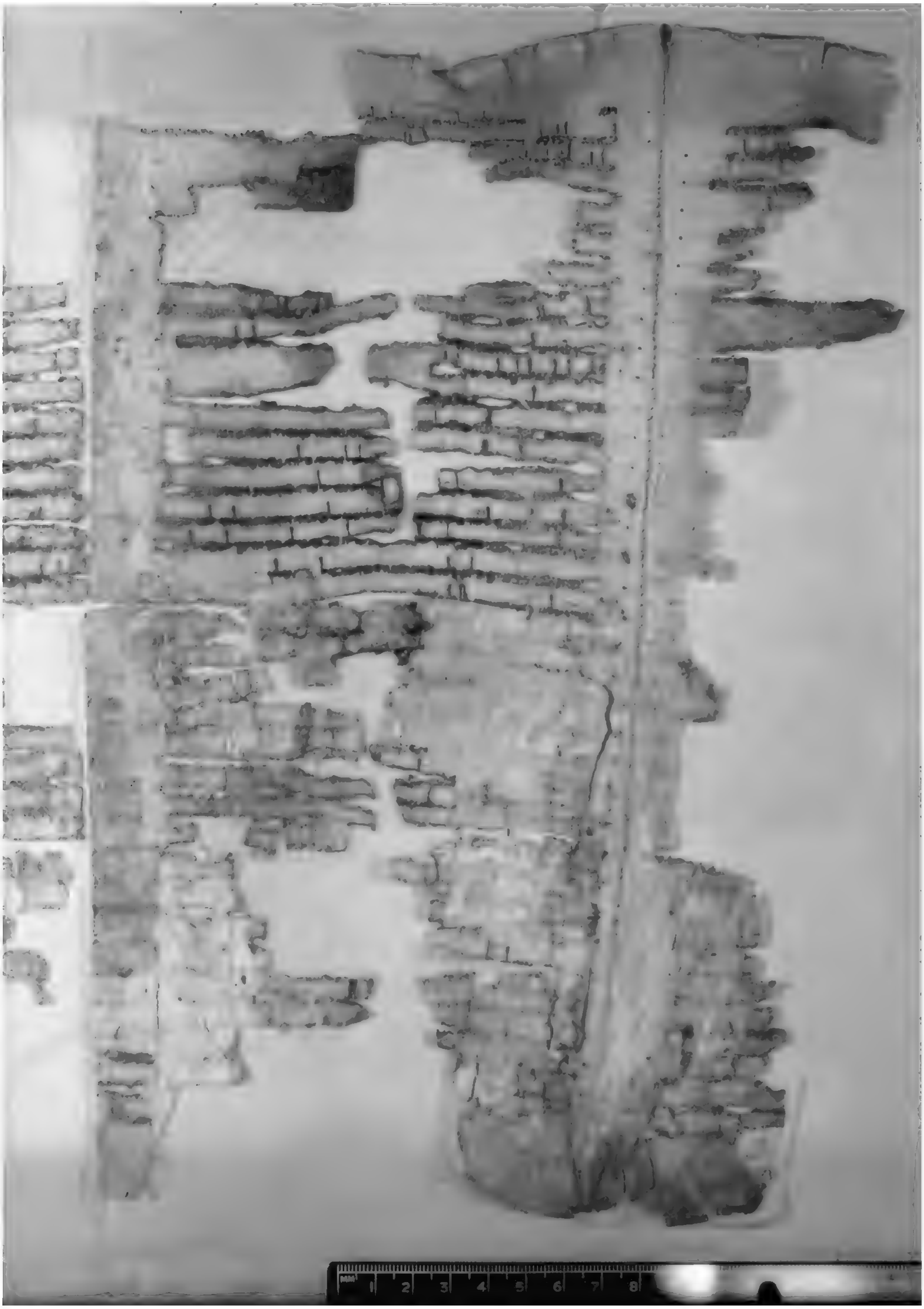

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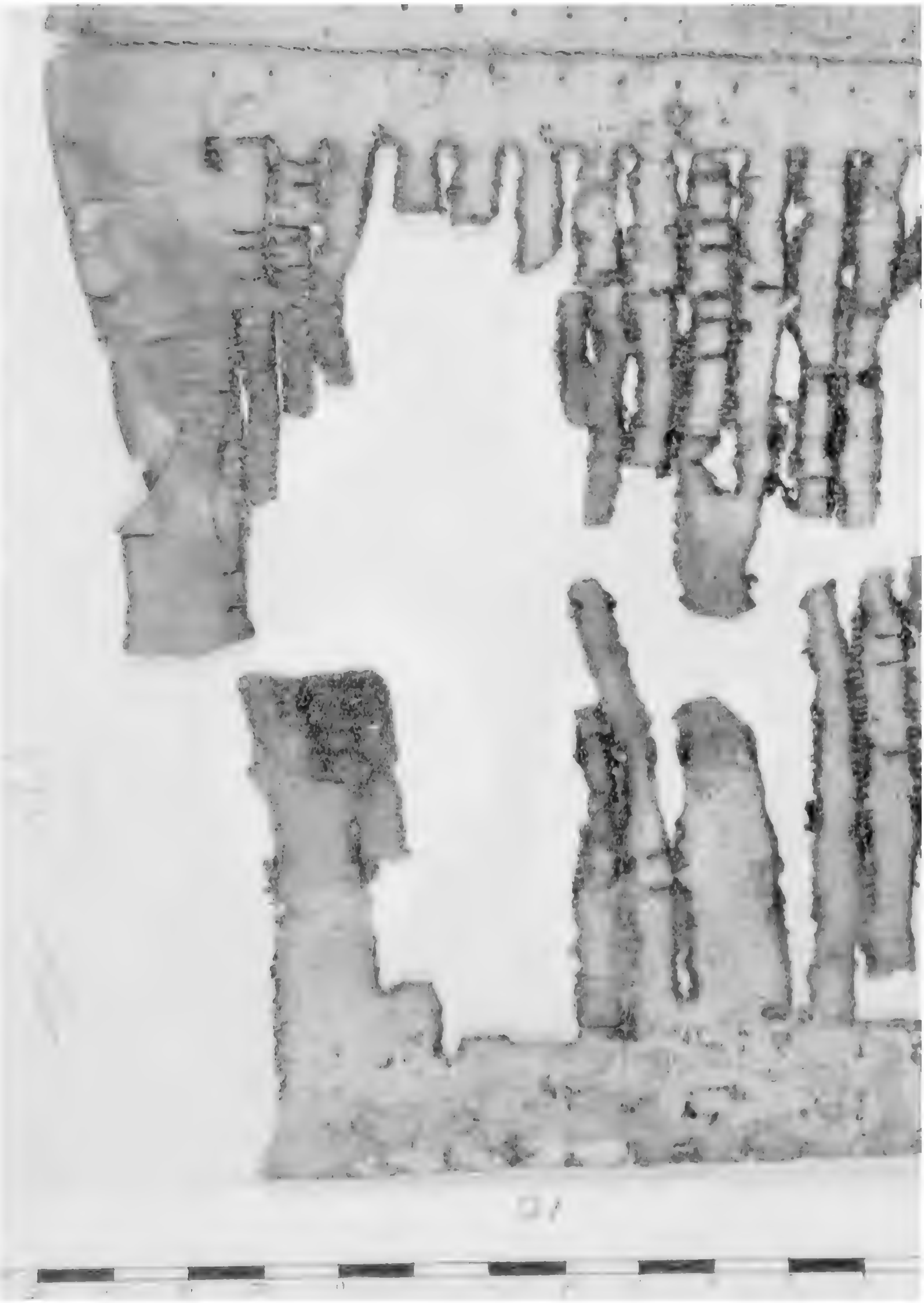

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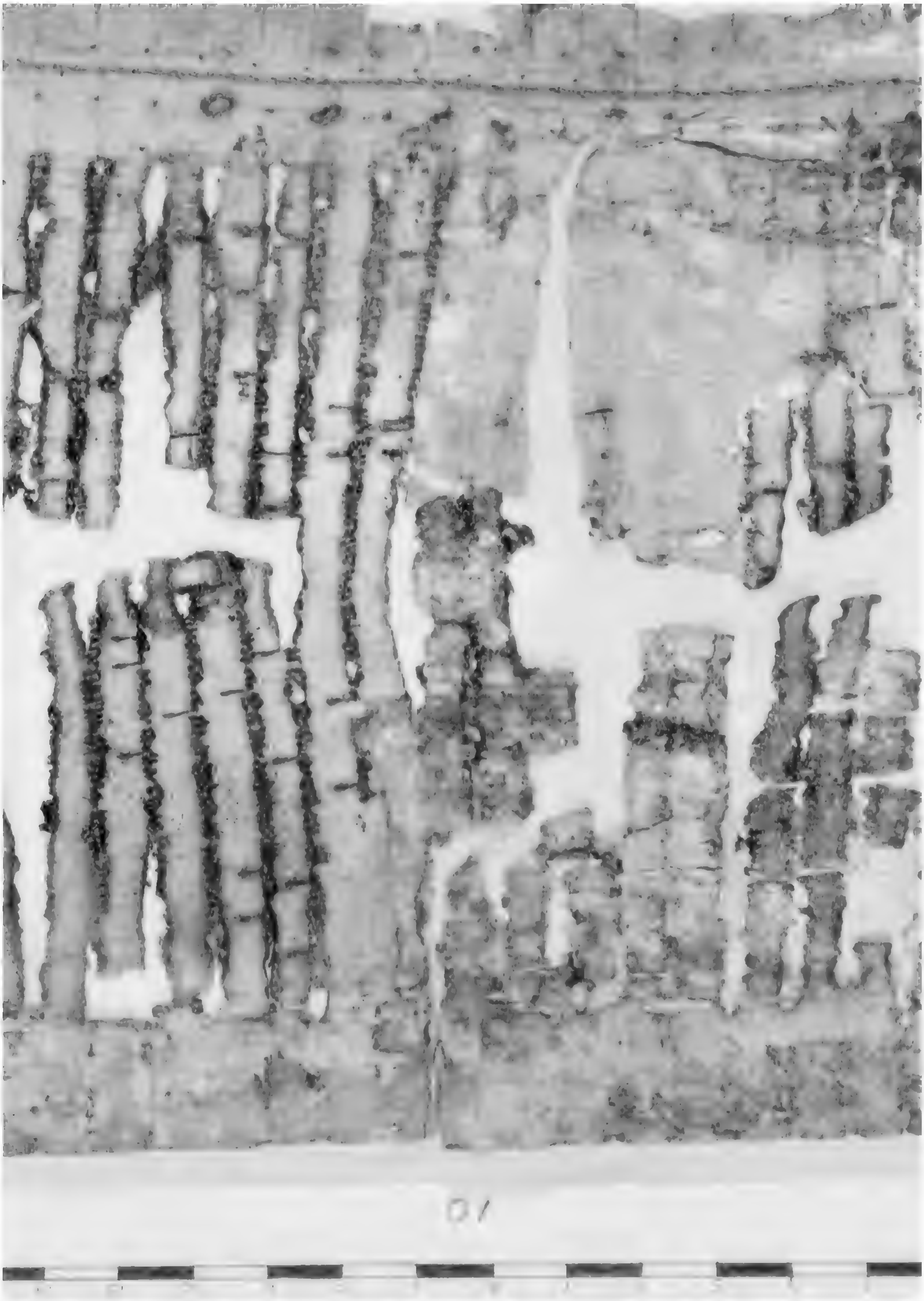

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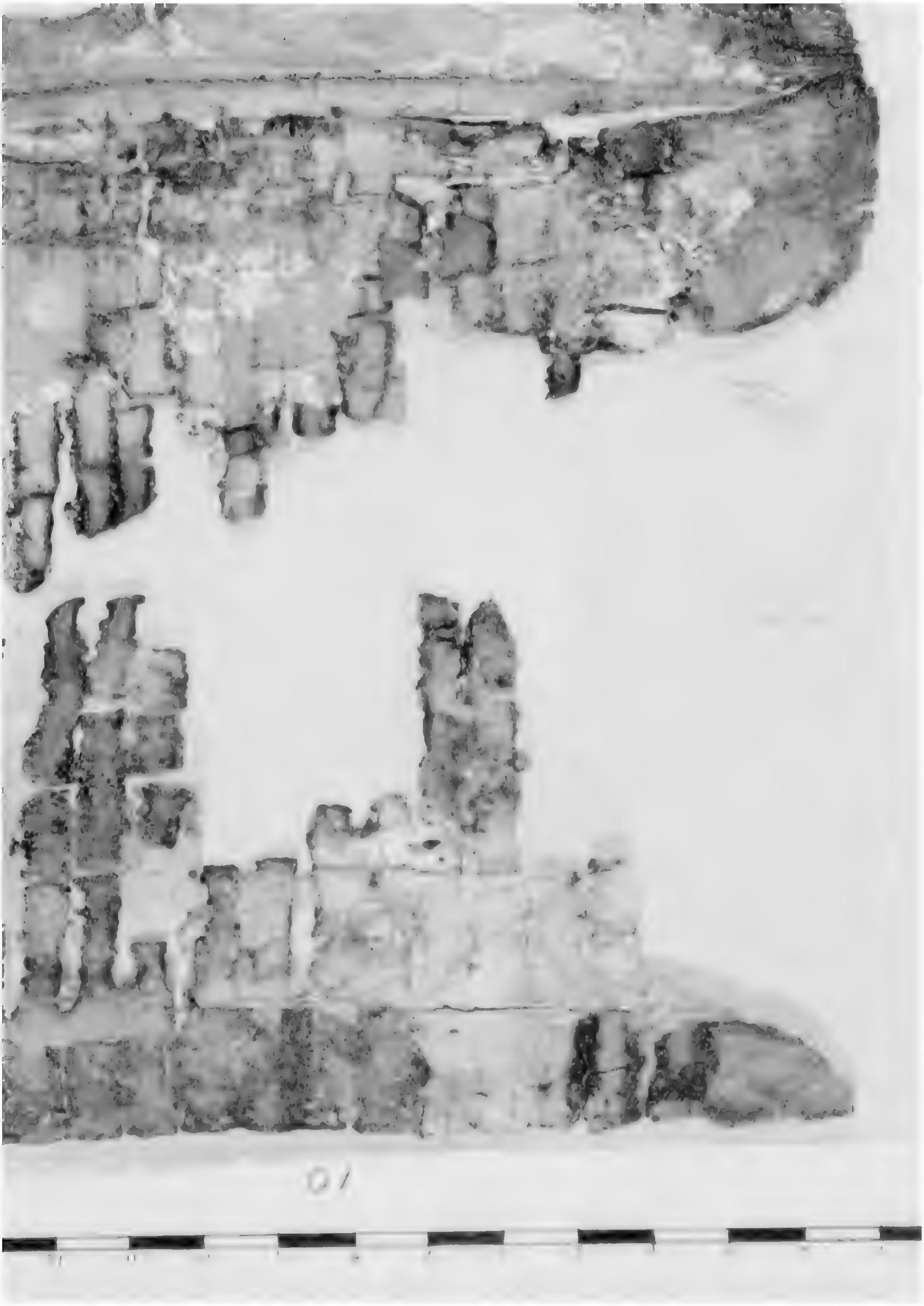

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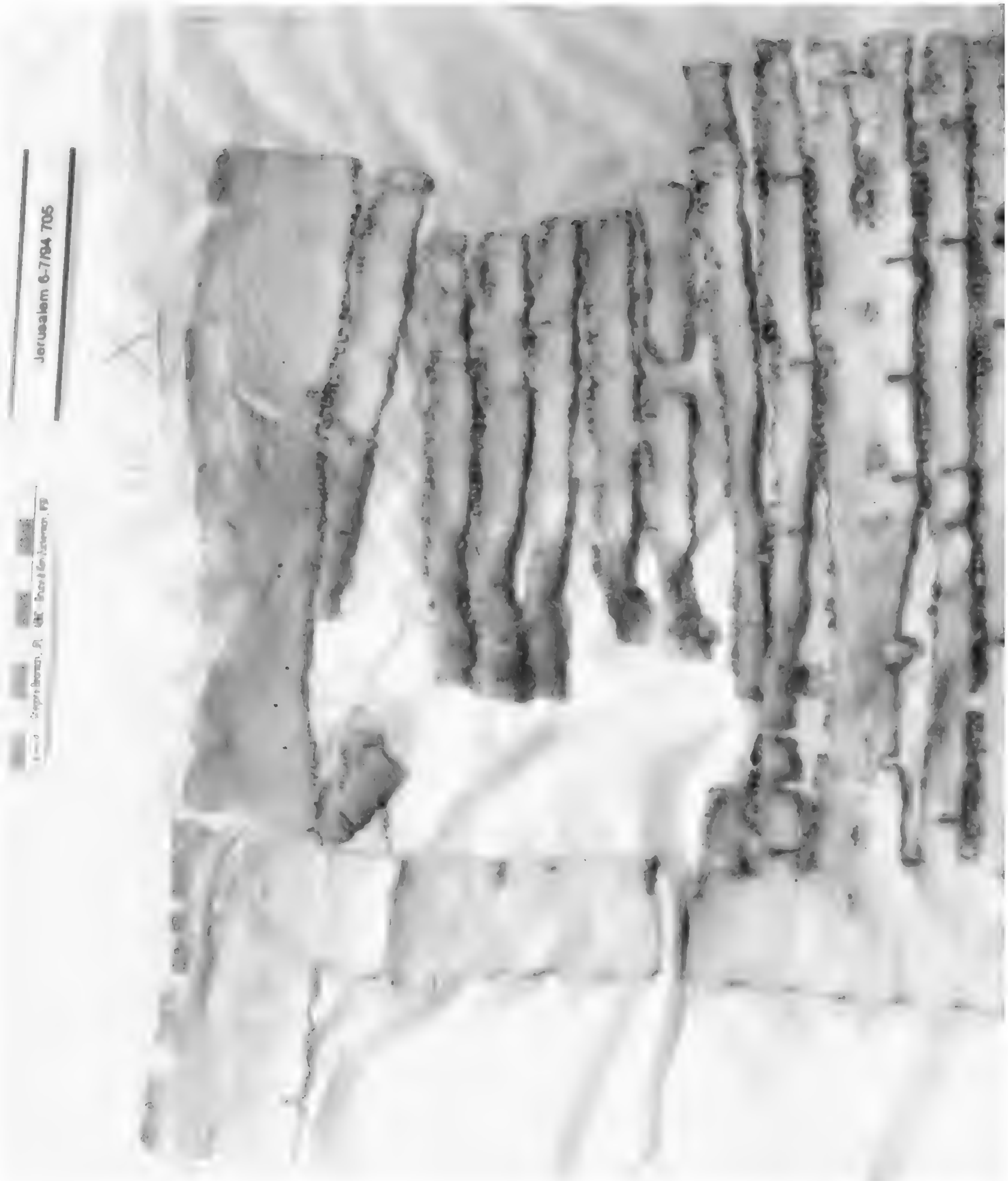
Jerusalem 6-7/94 705

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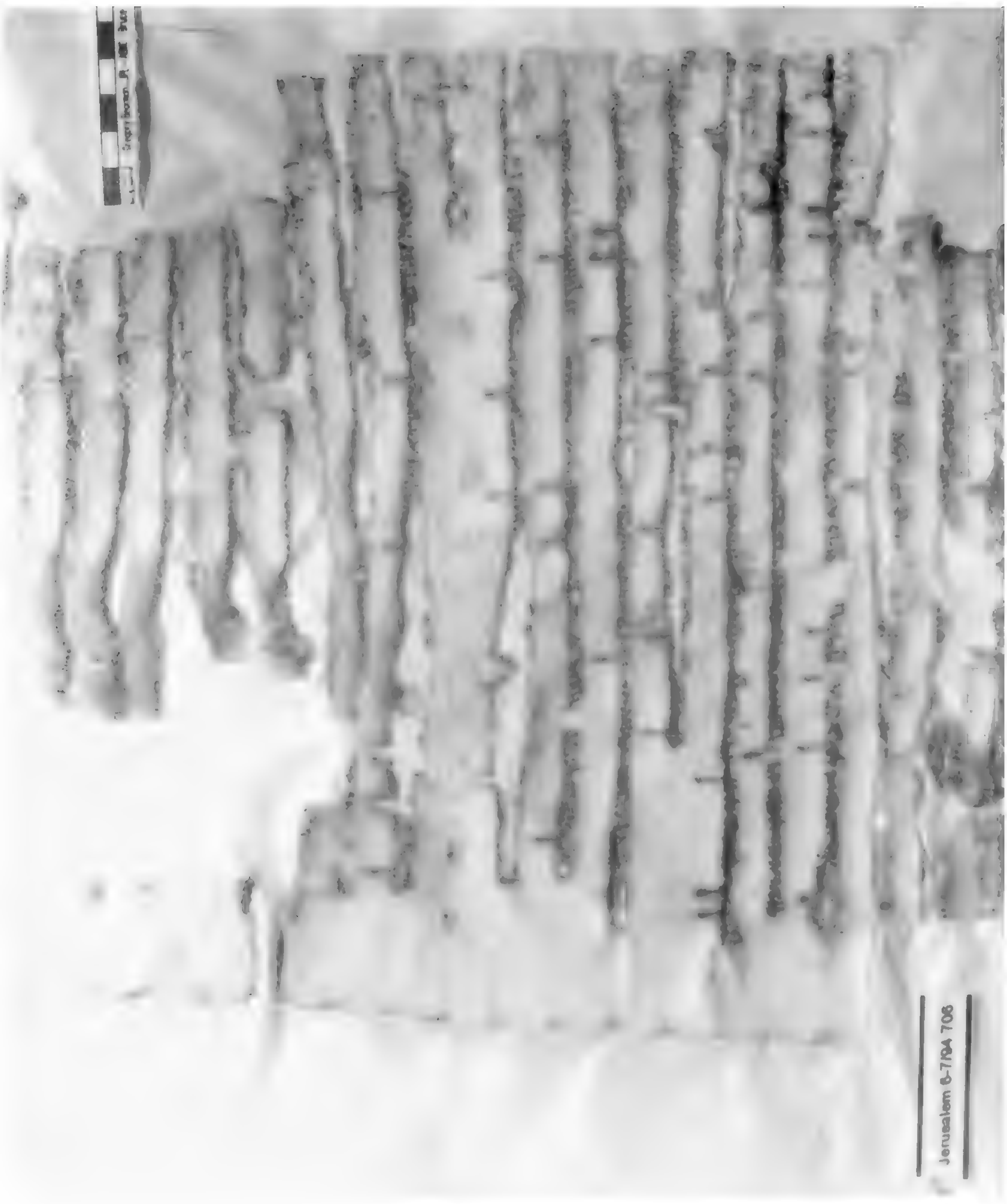
Jerusalem 6-7/94 708

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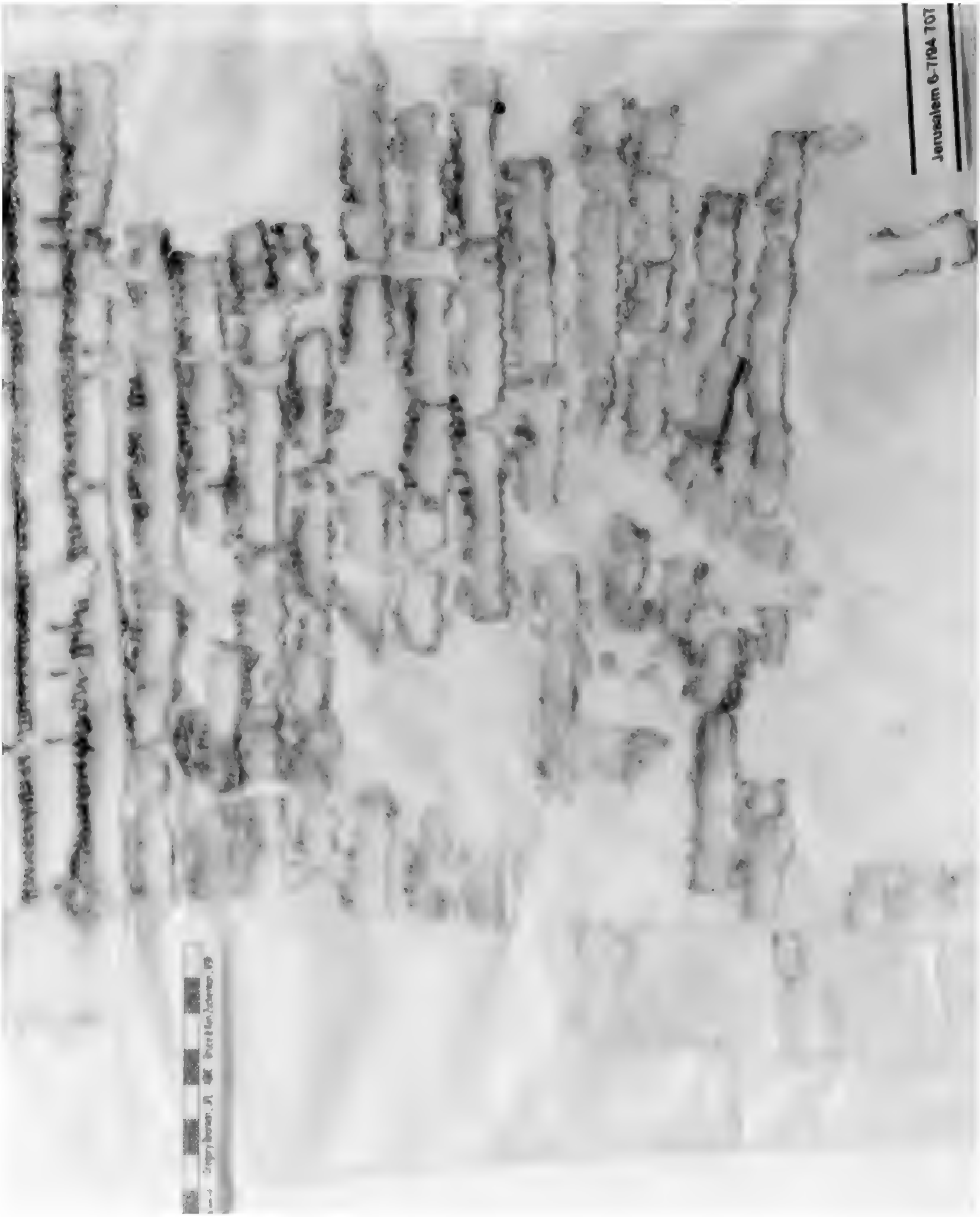
Jerusalem 6-7/94 TOT

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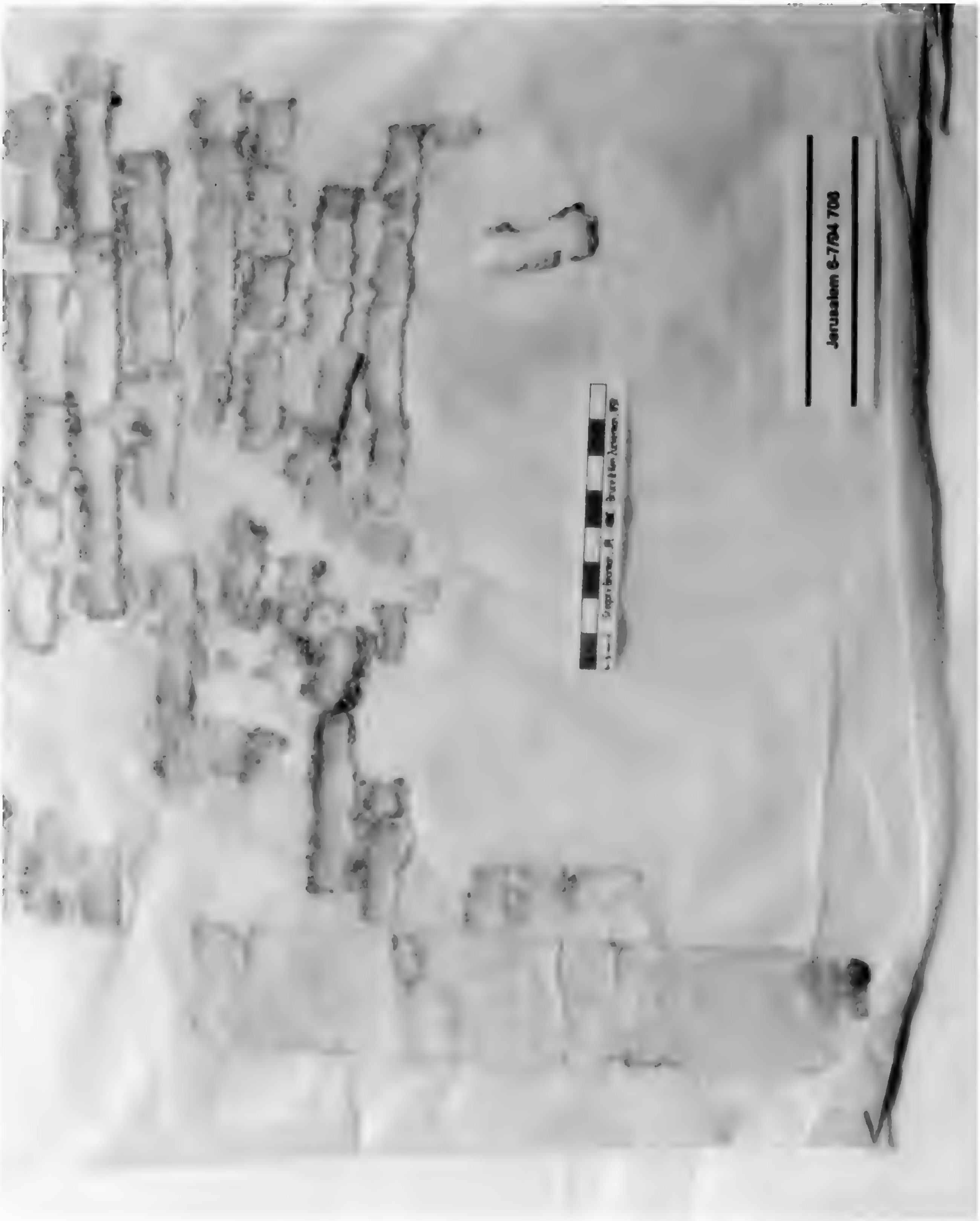
Jerusalem 6-7/94 708

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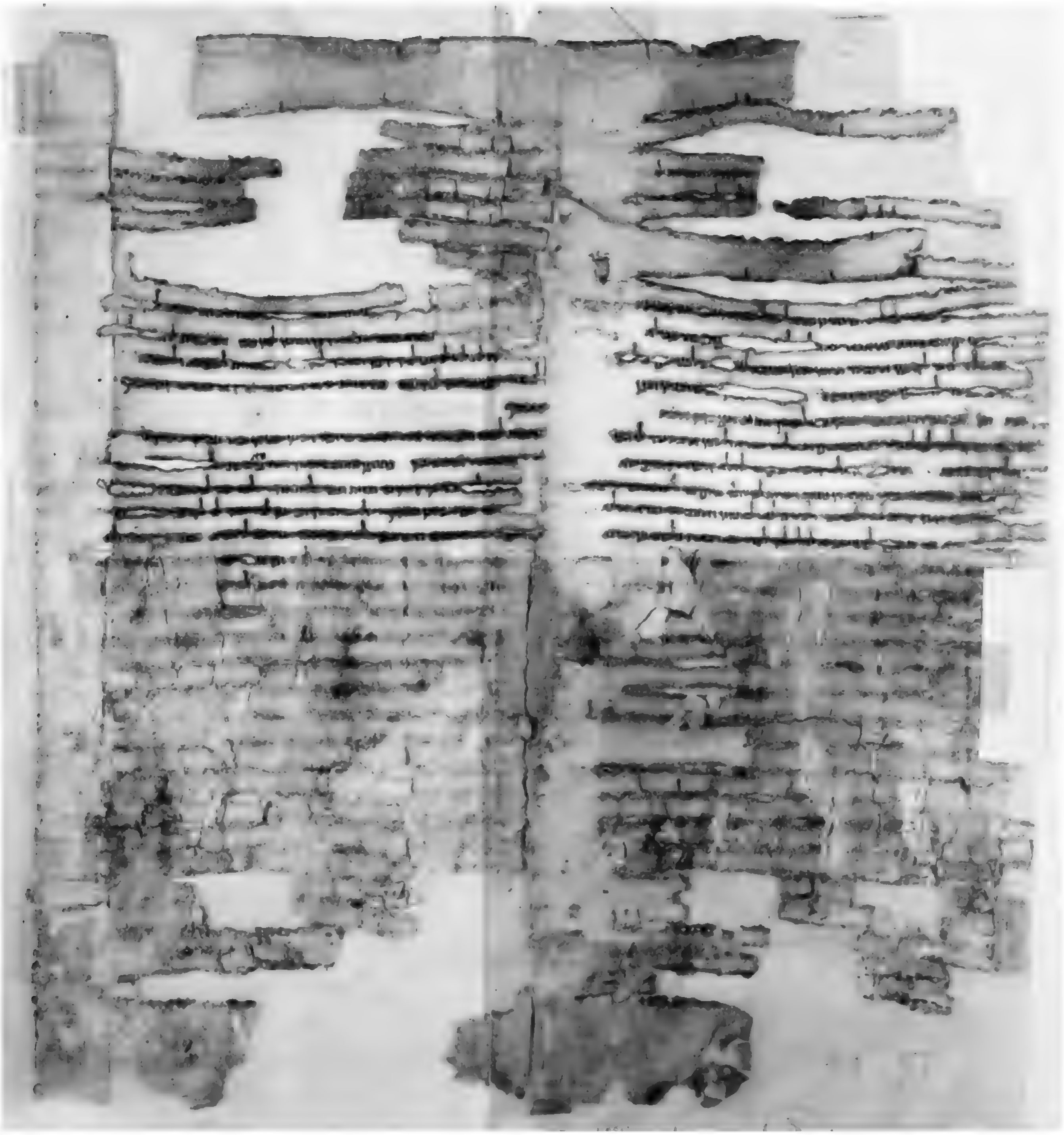
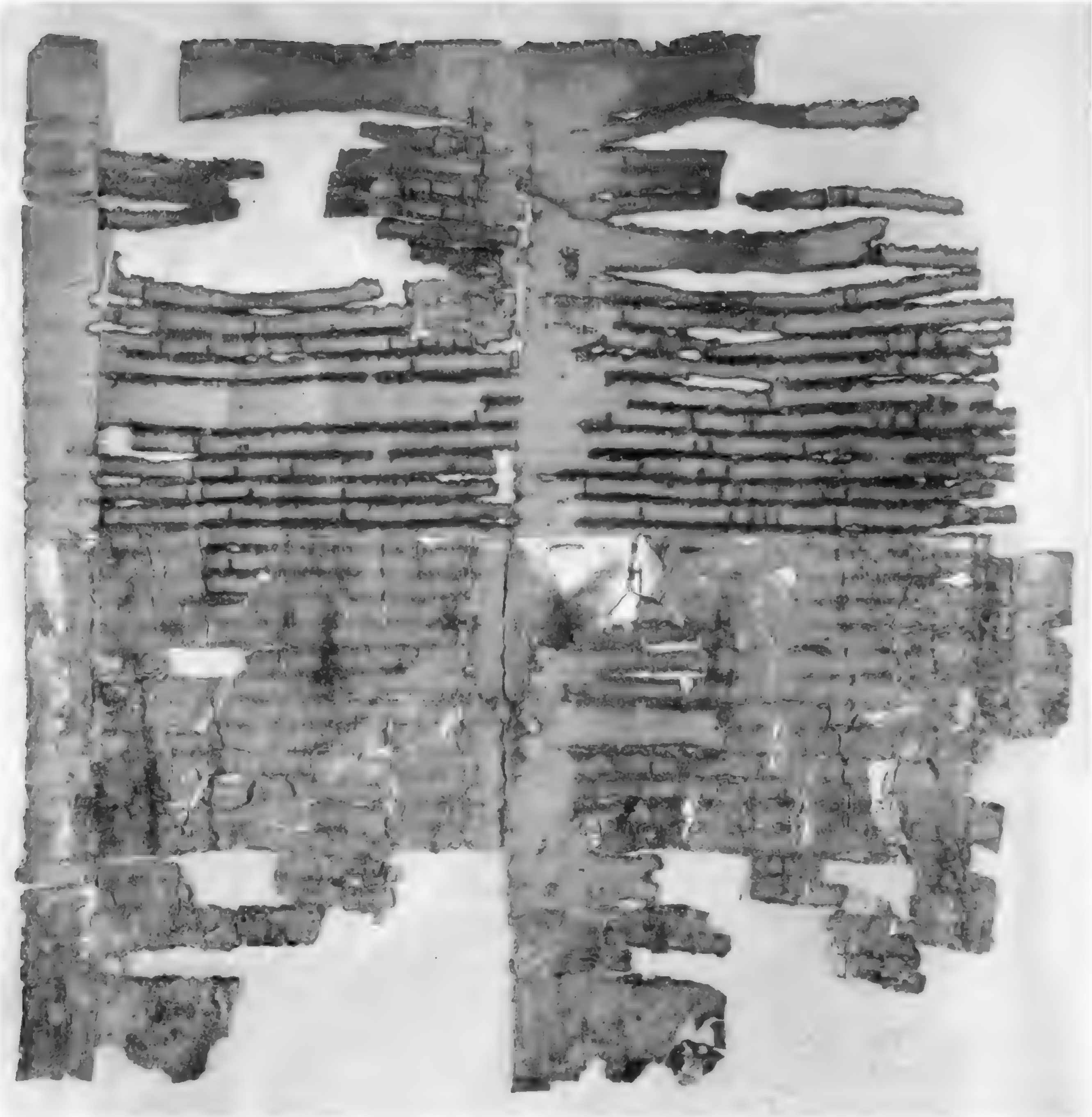


IMneg. x 86-4449



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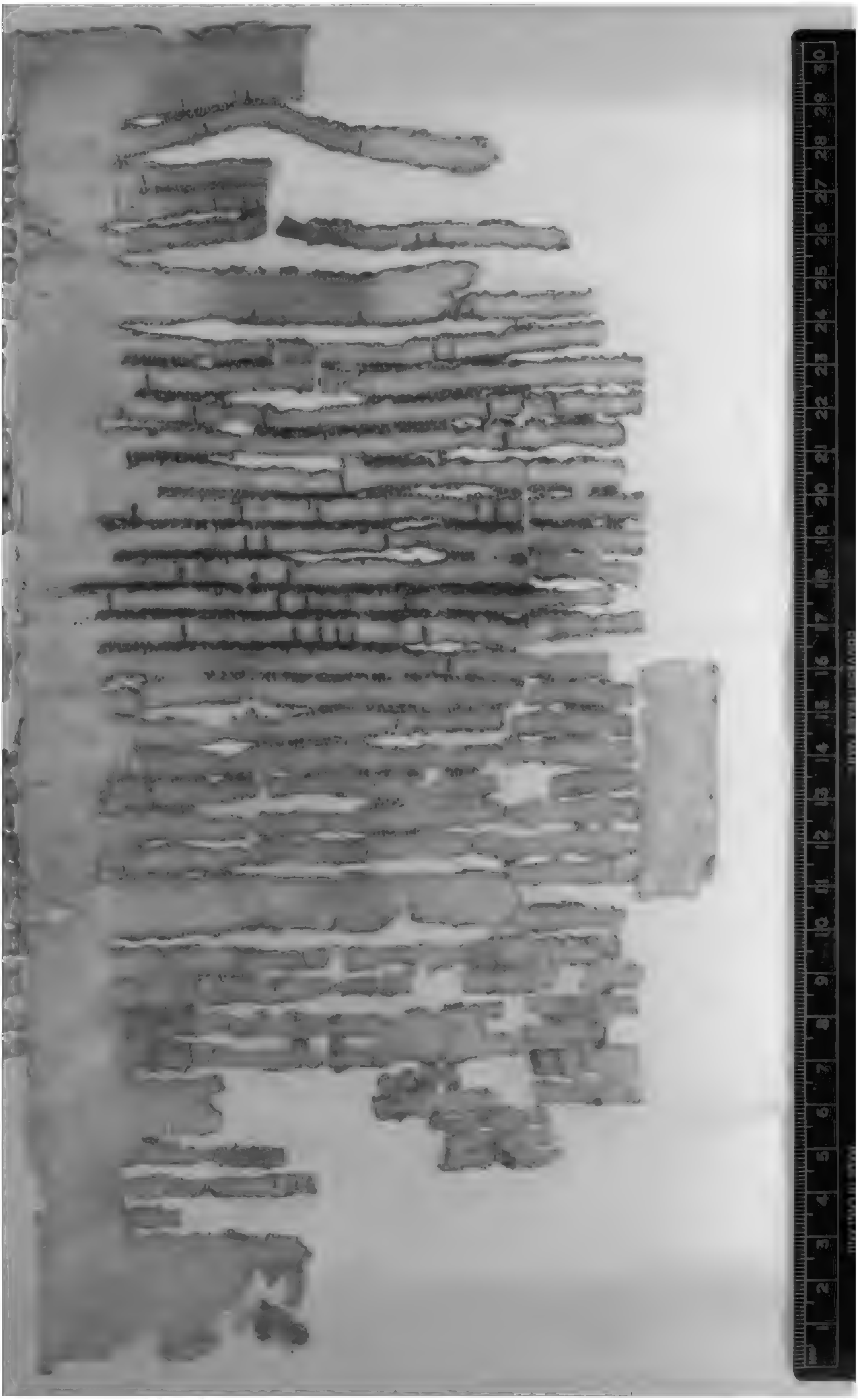

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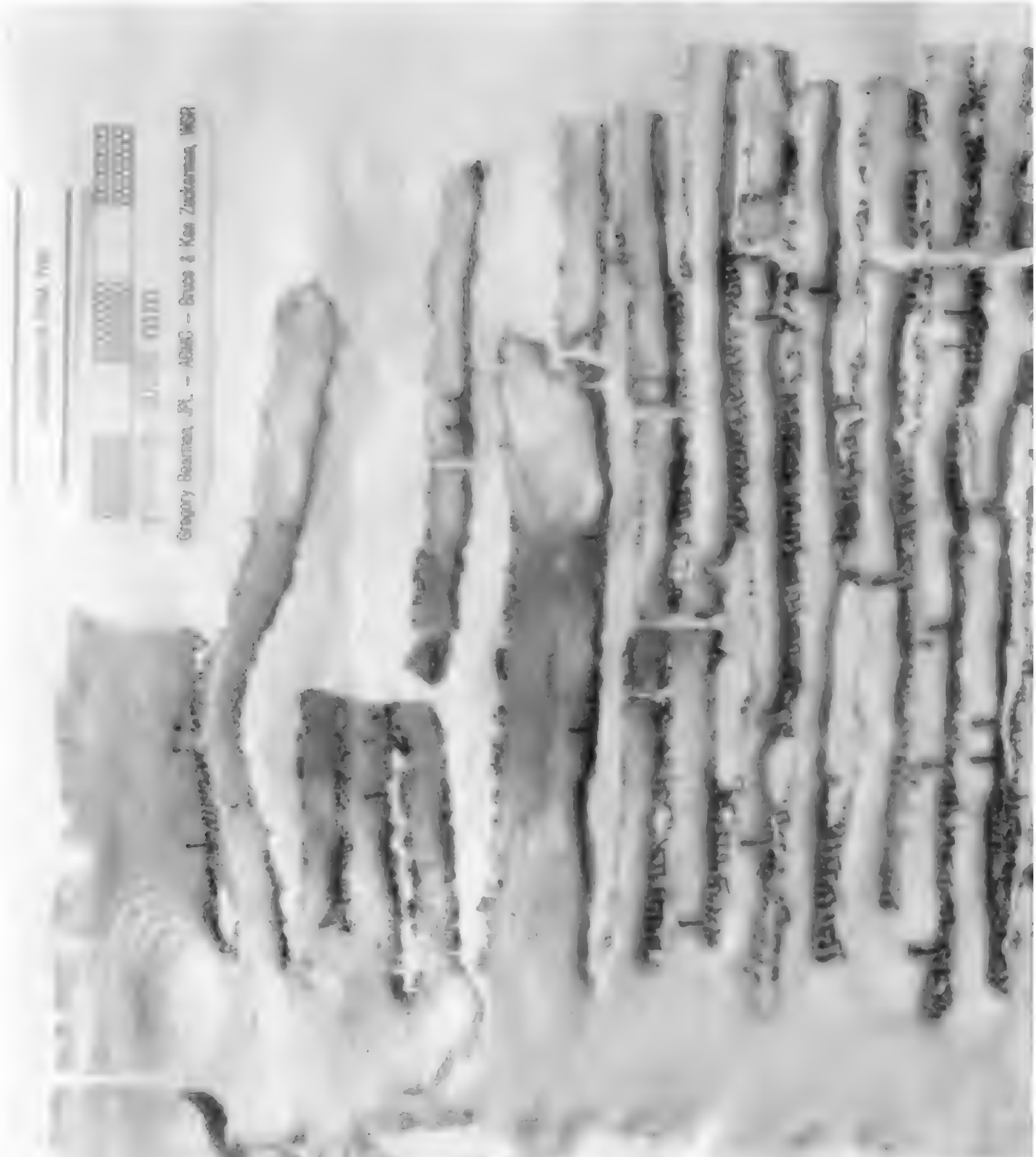
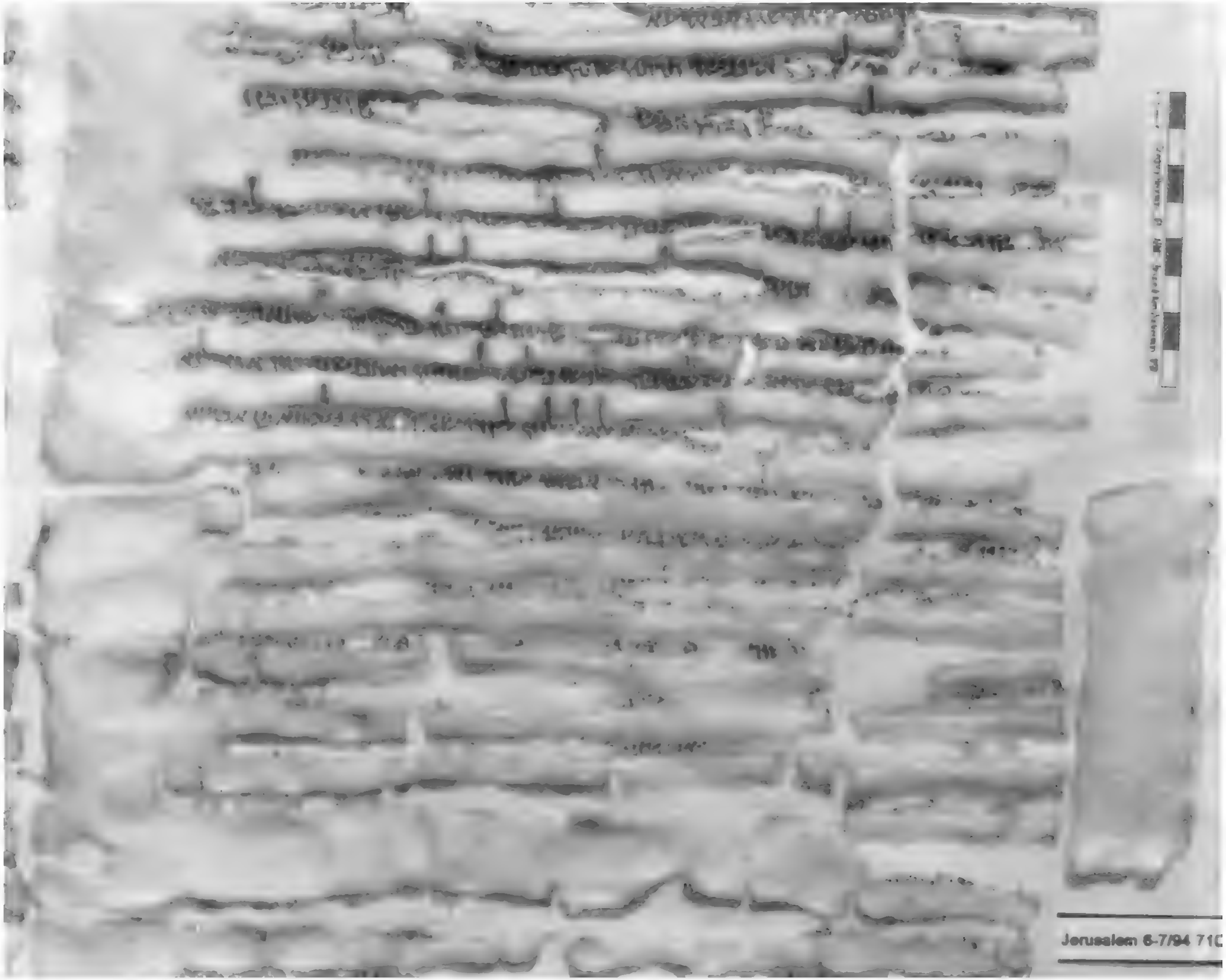
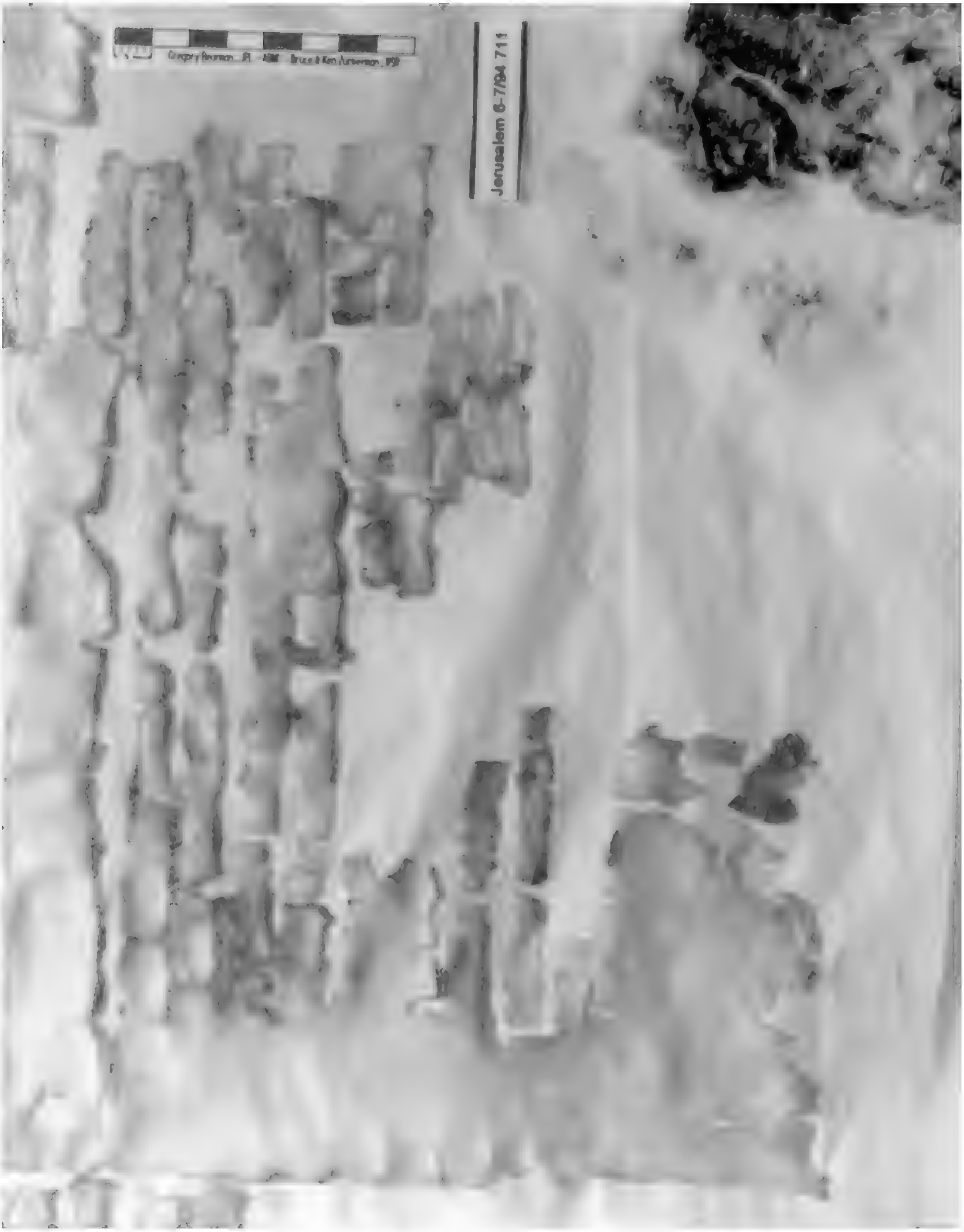

Gregory Bearman, JPL – ADMS – Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR

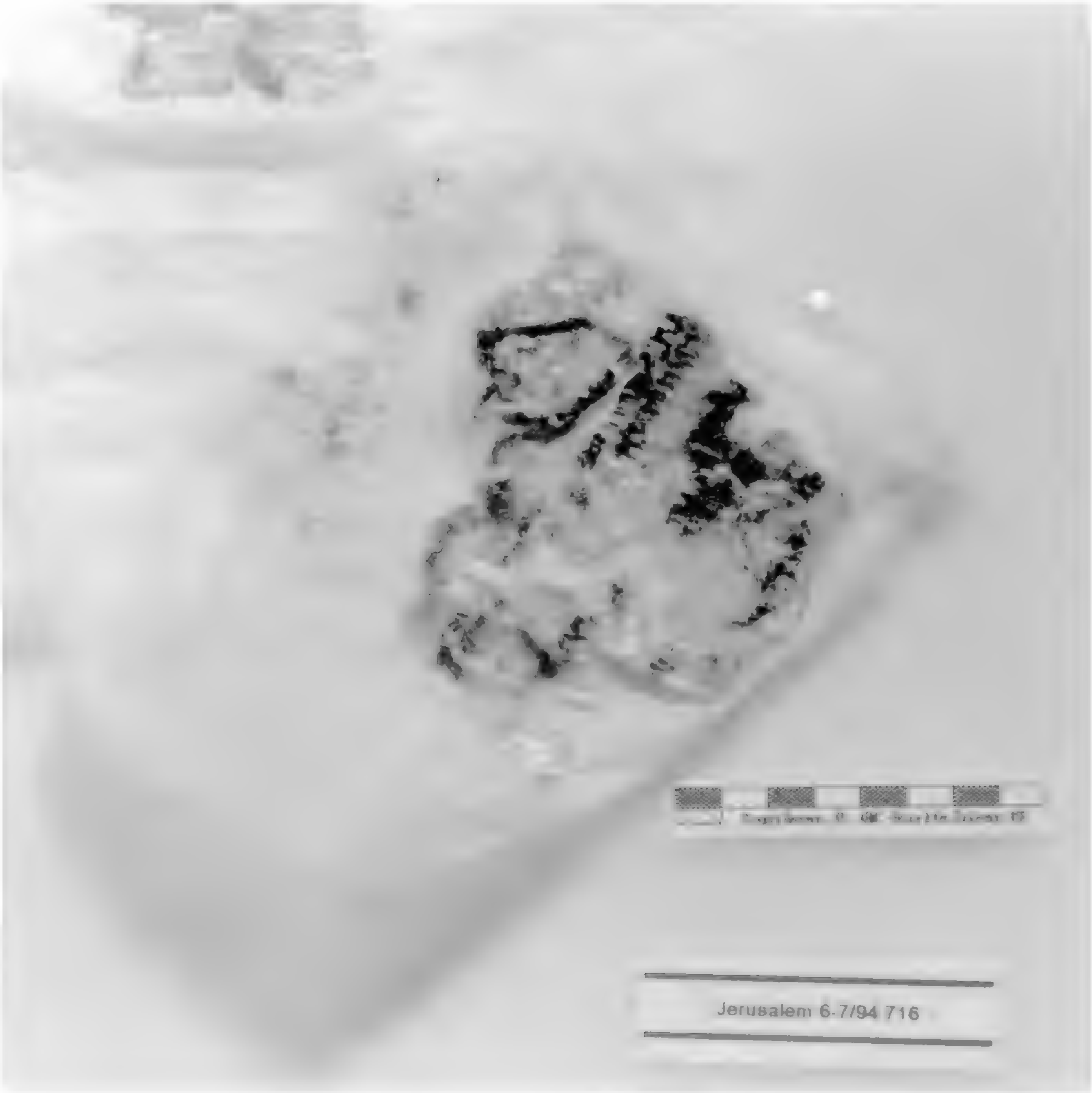
BZ12T


Jerusalem 6-7/94 71C

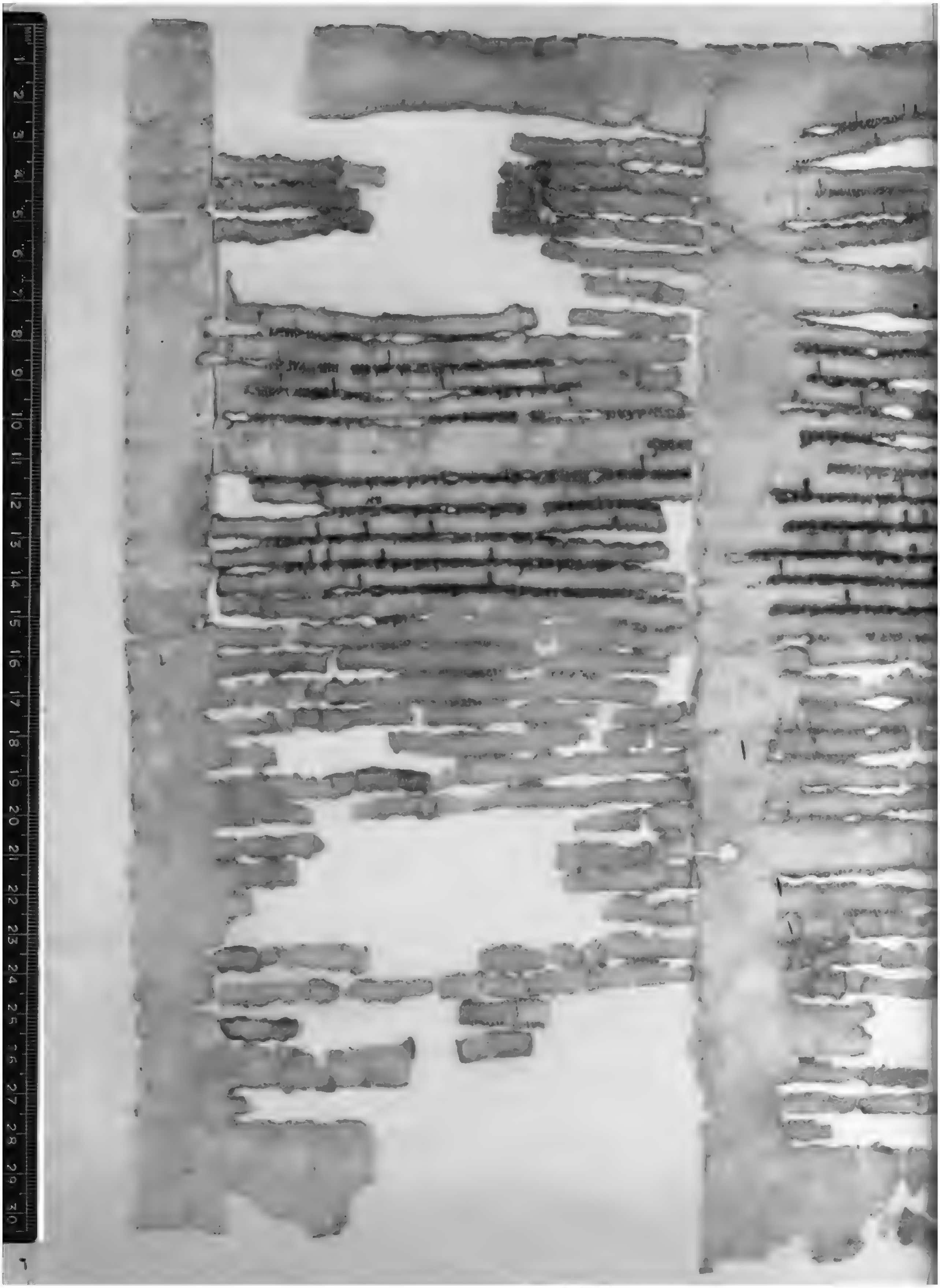
BZ12M


Jerusalem 6-7/94 711
Gregory Bearman ... Bruce & Ken Zuckerman

BZ12B


Jerusalem 6-7/94 716

BZ12Frg.



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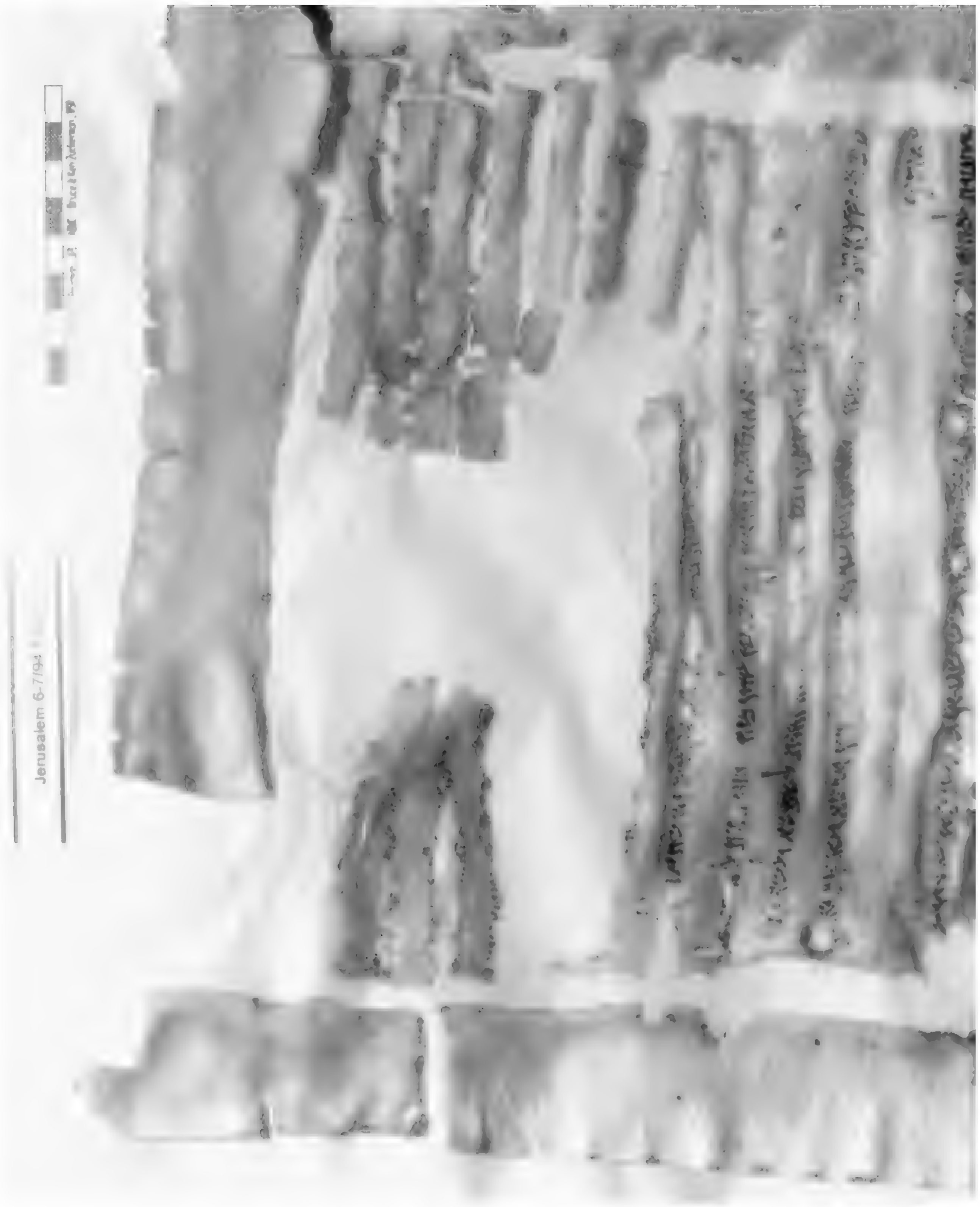
Jerusalem 6-7/94

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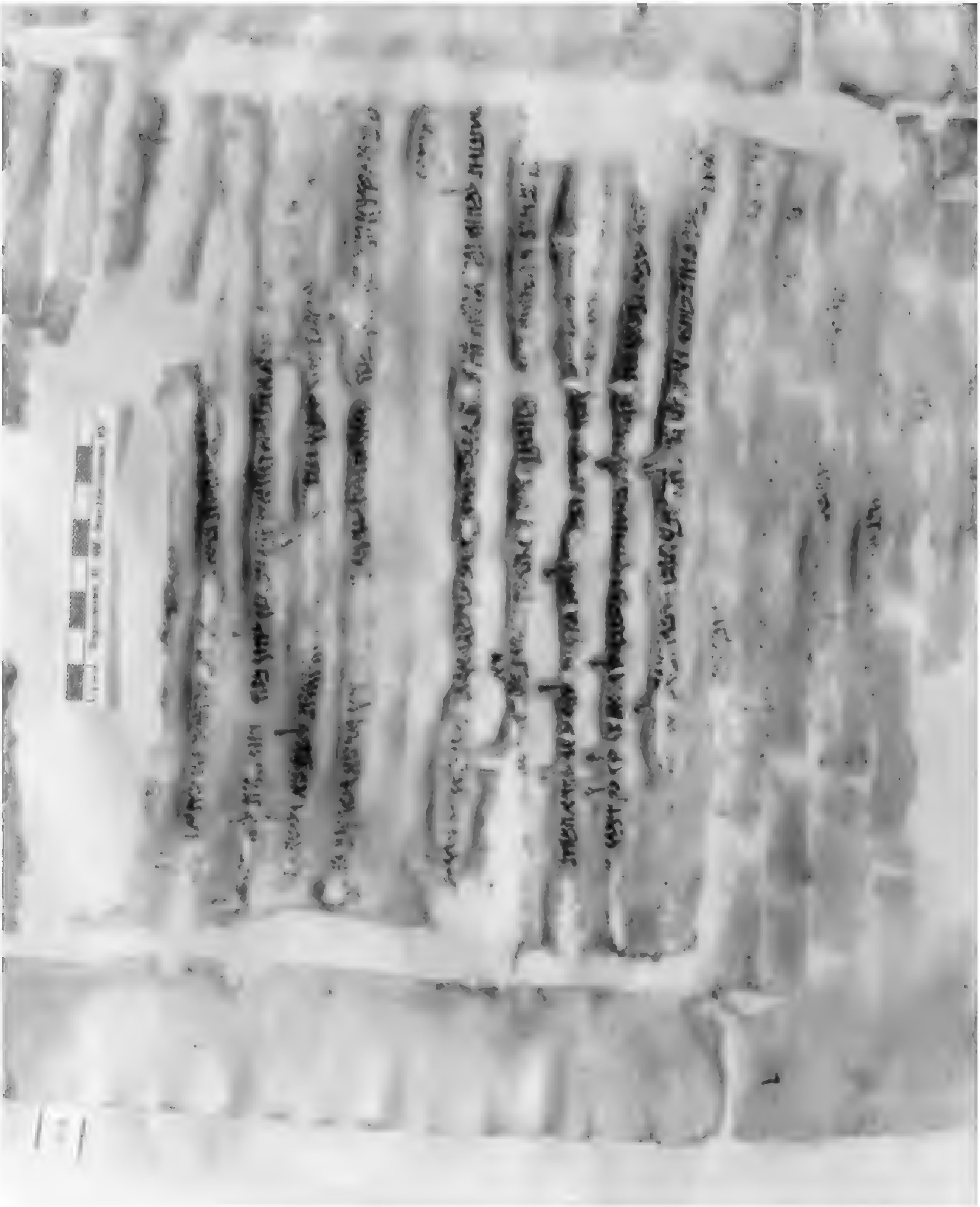

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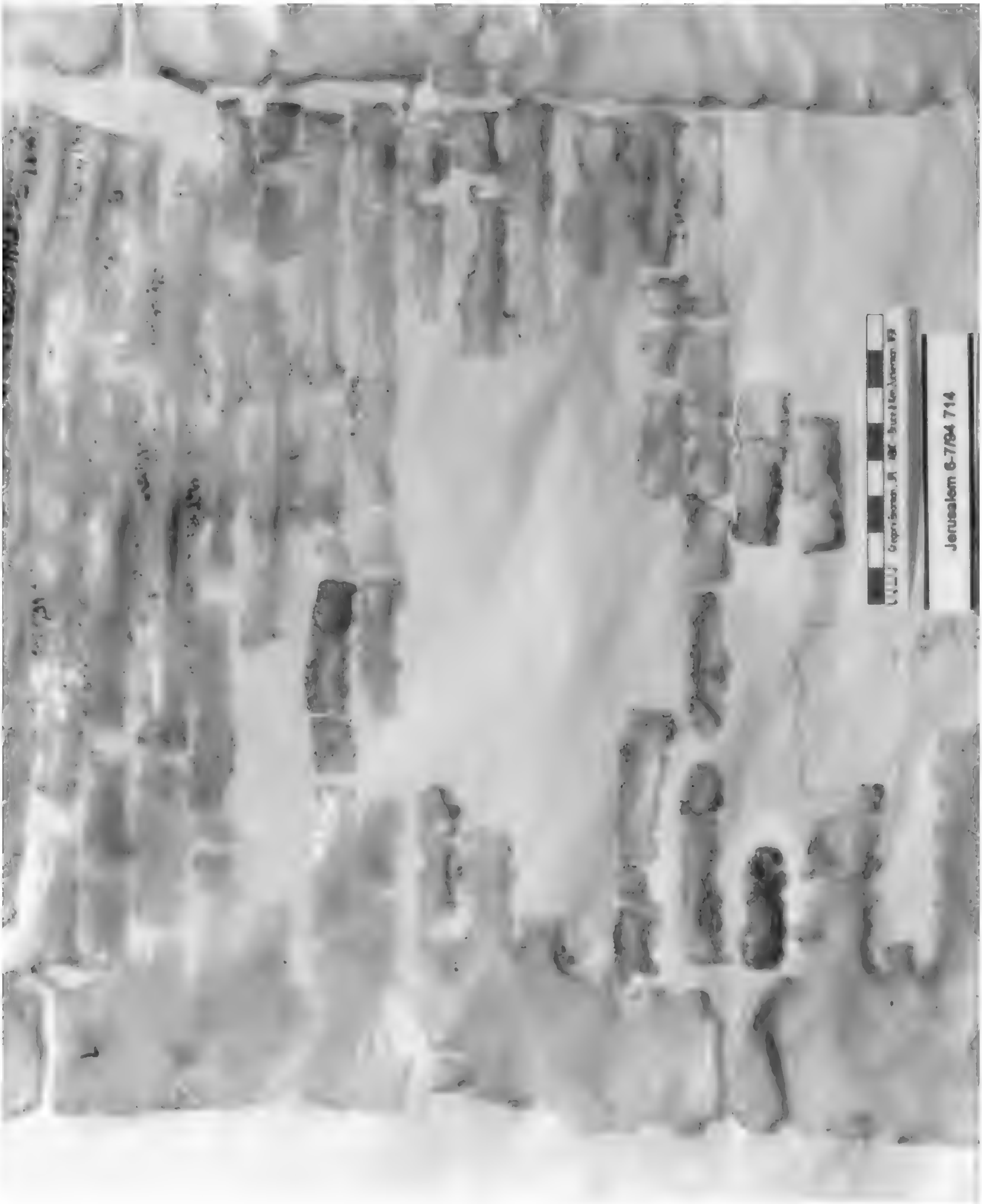
Jerusalem 6-7/84 714

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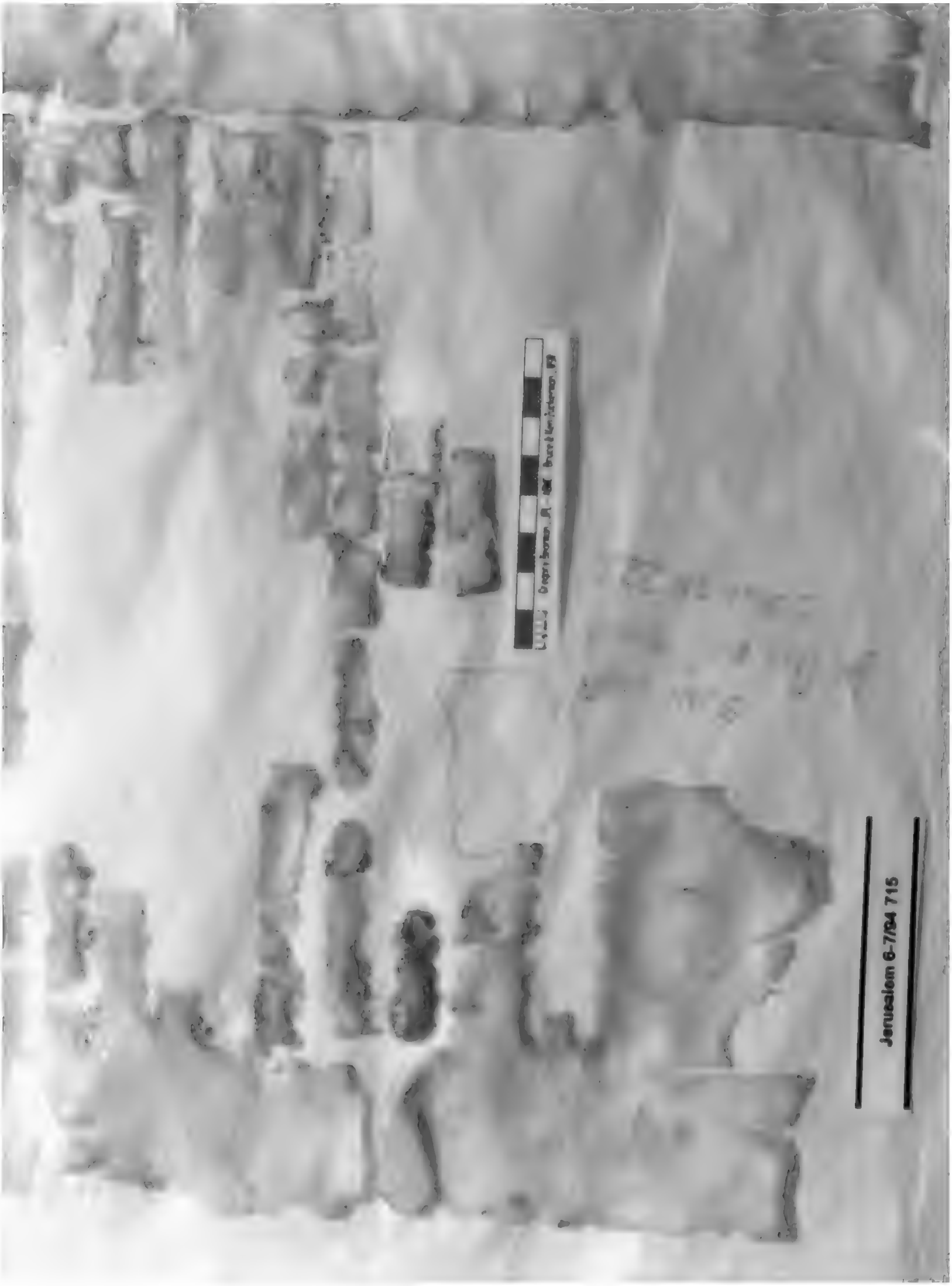
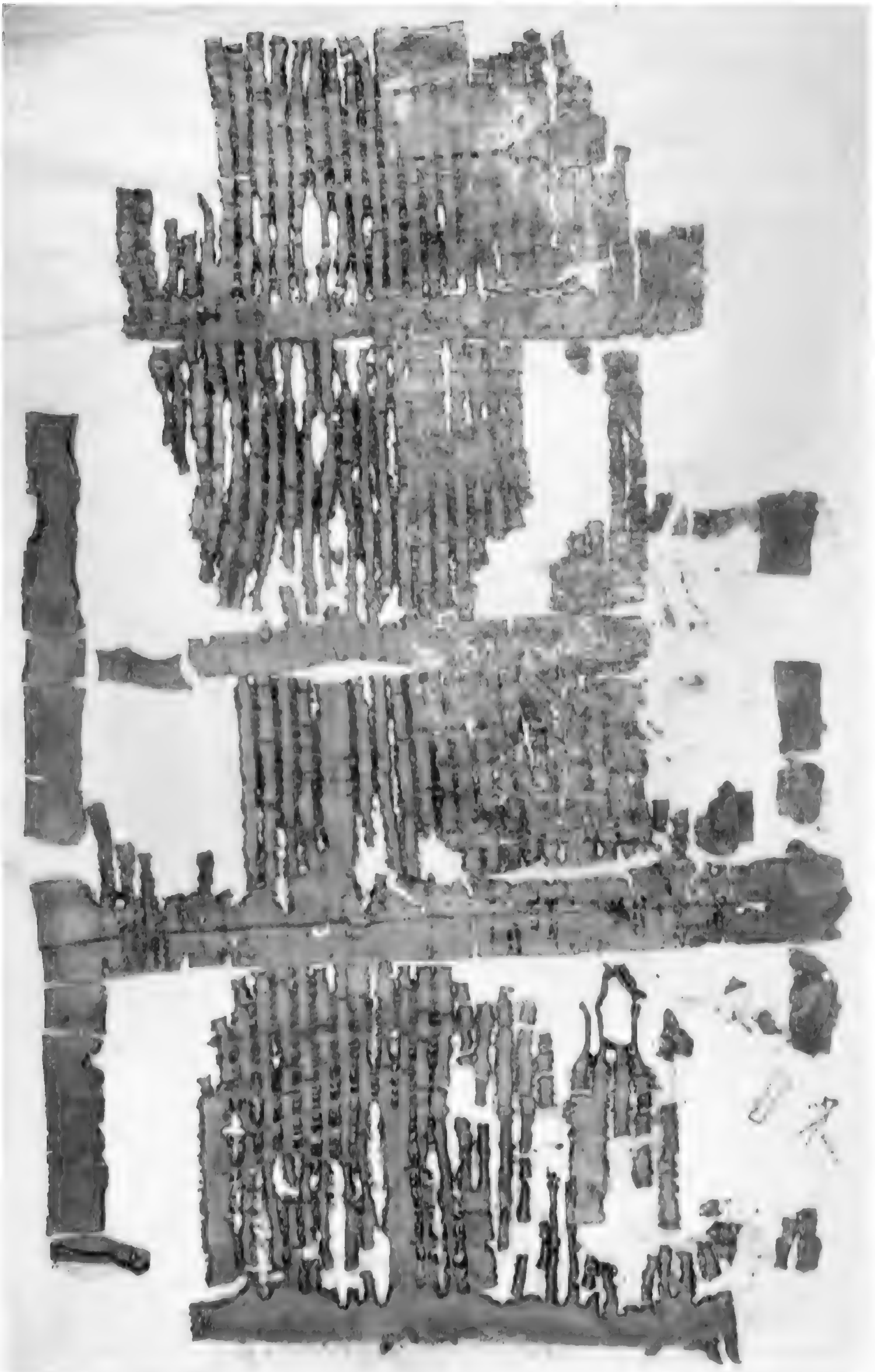

Jerusalem 6-7/94 715

BZ13B



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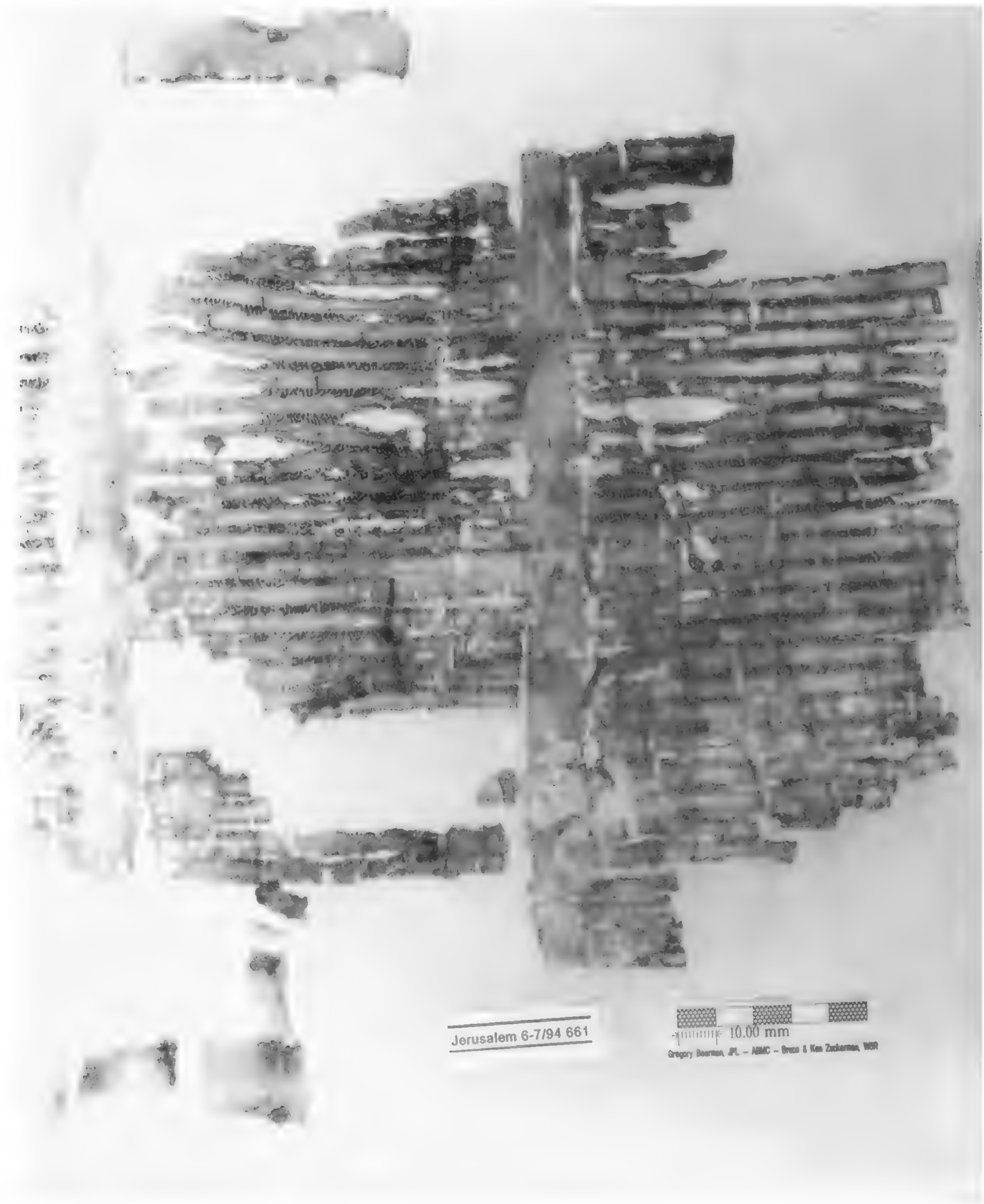
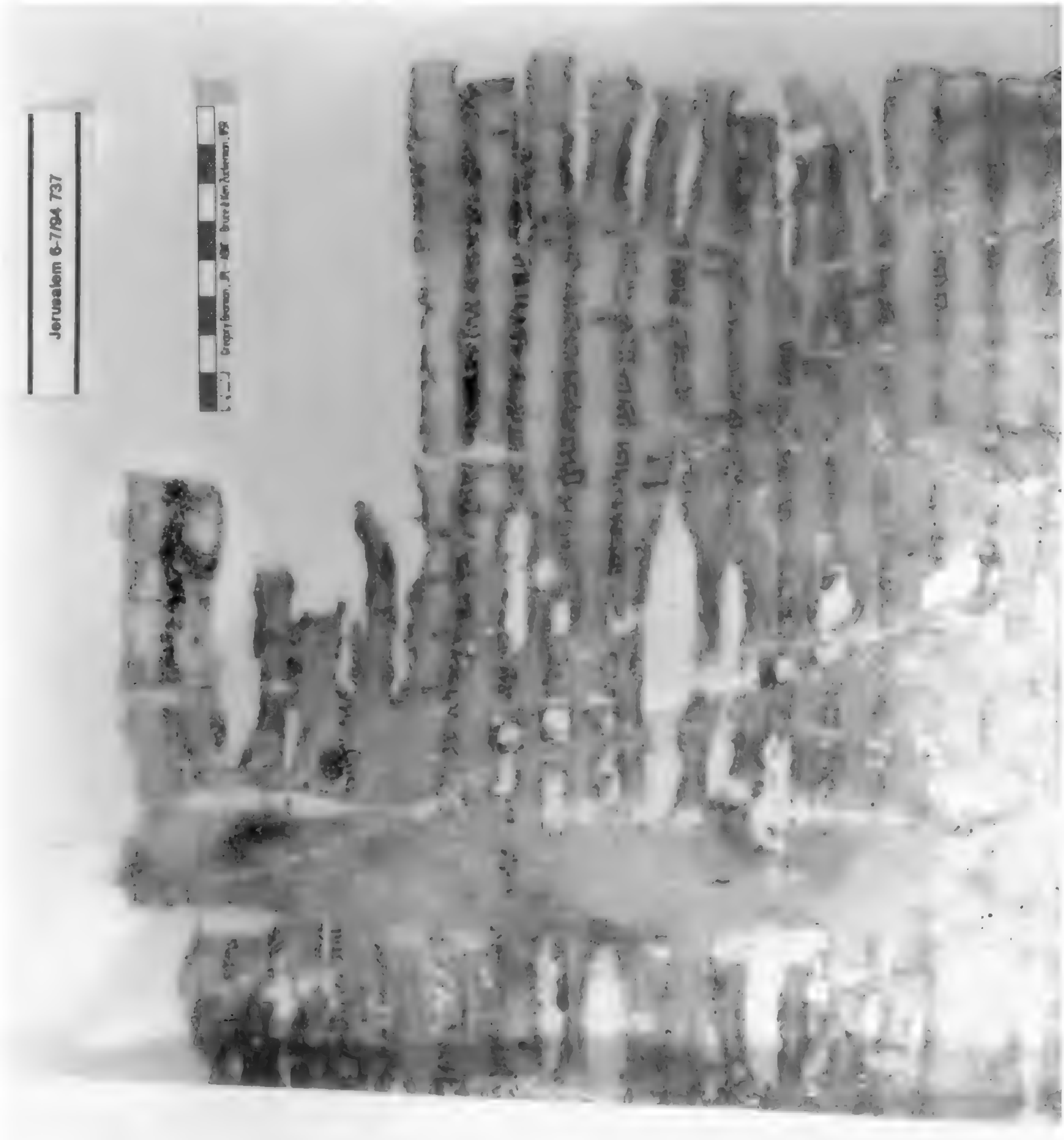

Jerusalem 6-7/94 661
10.00 mm

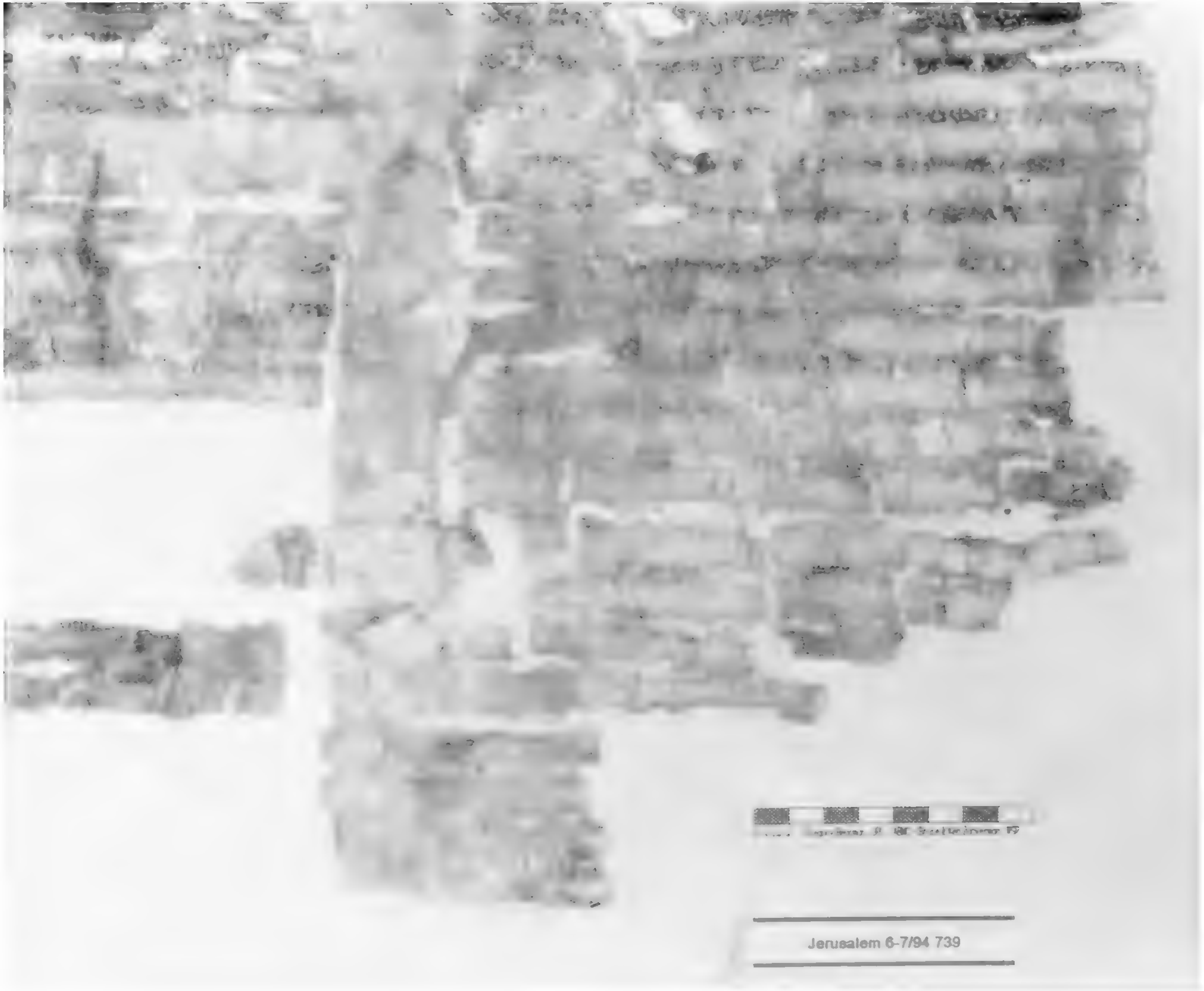
Gregory Bearman, JPL – ABMC – Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR

BZ14-15


Jerusalem 6-7/94 737

BZ14T

BZ14M


Jerusalem 6-7/94 739

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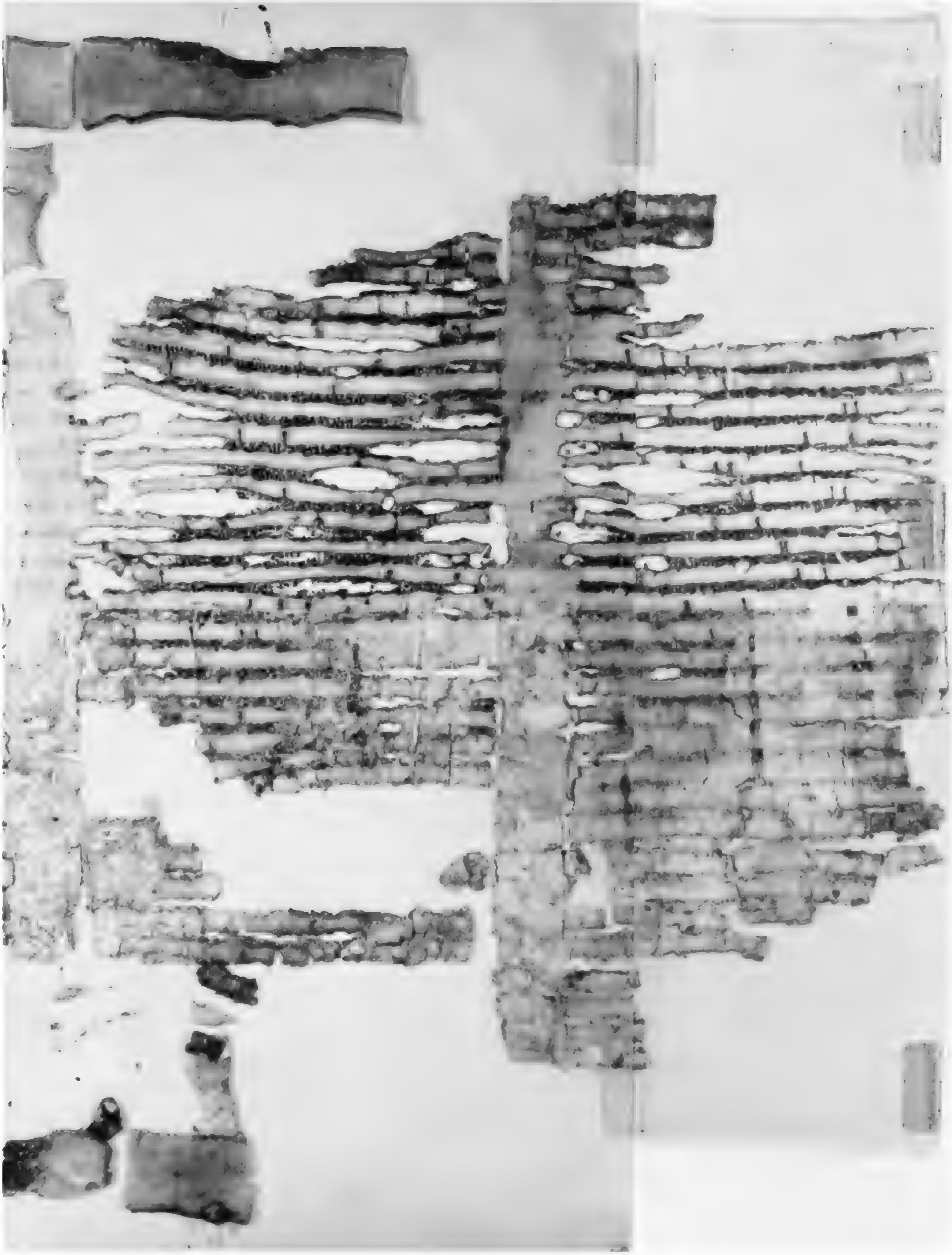
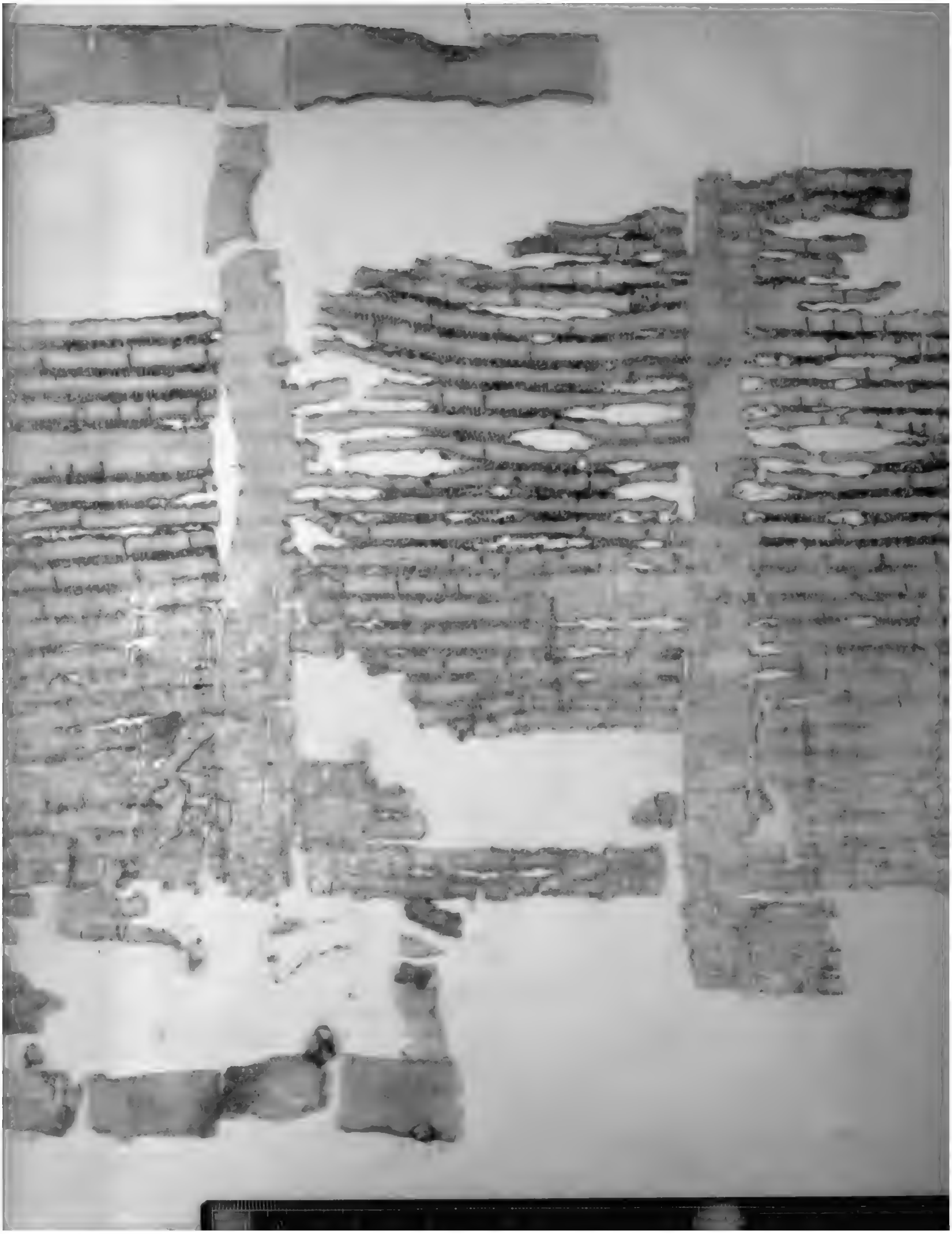


IMneg. x 86-4448



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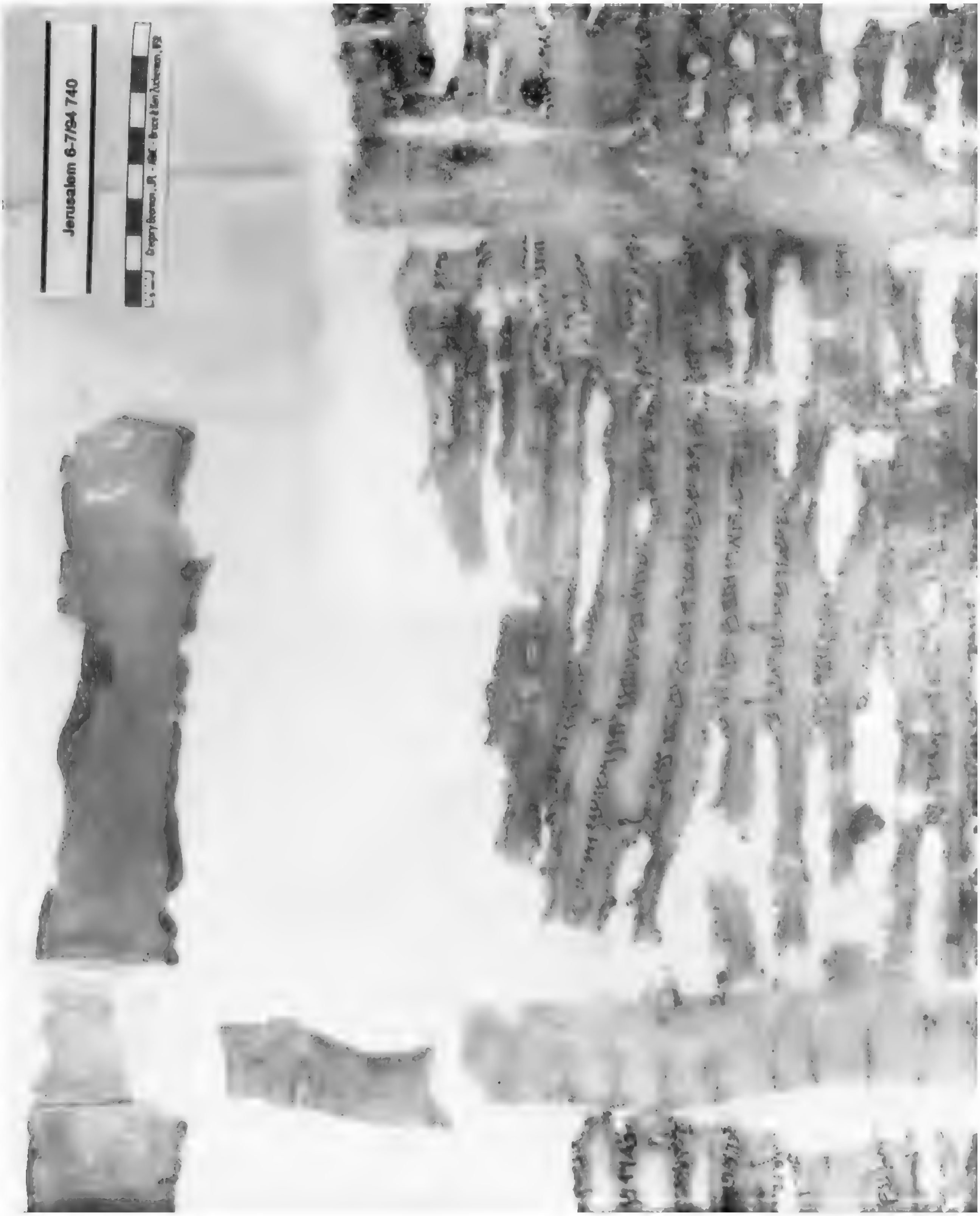
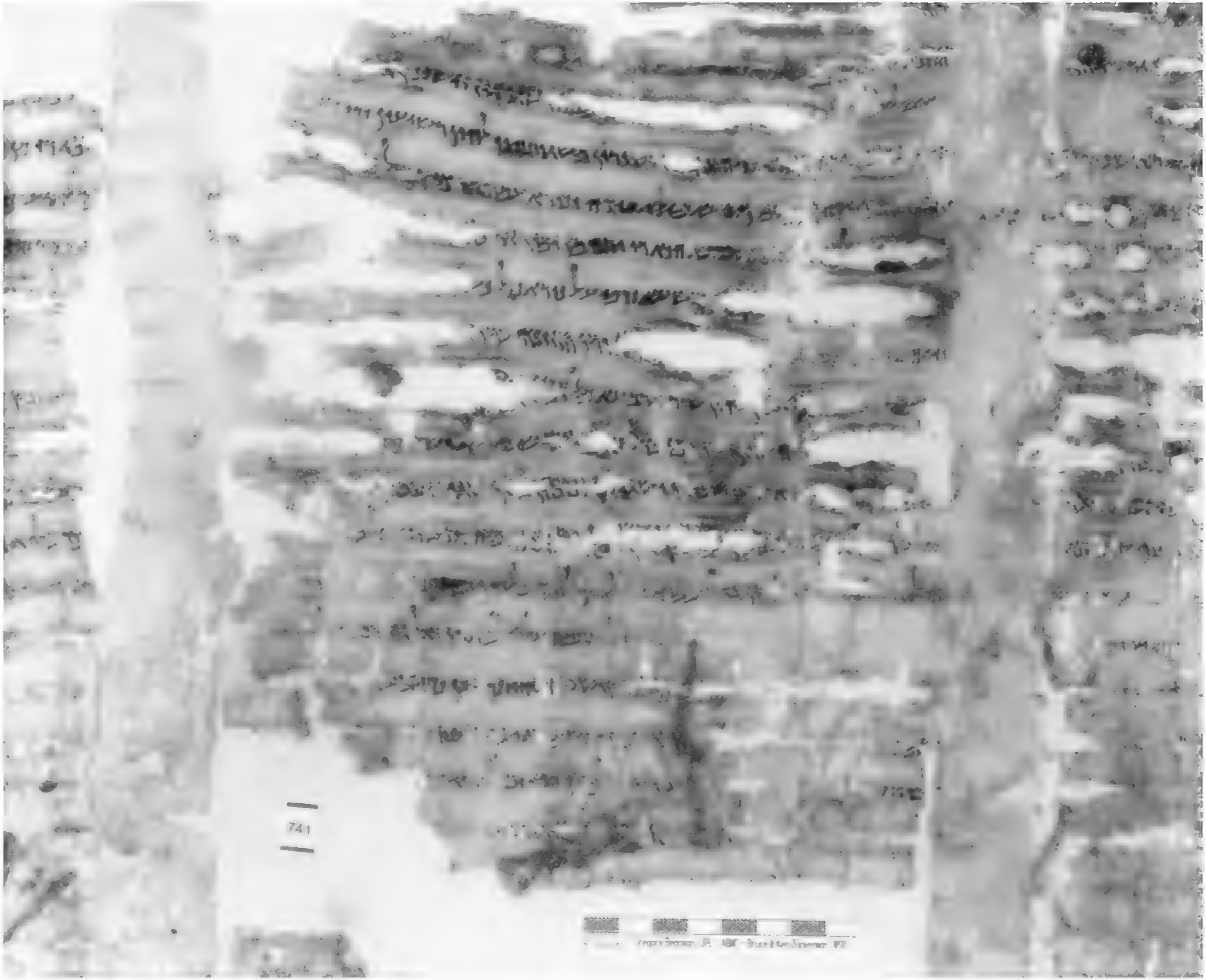

Jerusalem 6-7/94 740

BZ15T



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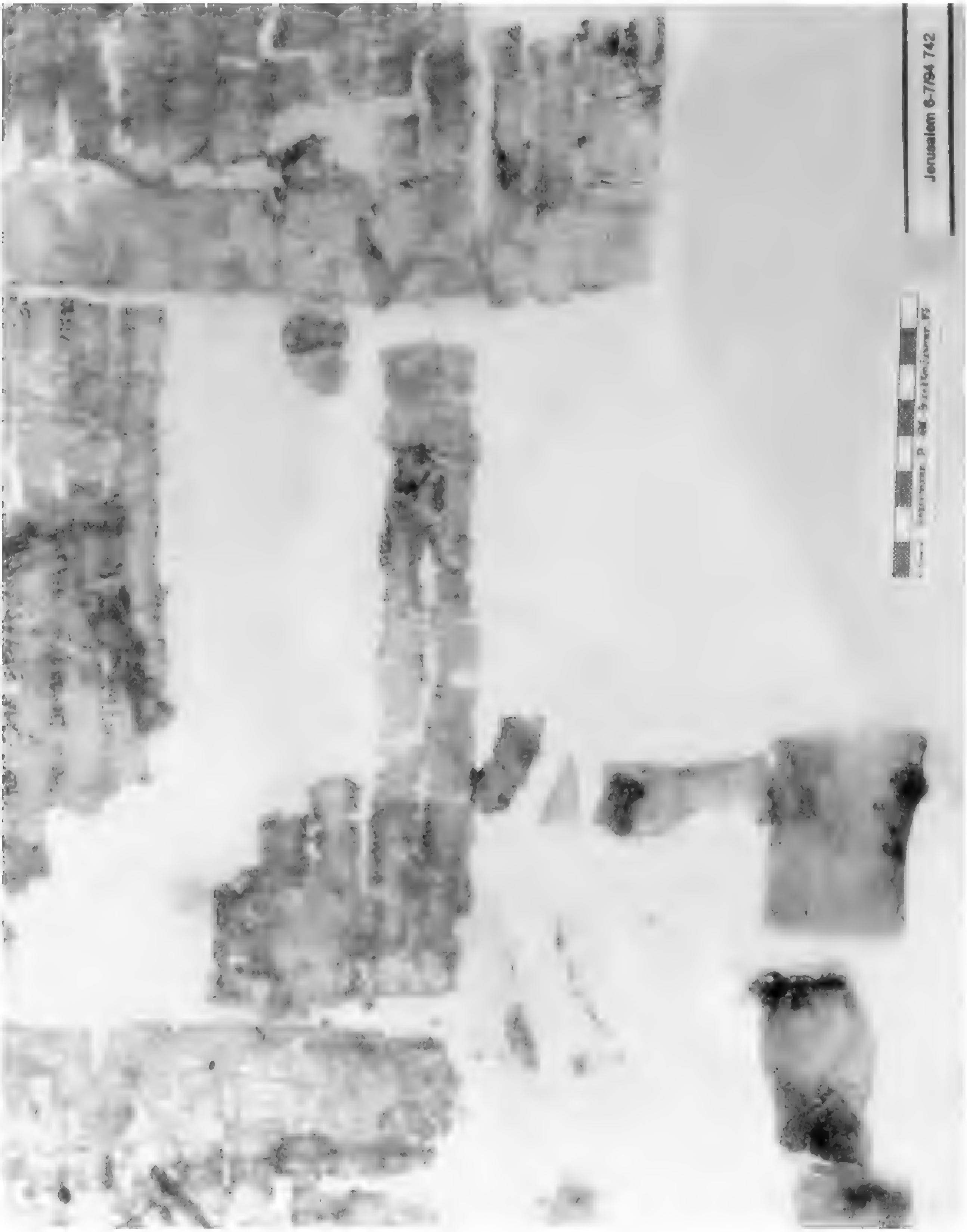
Jerusalem 6-7/94 742

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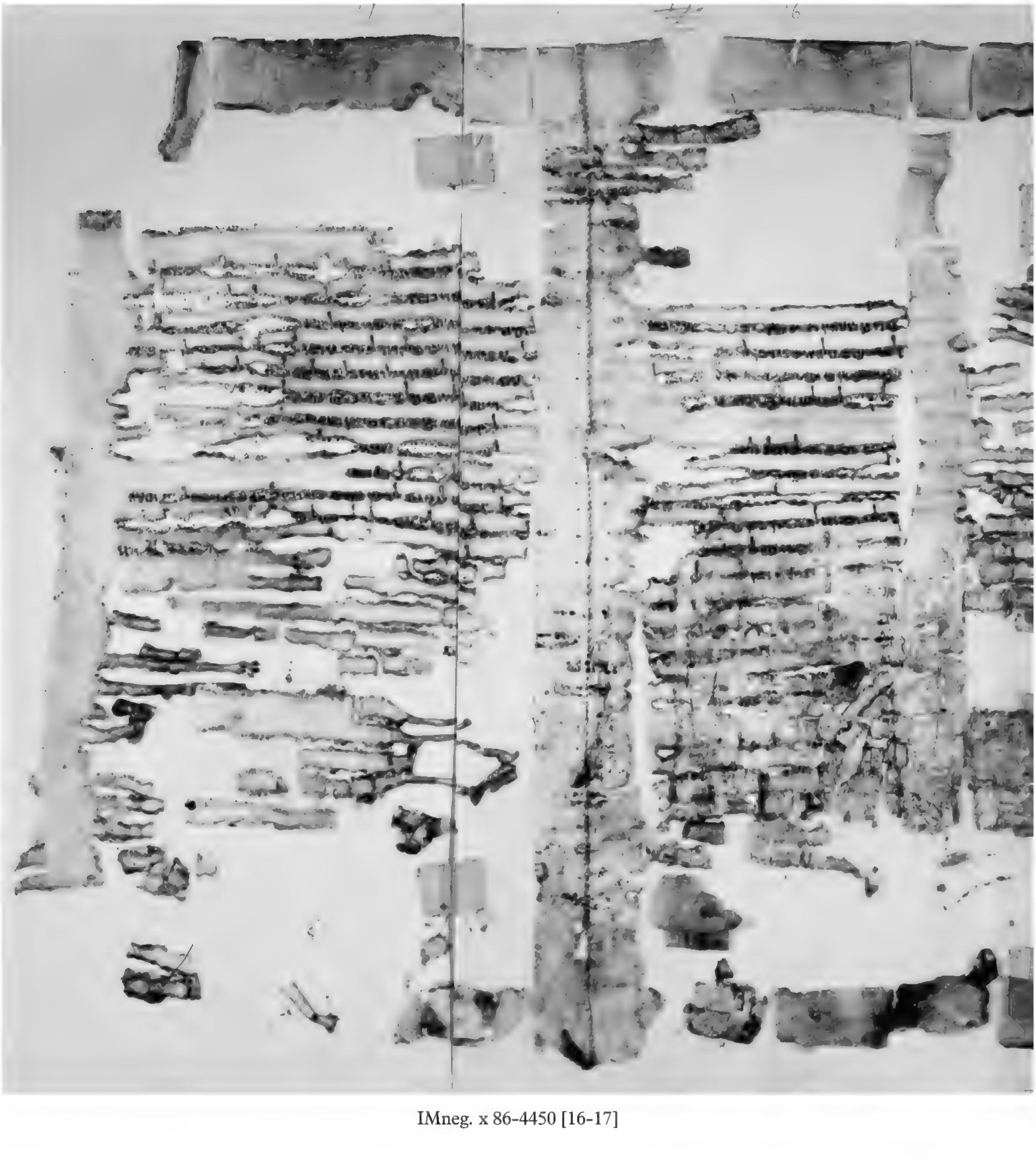
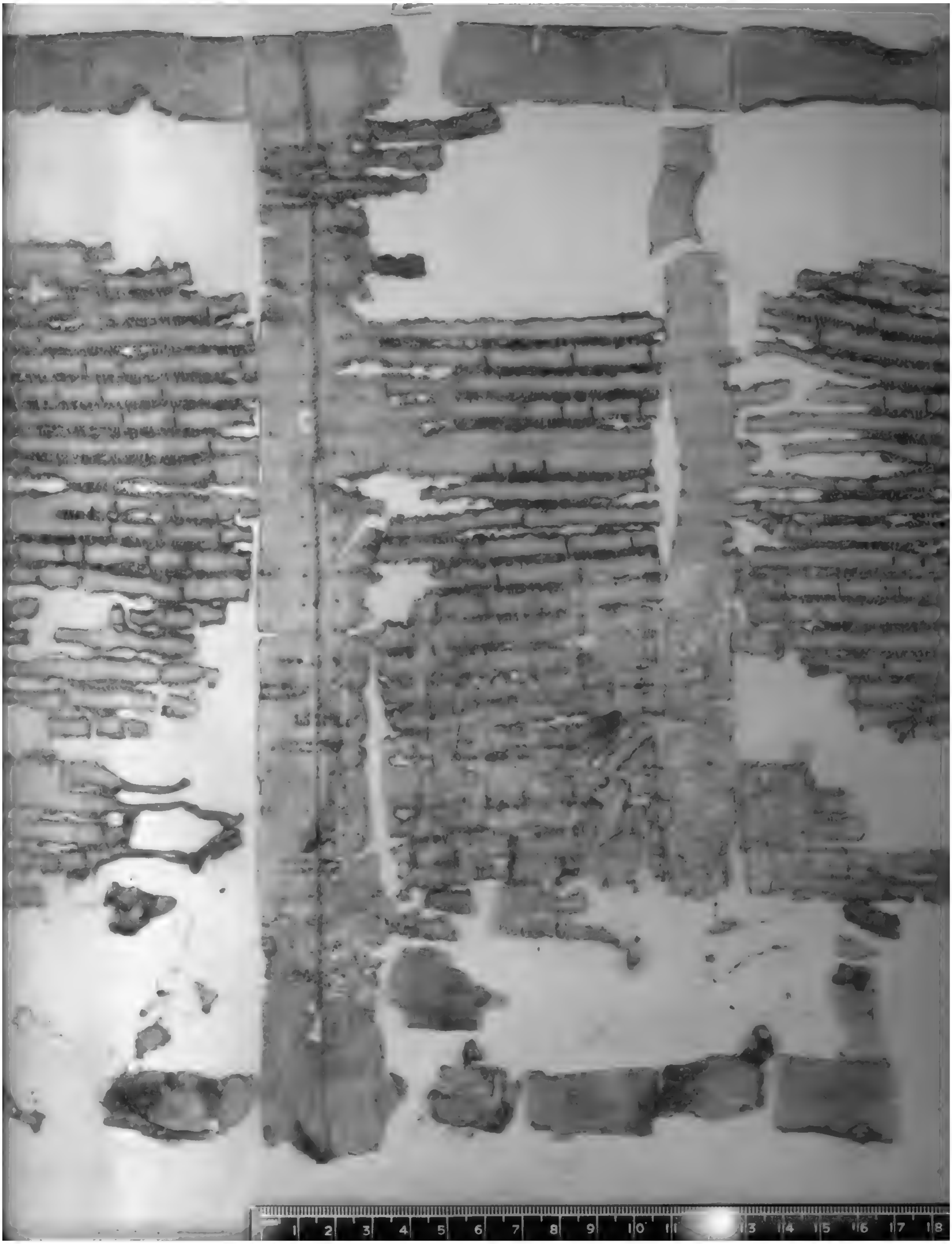
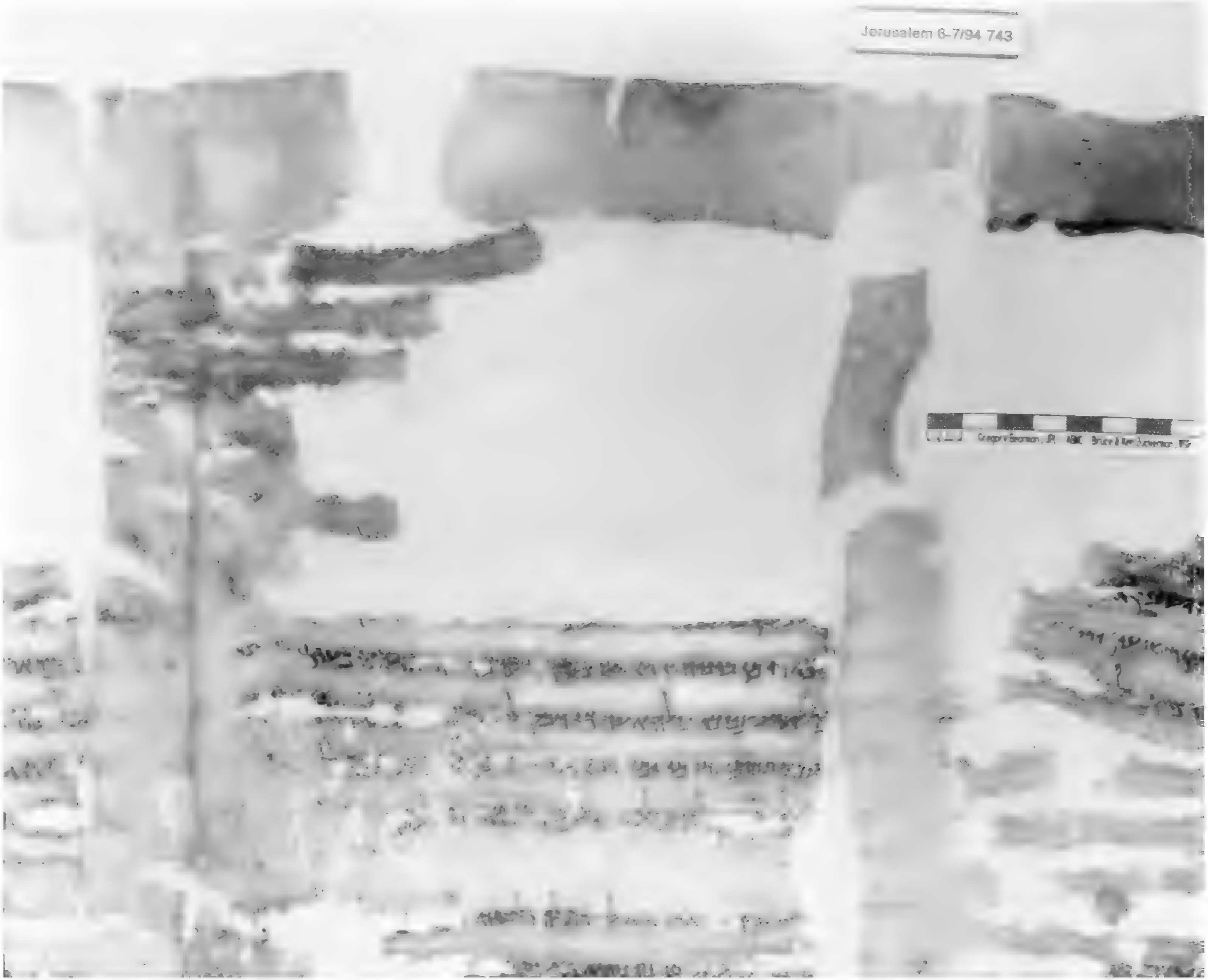


IMneg. x 86-4450 [16-17]



IMneg. 3845



Jerusalem 6-7/94 743

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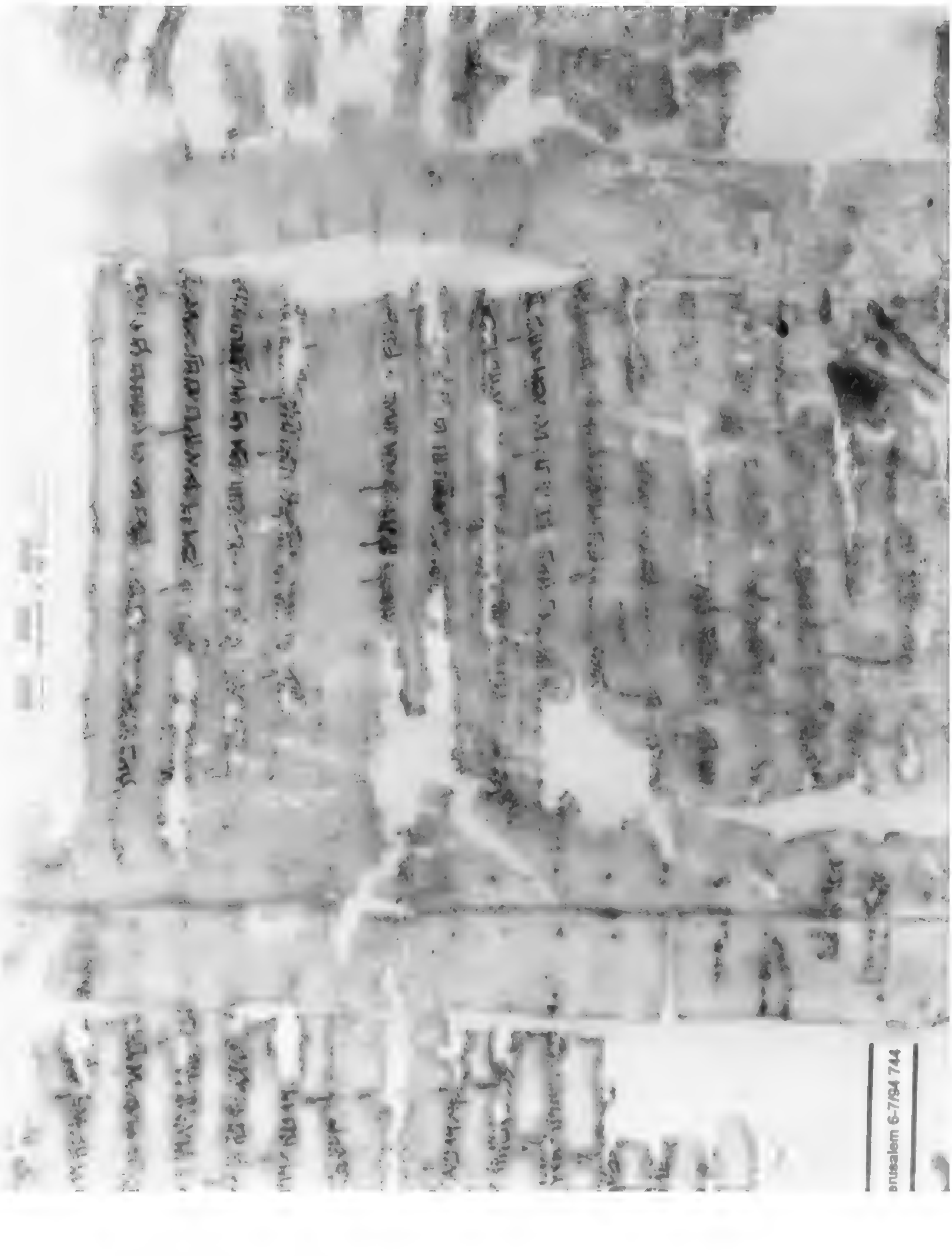
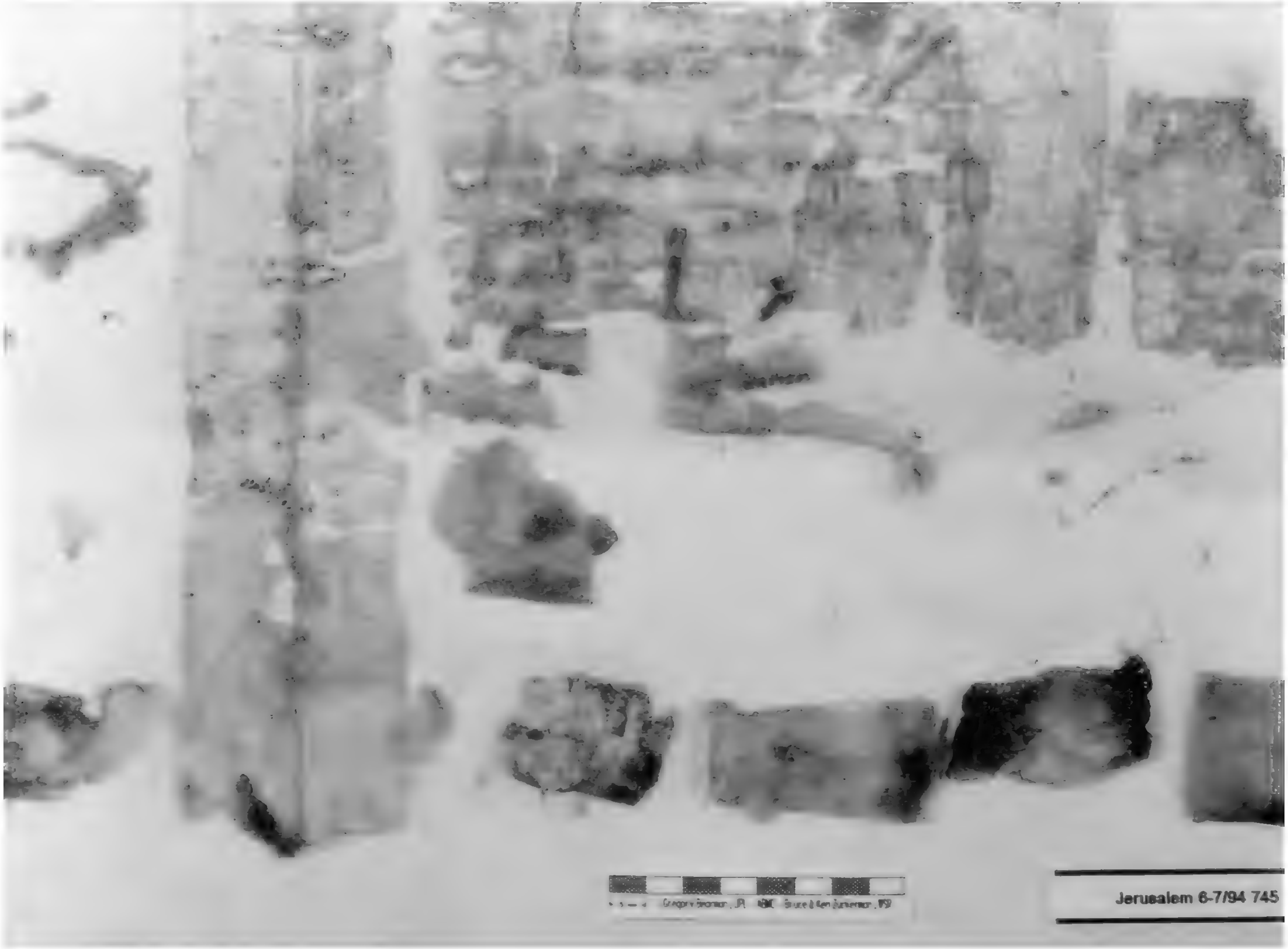

erusalem 6-7/94 744

BZ16M


Jerusalem 6-7/94 745

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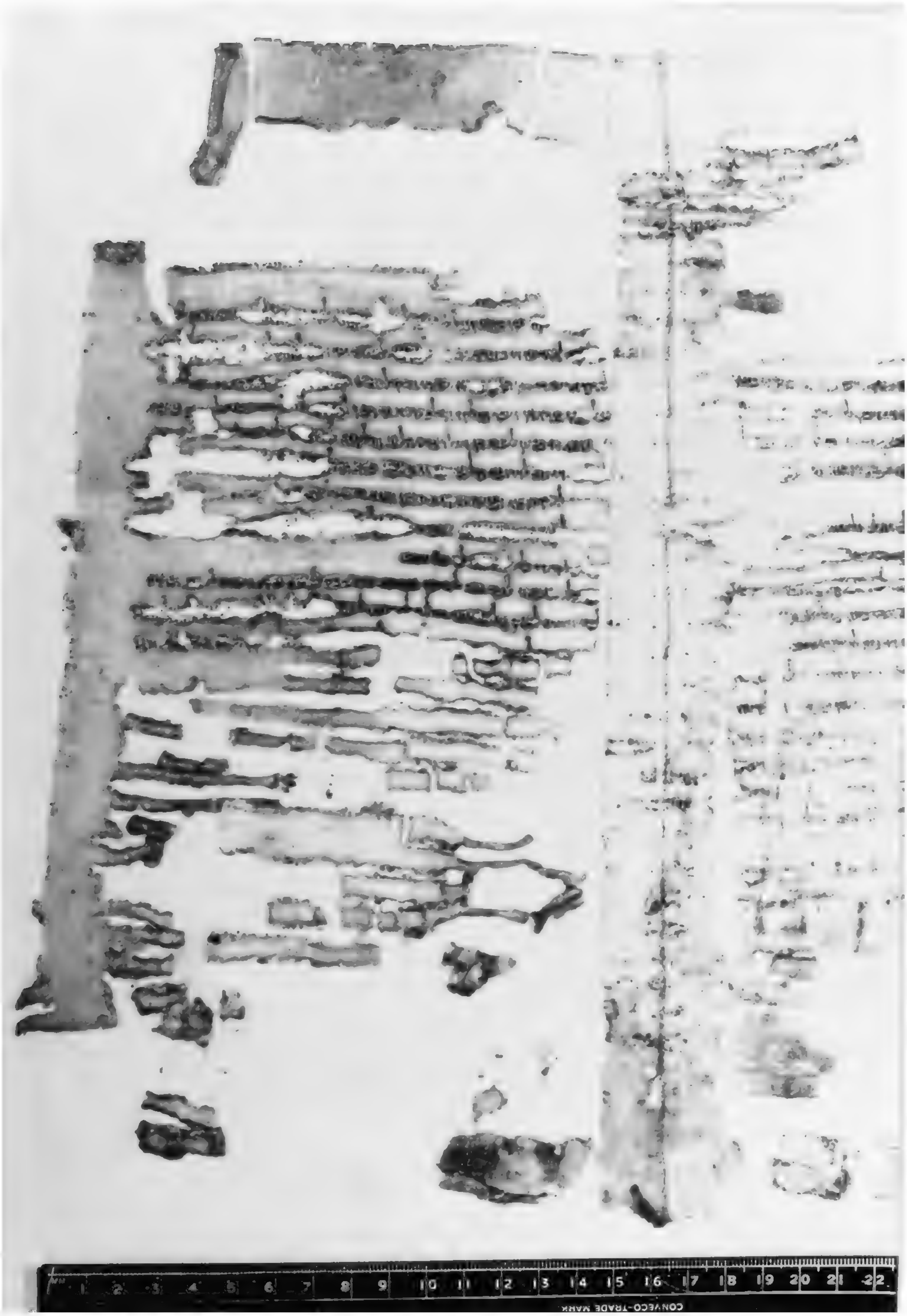

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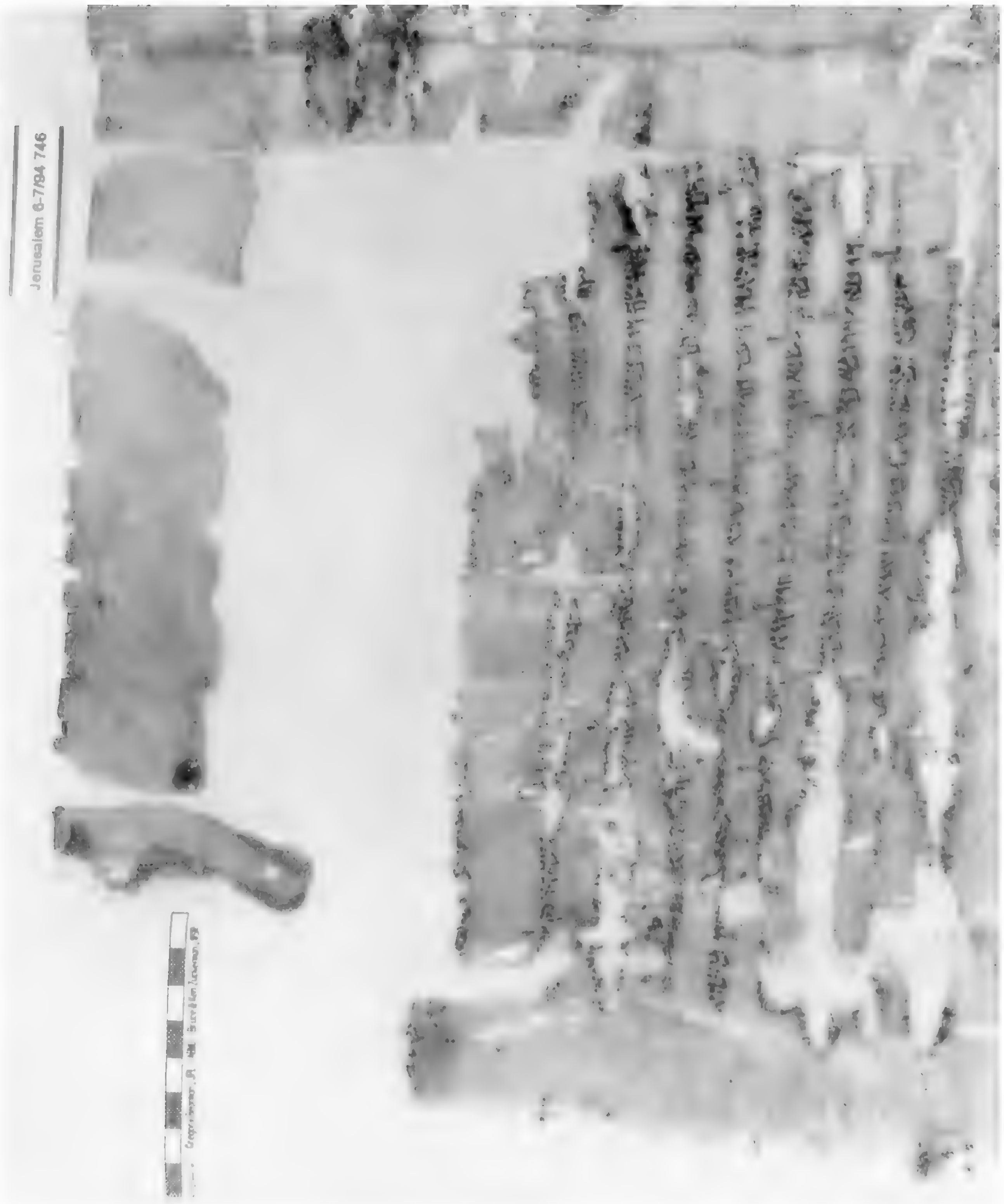

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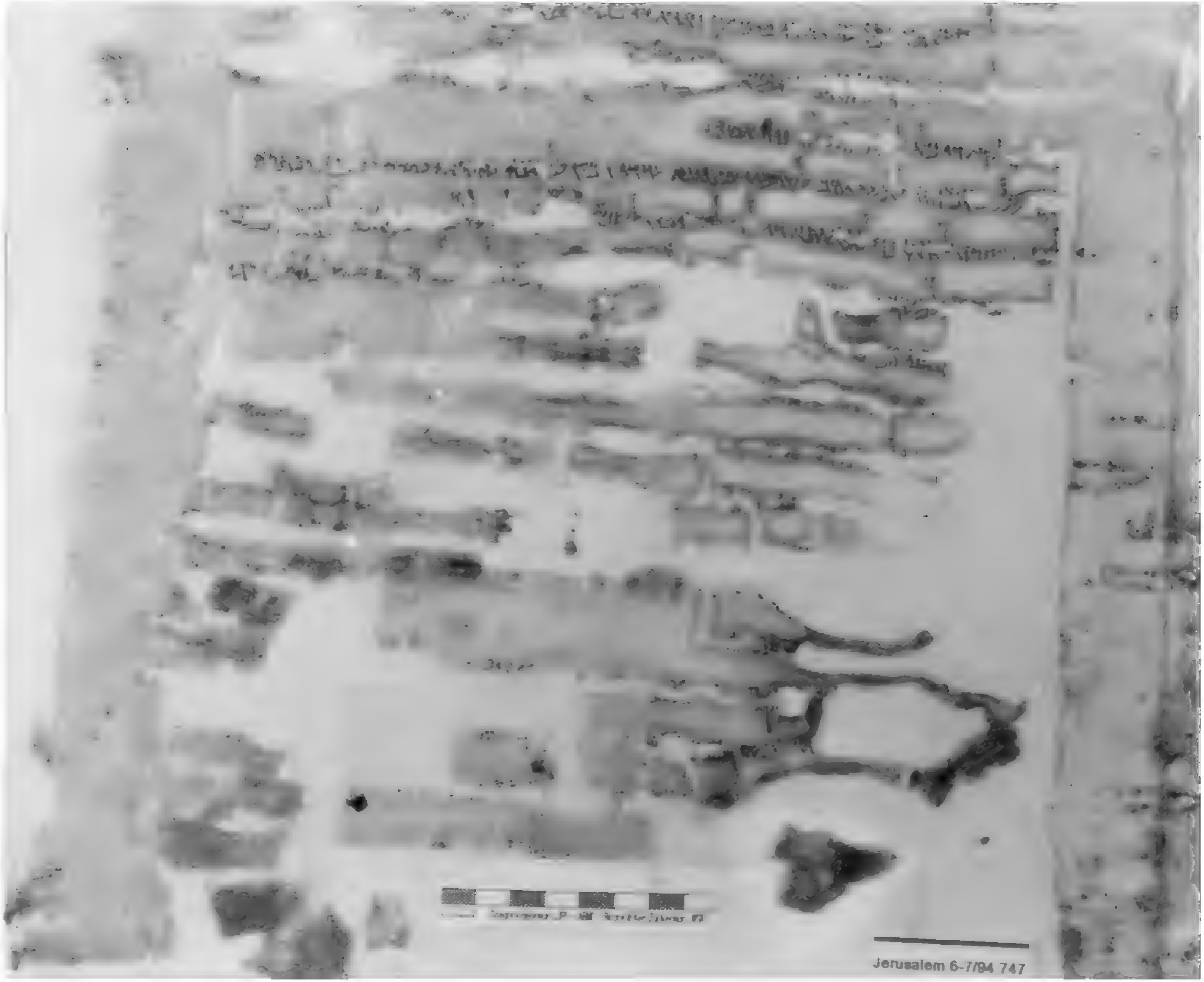
Jerusalem 6-7/94 747

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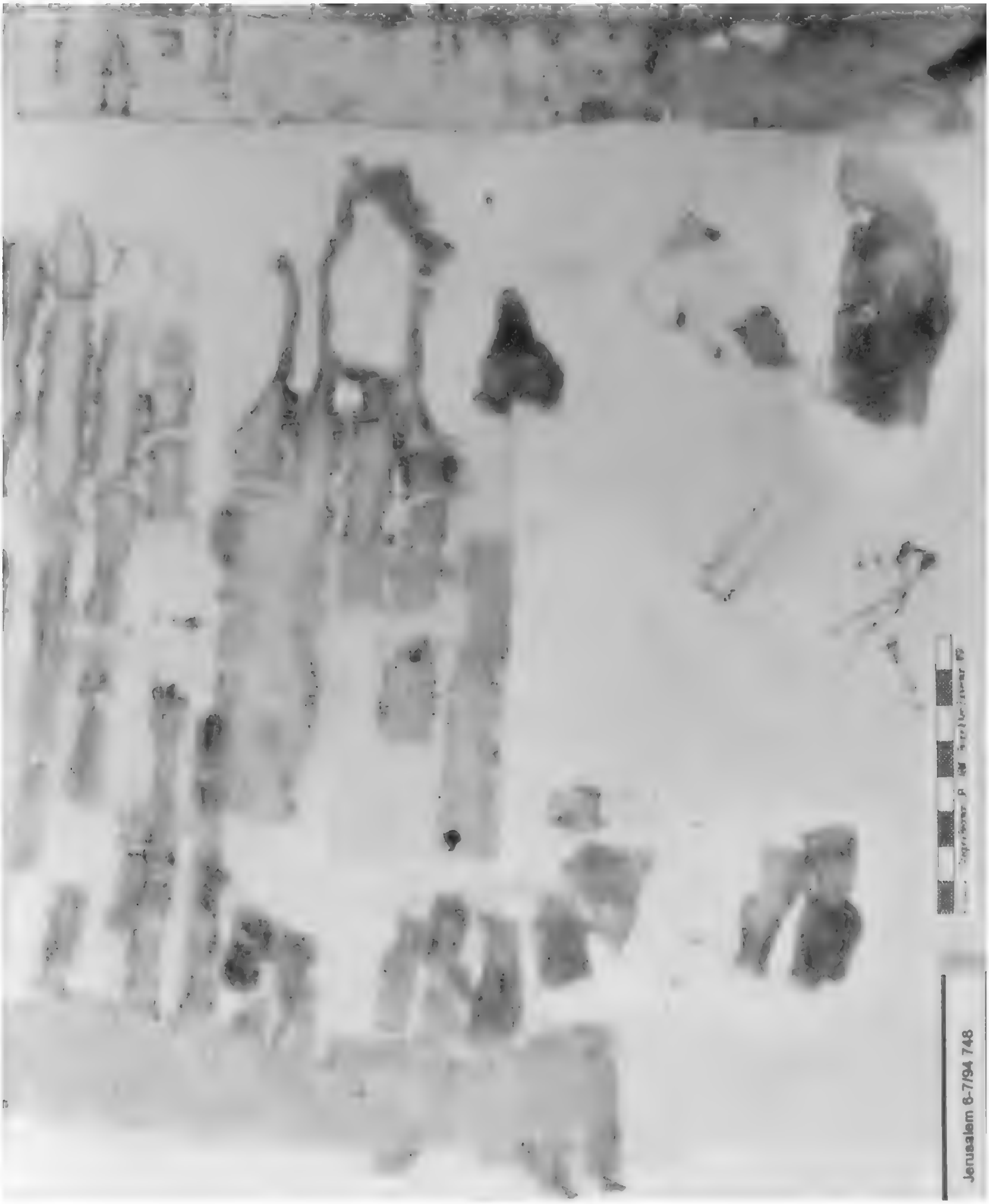
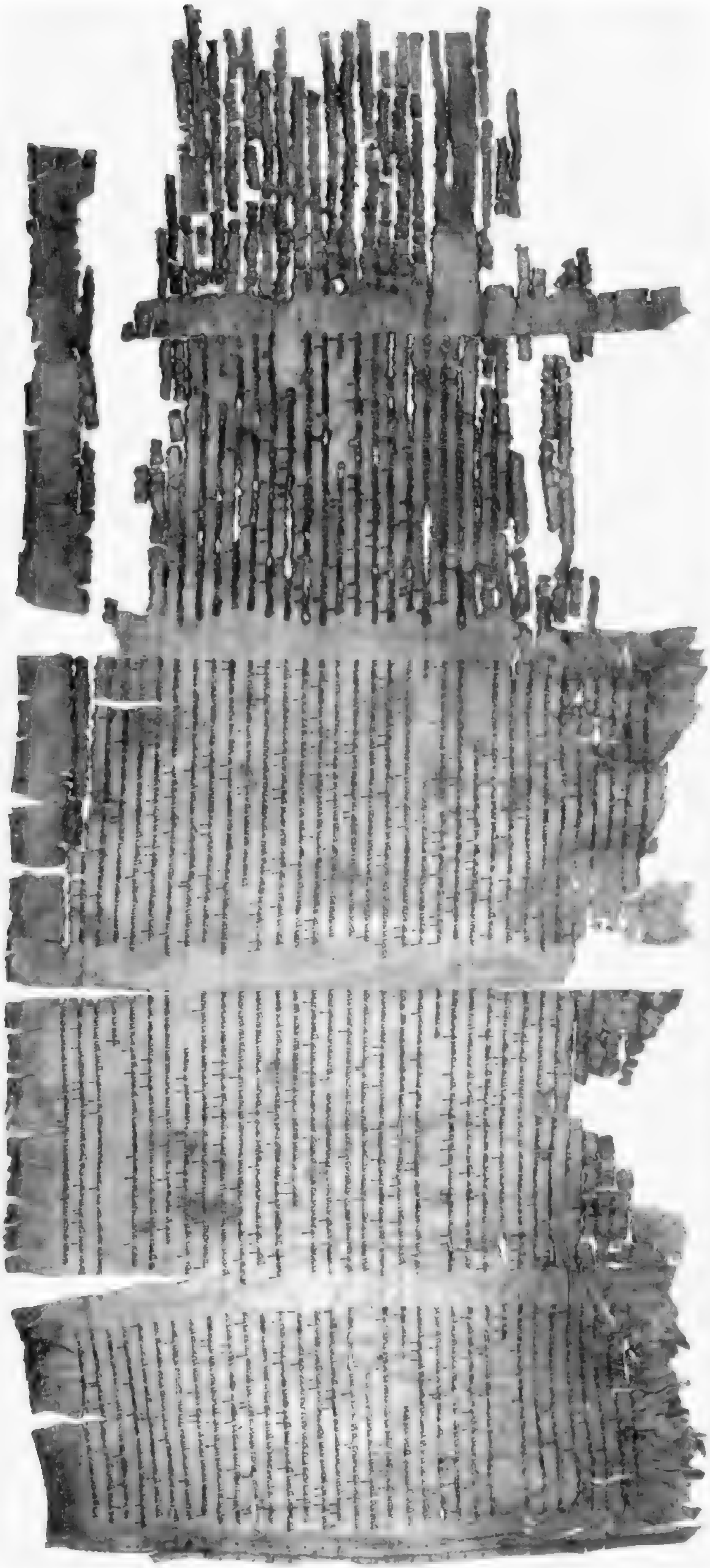
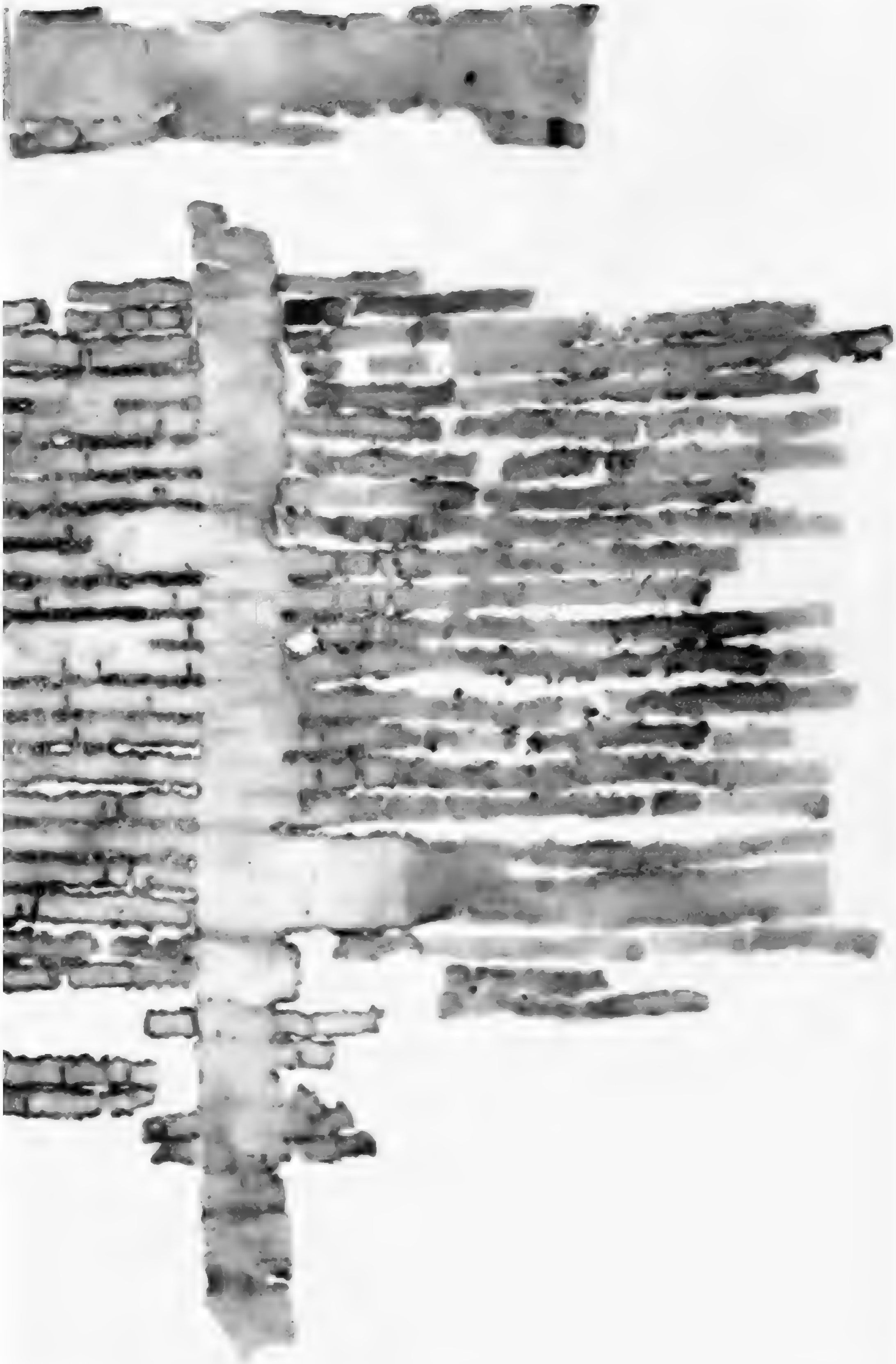

Jerusalem 6-7/94 748

BZ17B



IMneg. 3849



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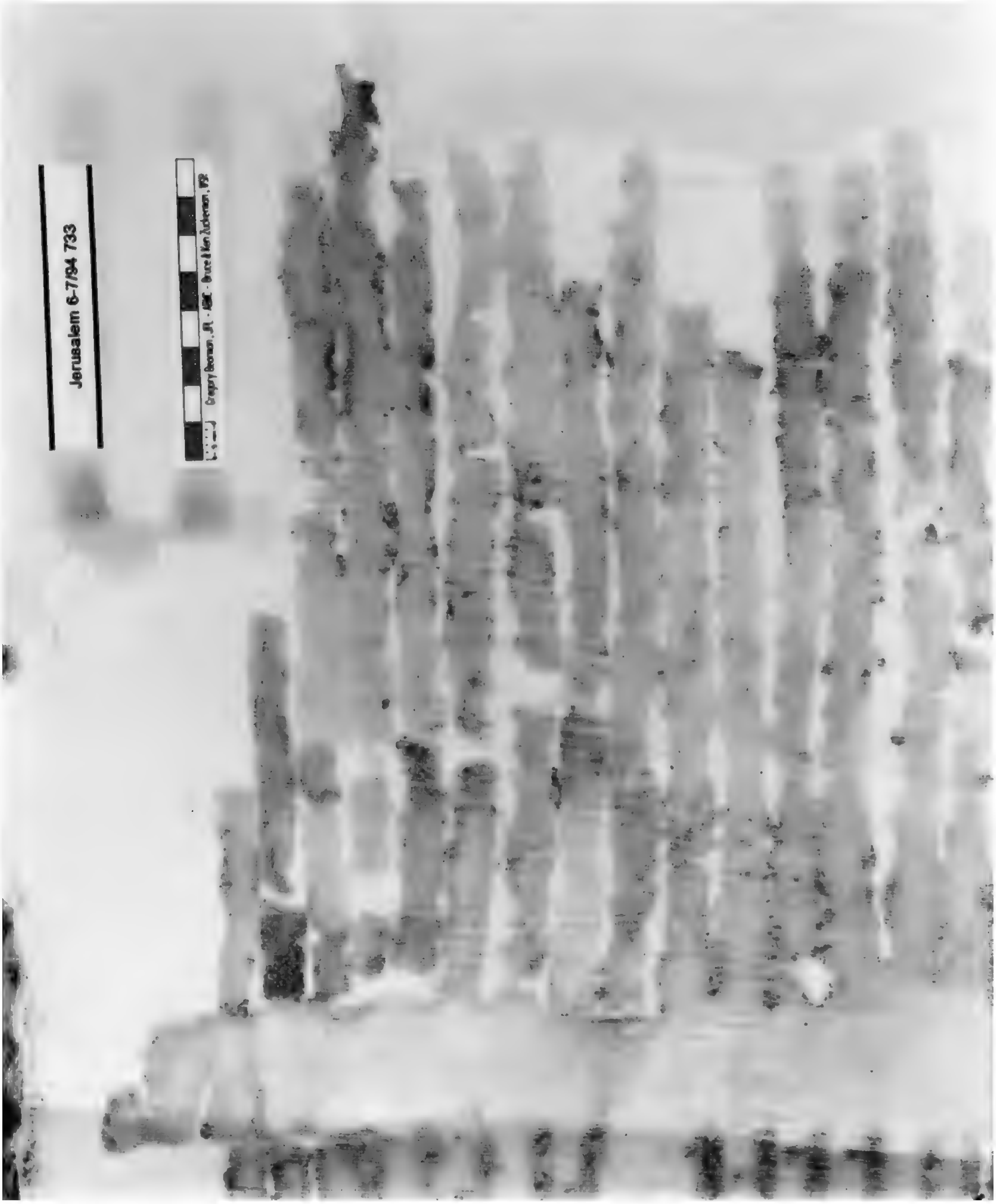
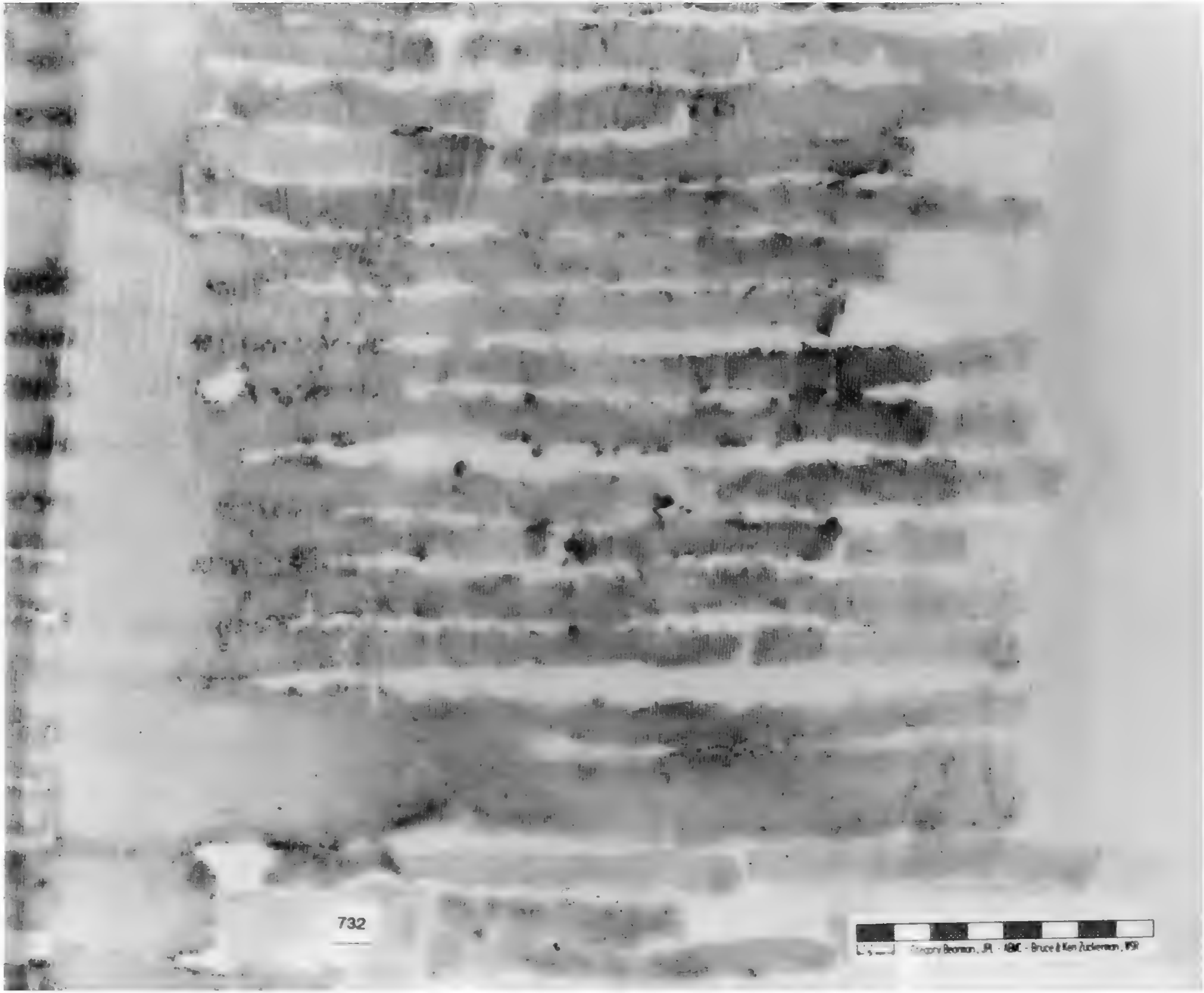
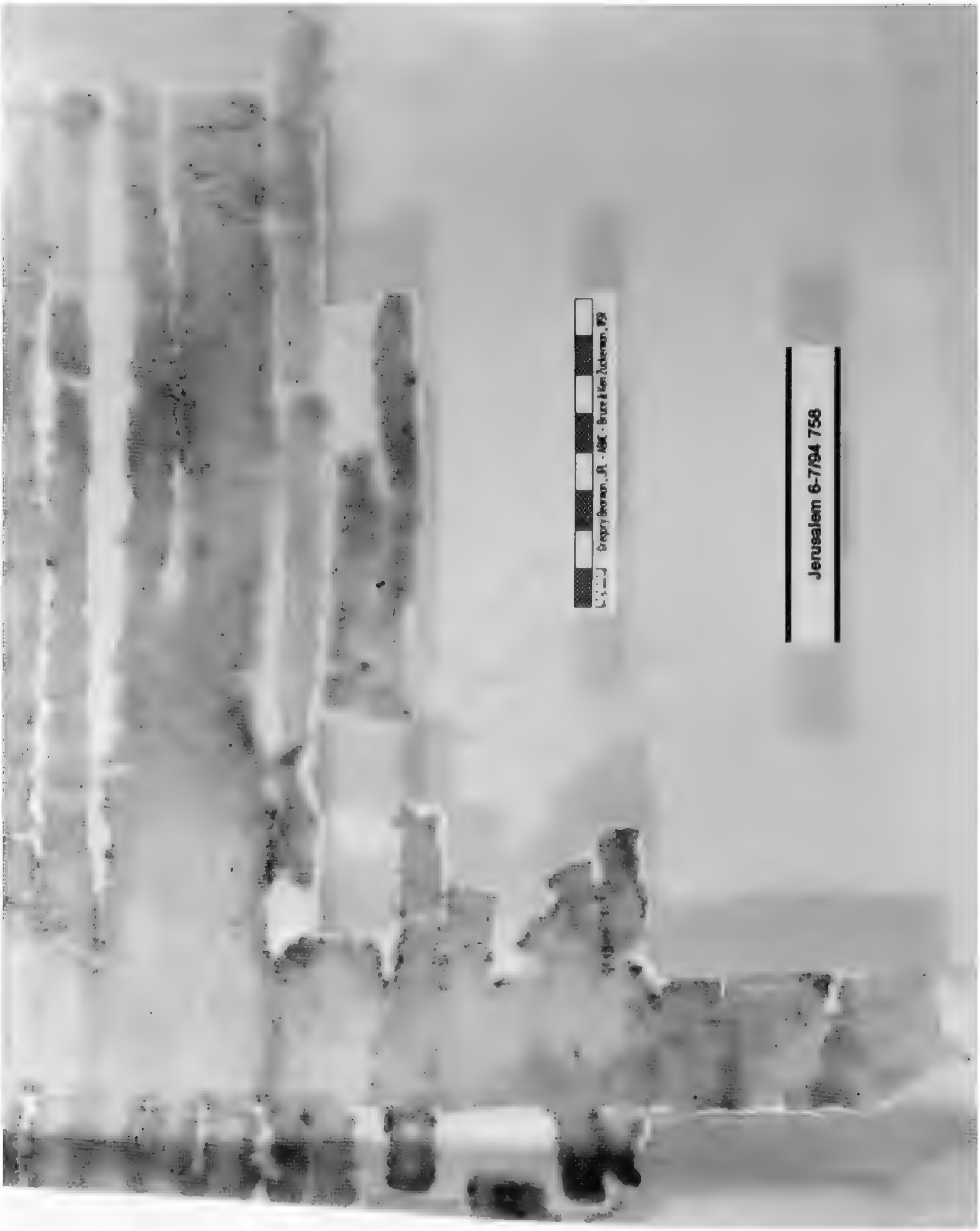

Jerusalem 6-7/94 733

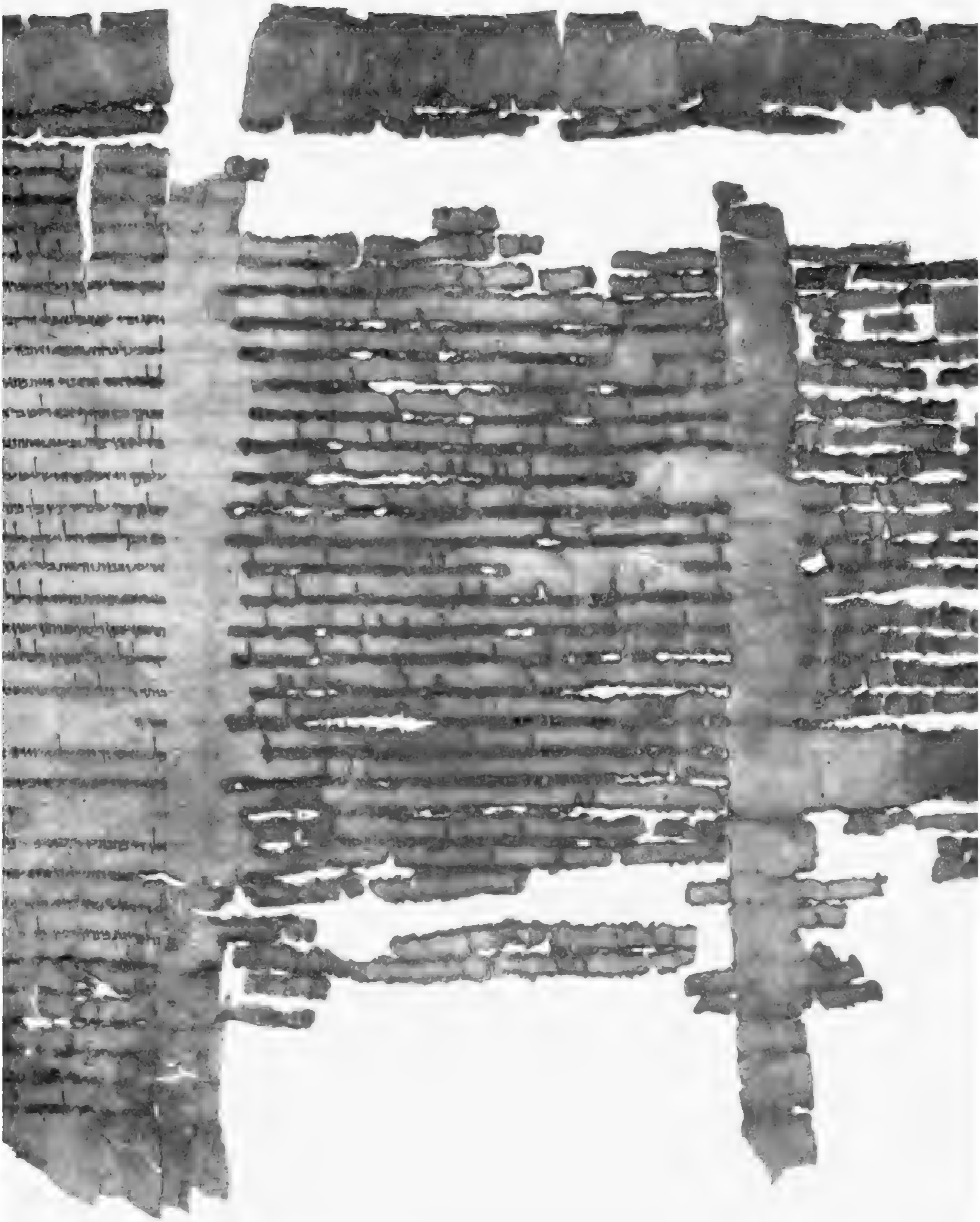
BZ18T


732
Gregory Bearman, JPL - ABMC - Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR

BZ18M


Jerusalem 6-7/94 758

BZ18B



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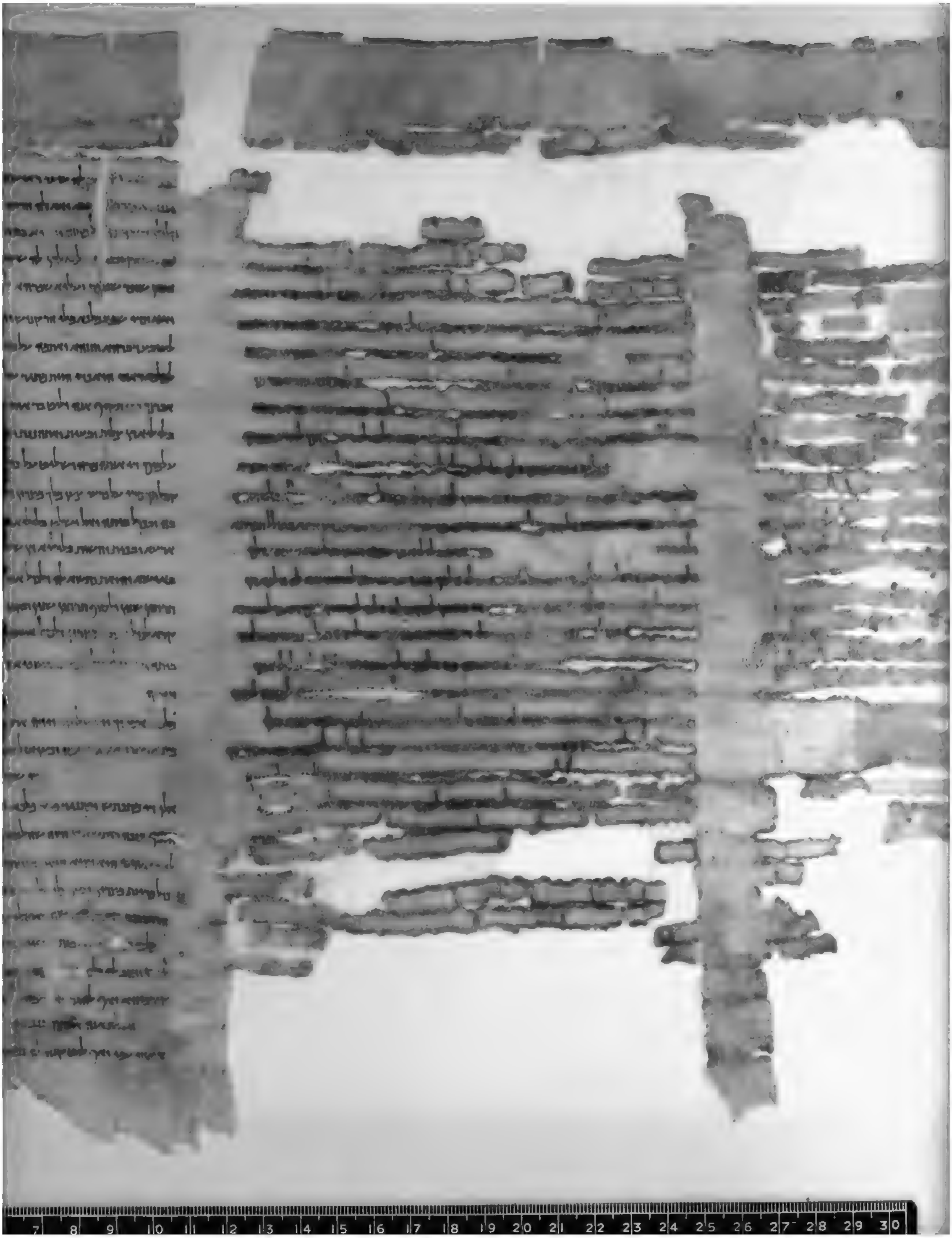

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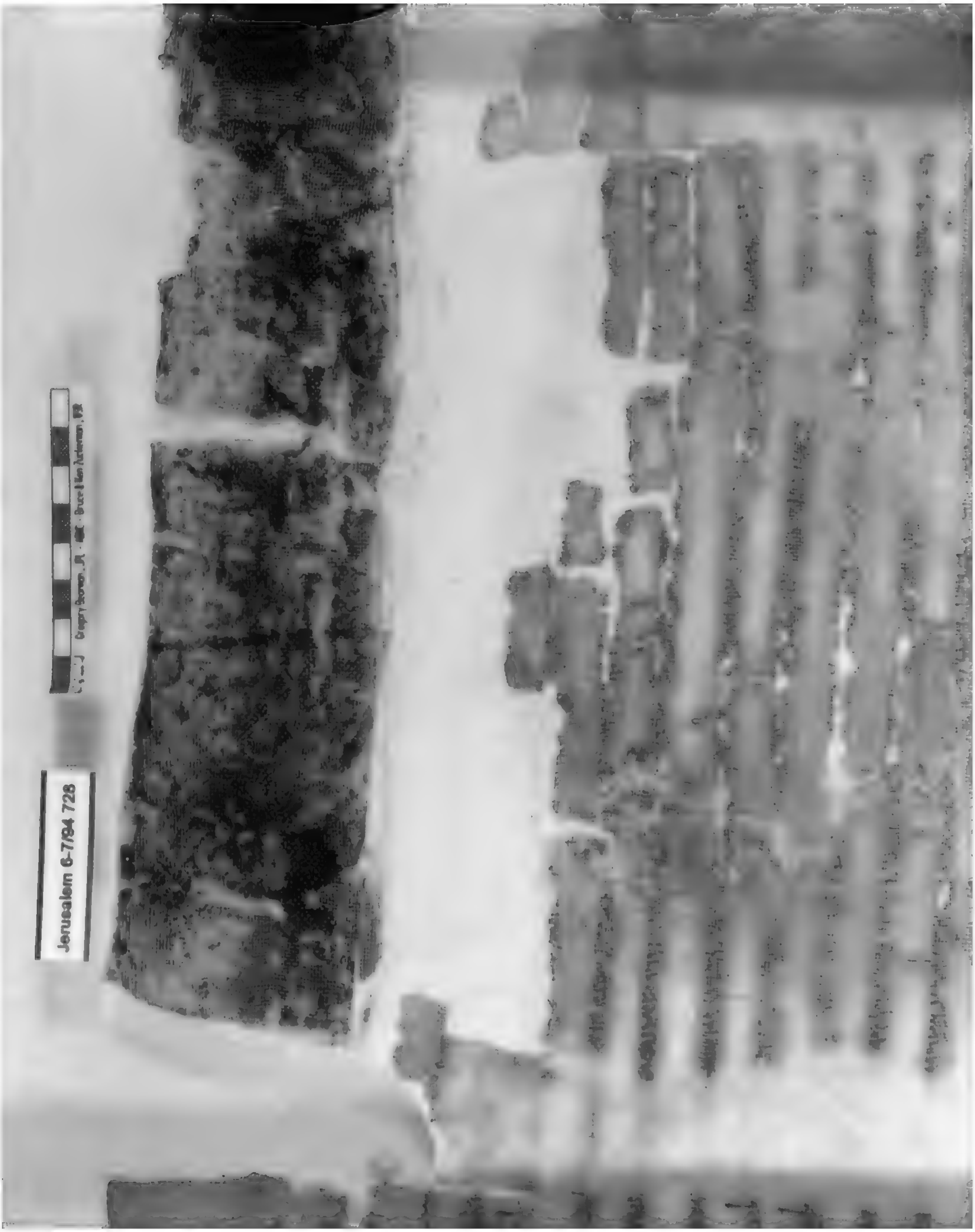
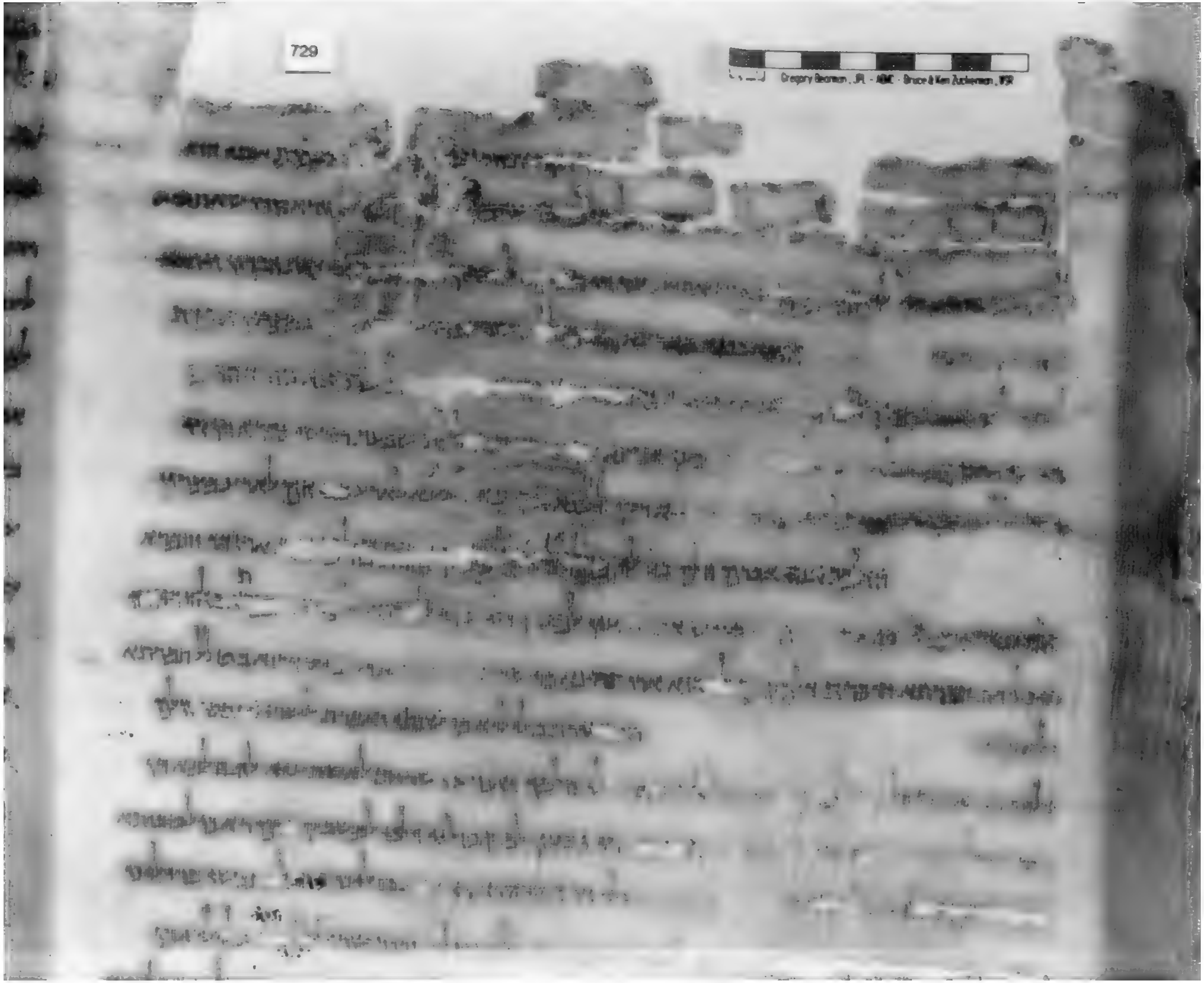
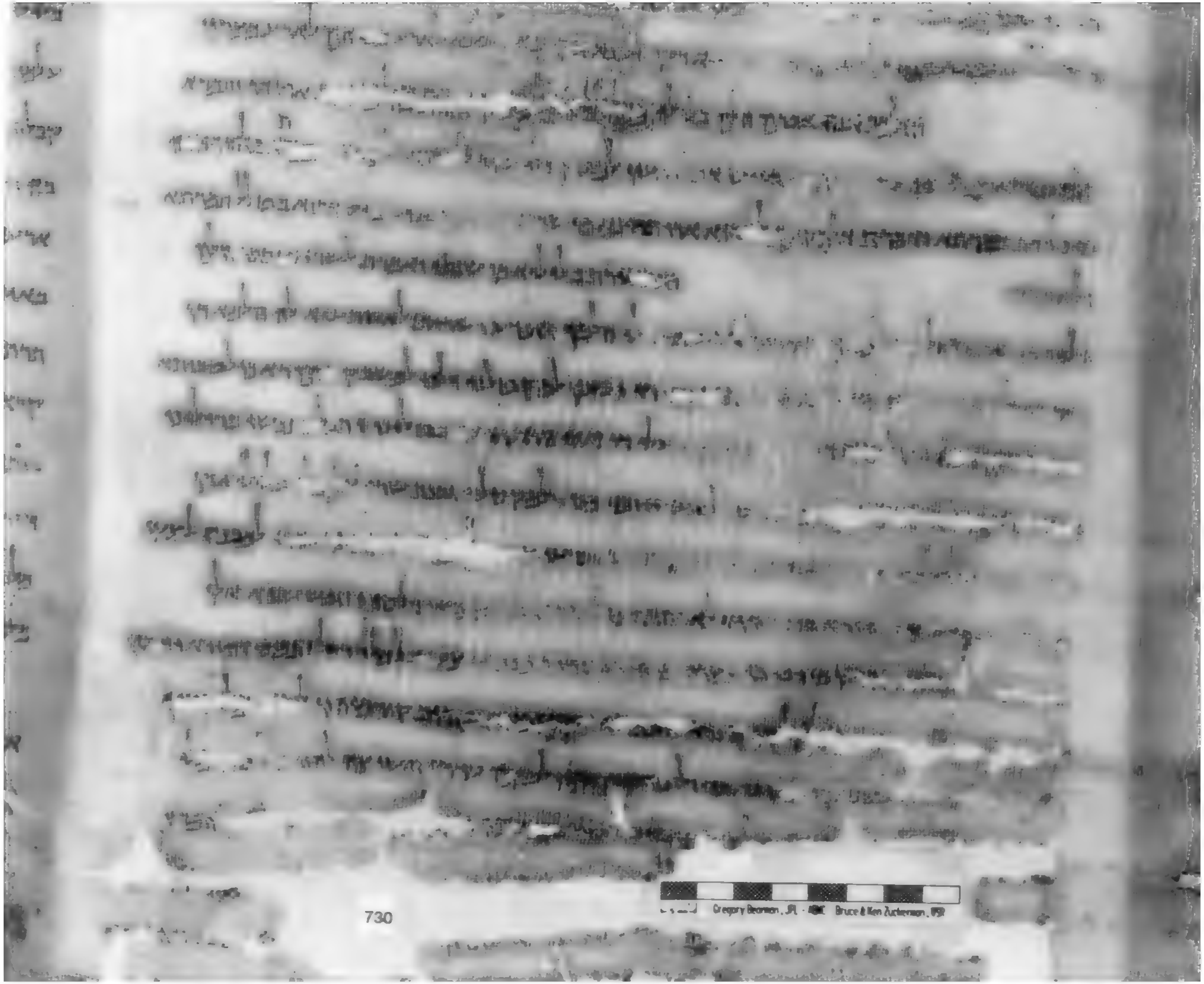

Jerusalem 6-7/84 728

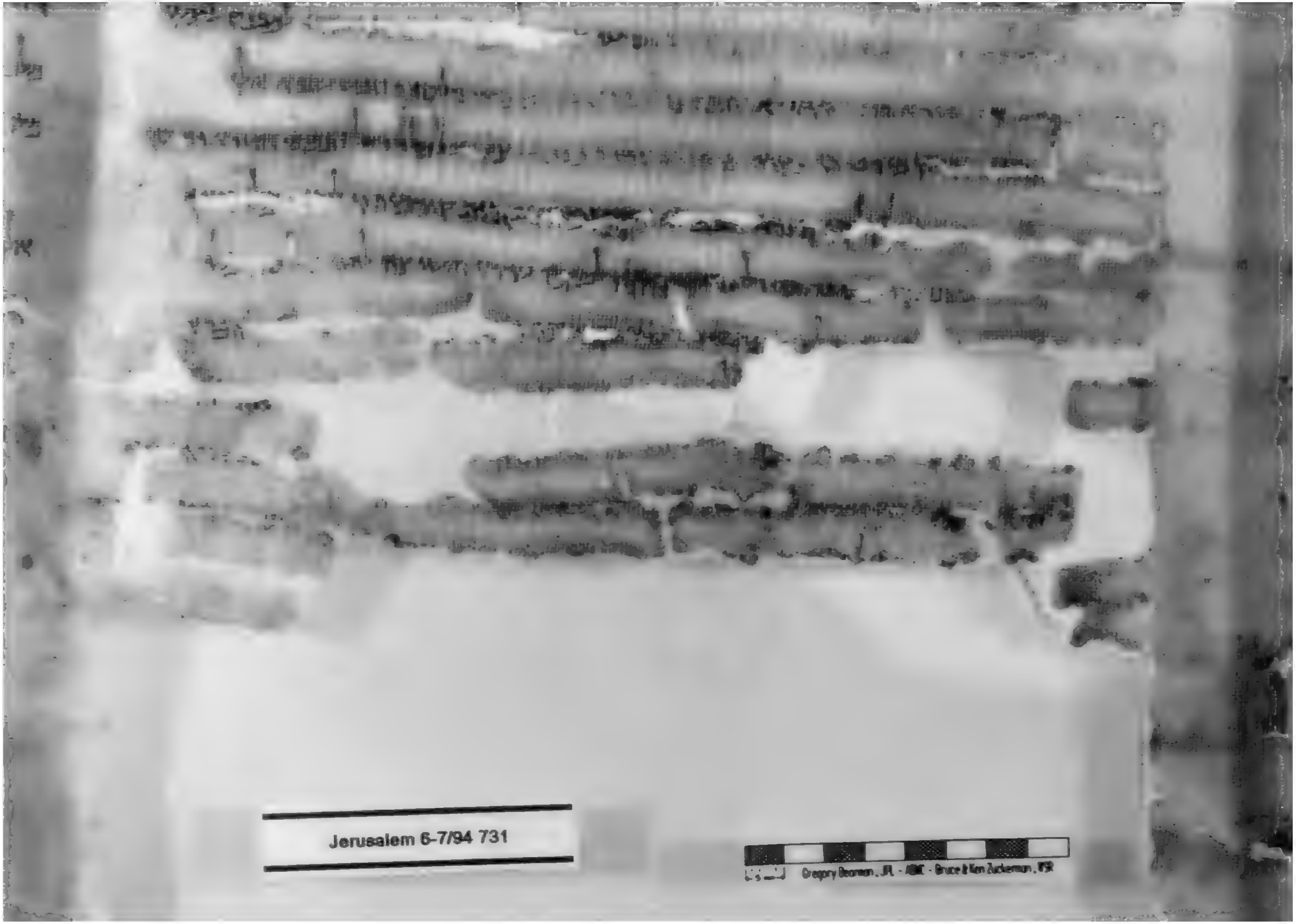
BZ19T


729
Gregory Bearman, JPL - AMC - Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR

BZ19TM


730
Gregory Bearman, JPL · Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSRP

BZ19BM


Jerusalem 6-7/94 731
Gregory Bearman, JPL - ABMC - Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR

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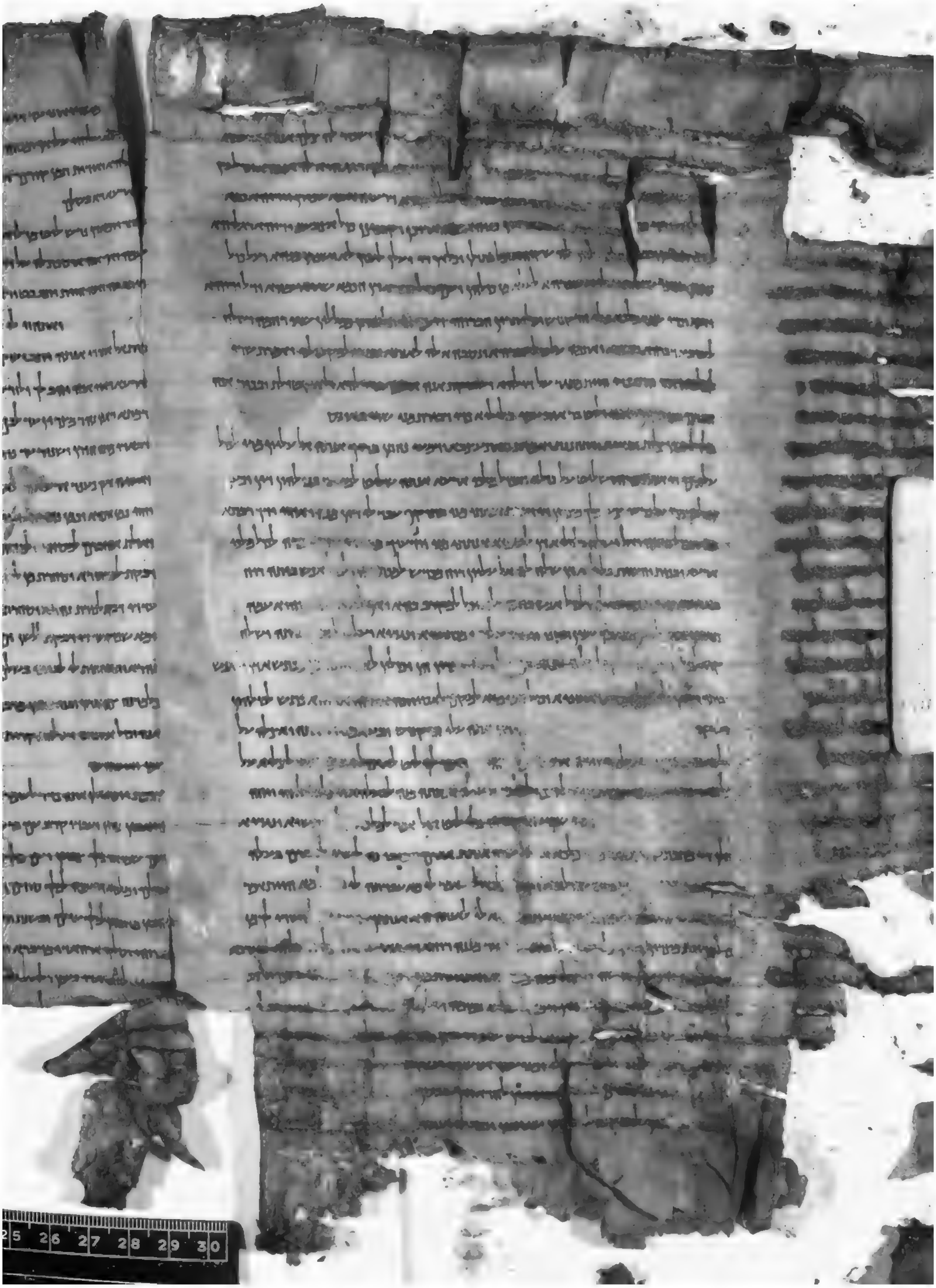

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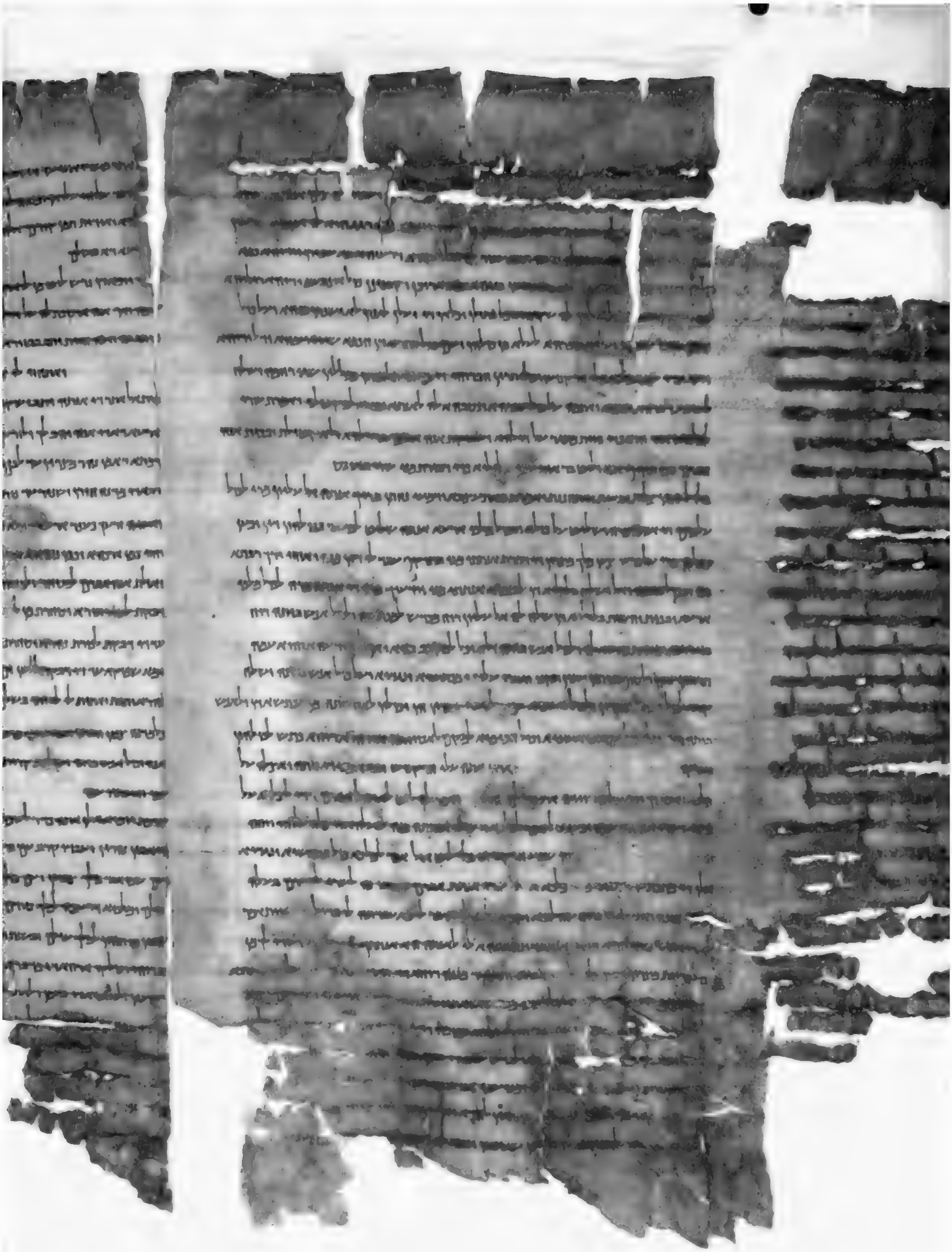

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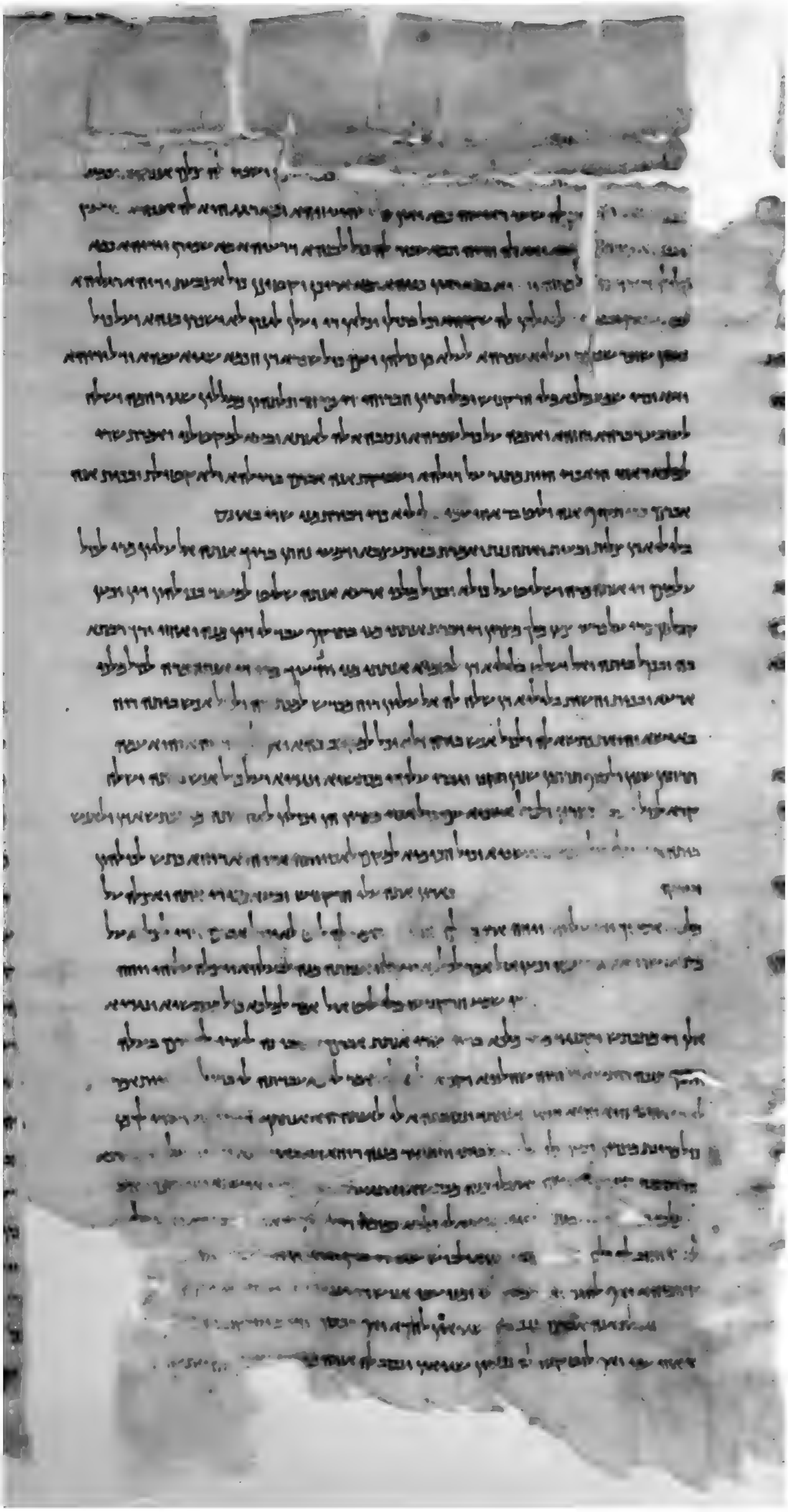

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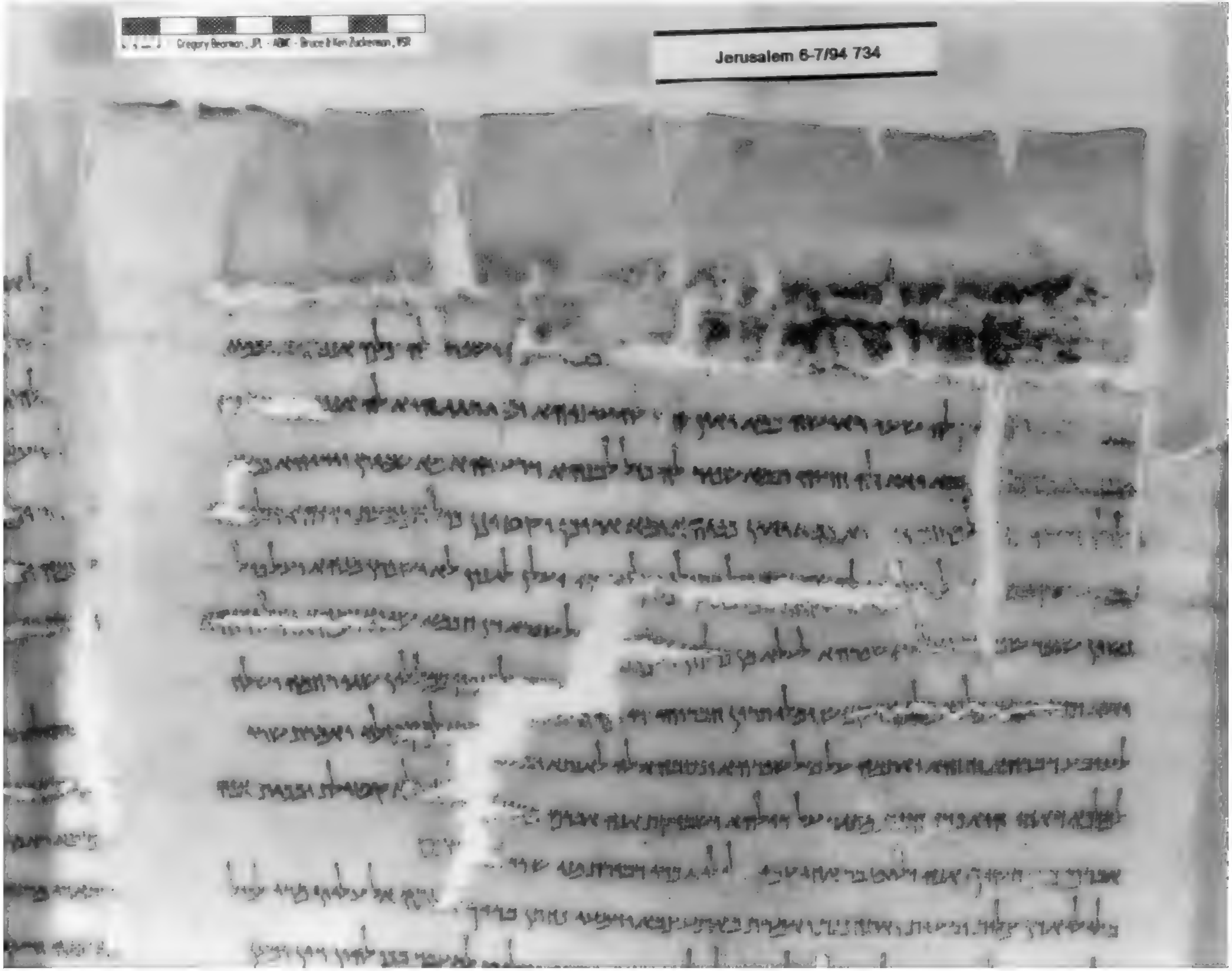
Gregory Bearman, JPL · ABMC · Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR
Jerusalem 6-7/94 734

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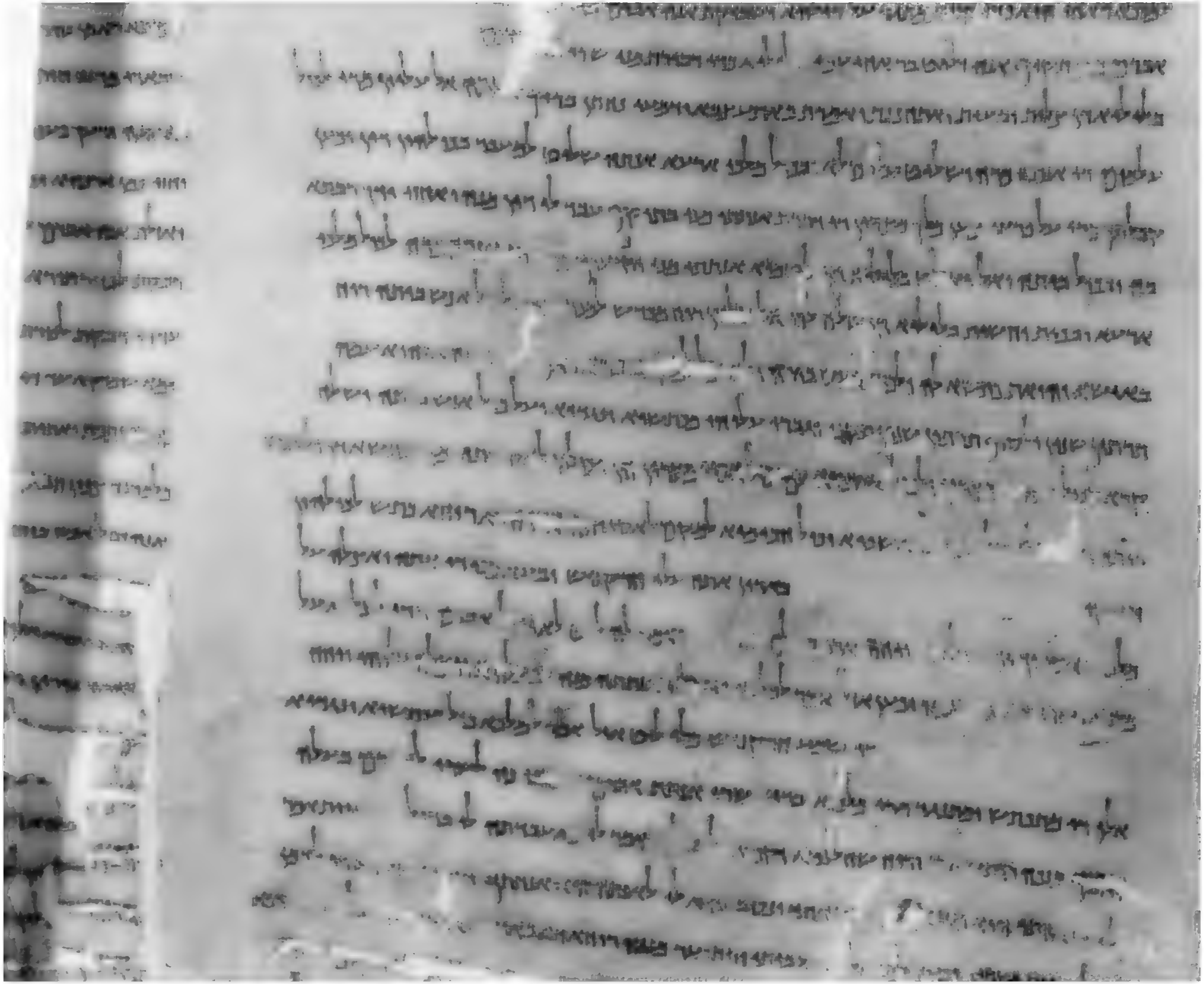

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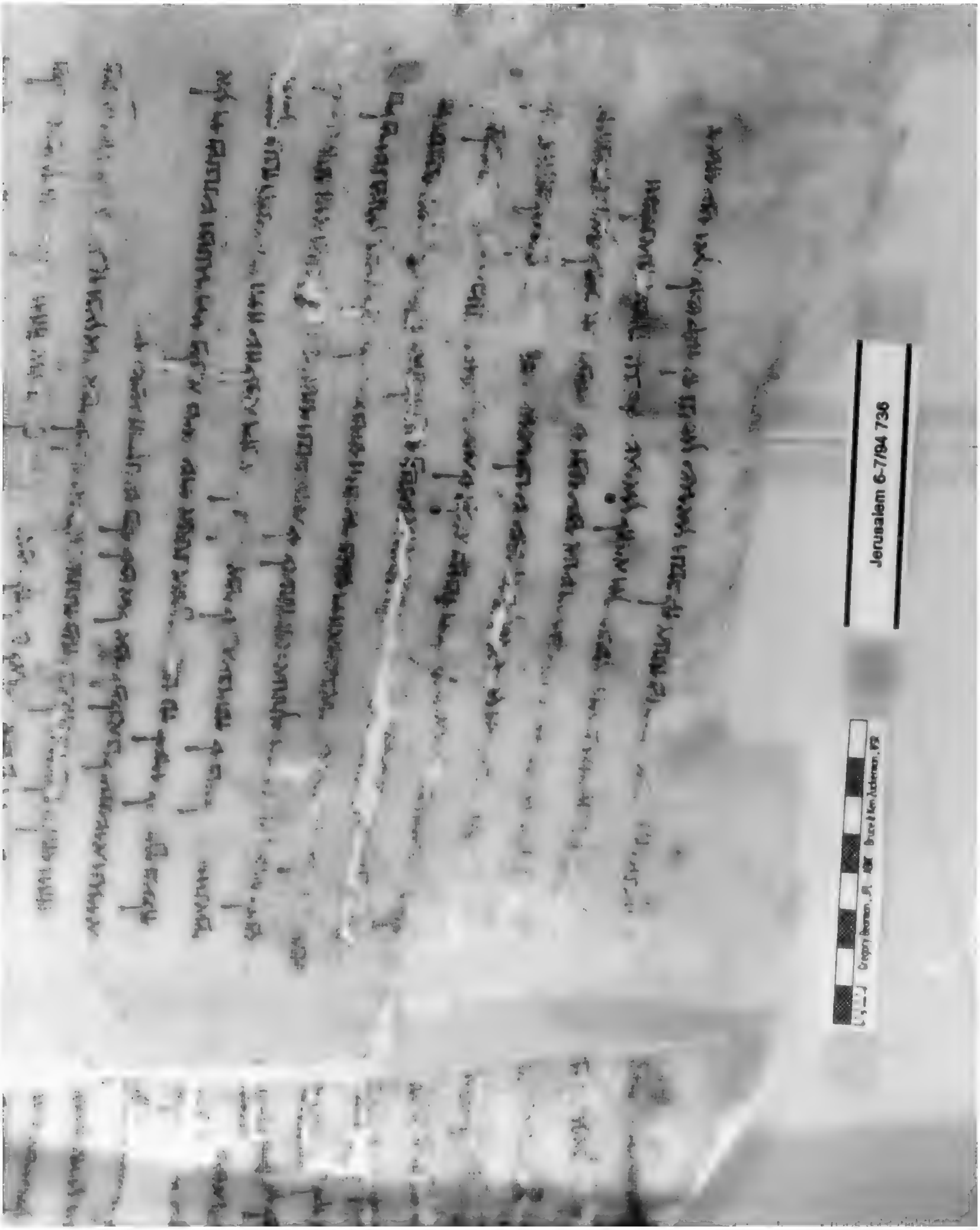
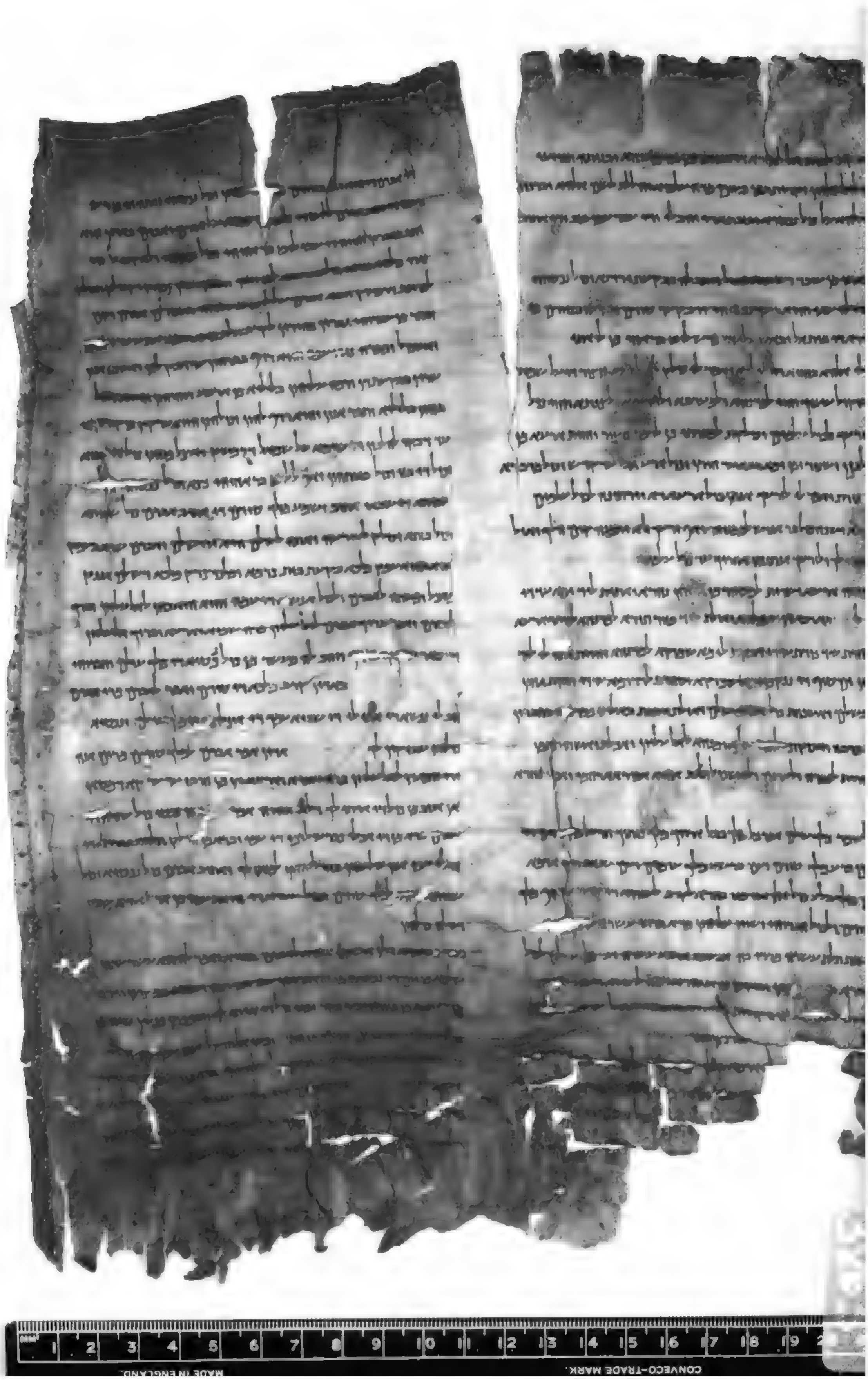
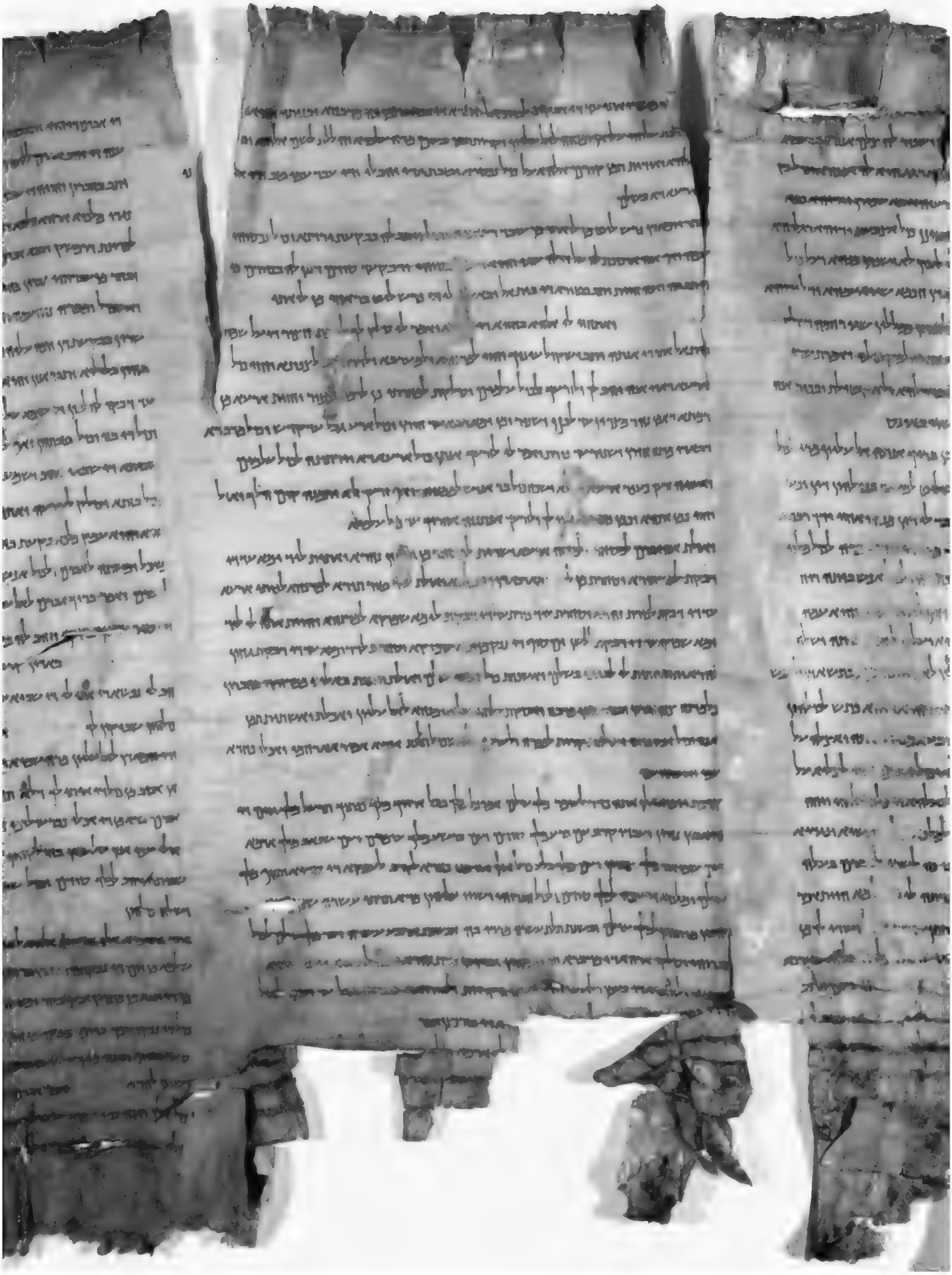

Jerusalem 6-7/94 736
Gregory Bearman, JPL Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR

BZ20B



MADE IN ENGLAND
CONVECO-TRADE MARK

IMneg. 3863



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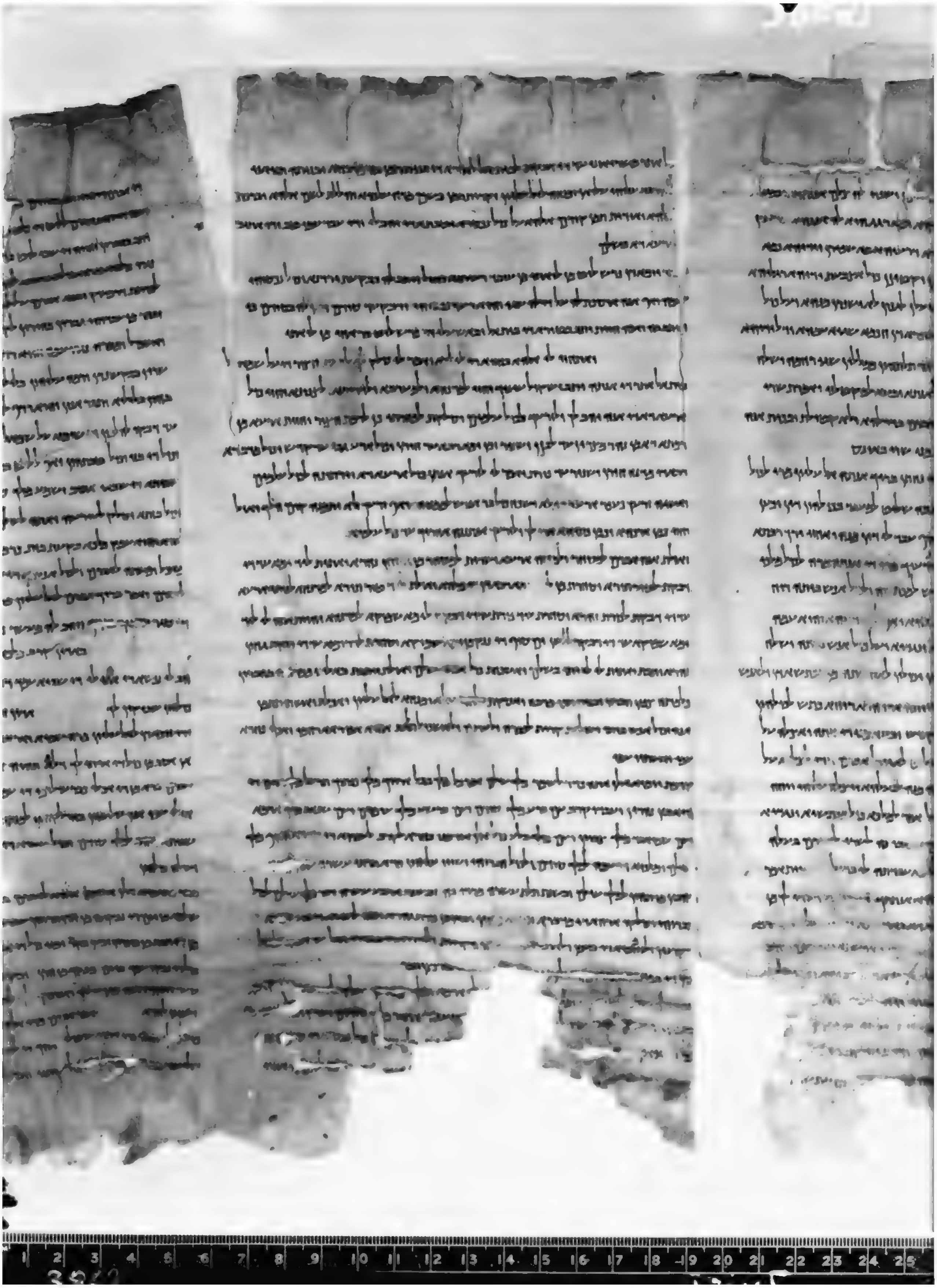

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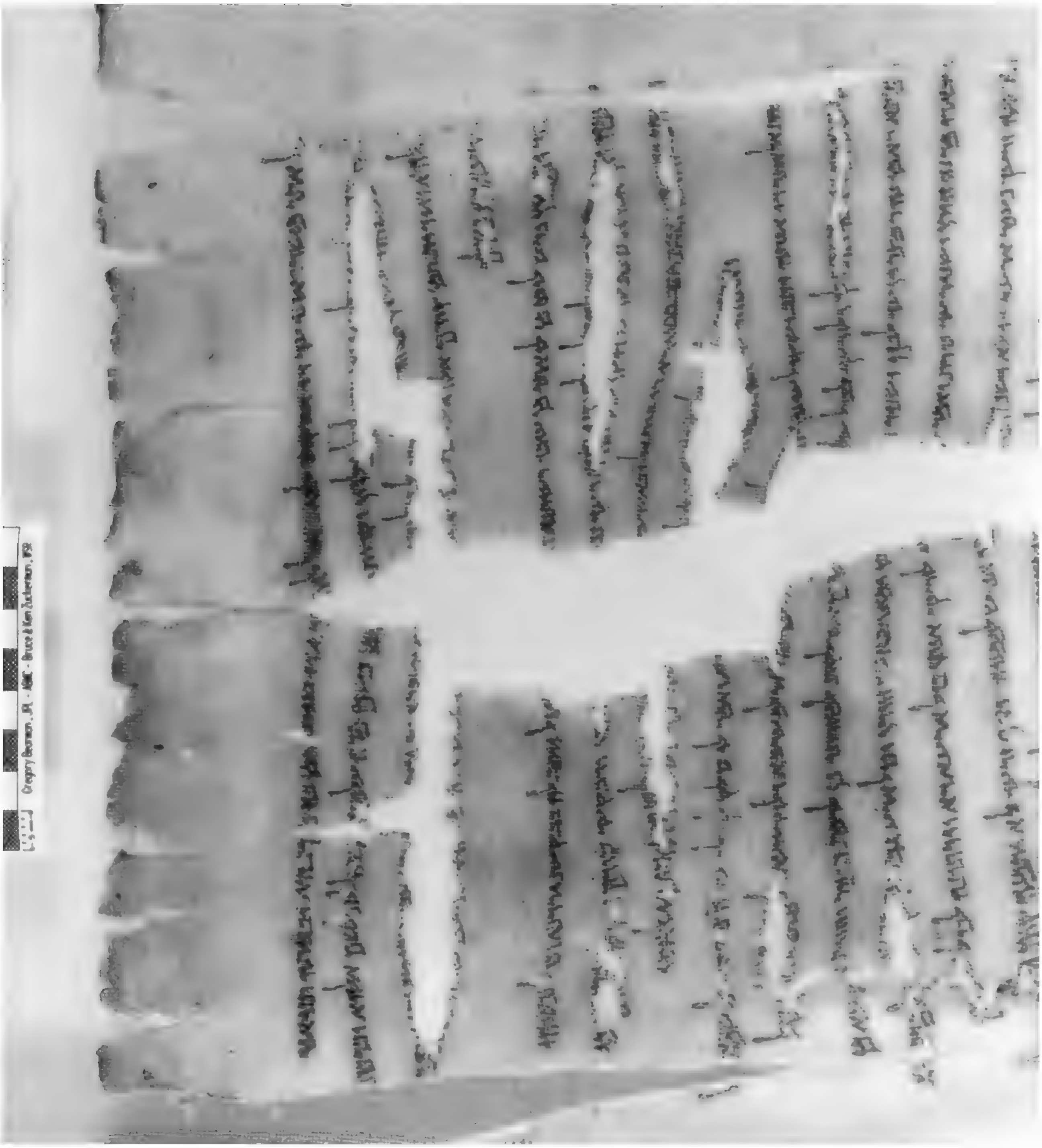

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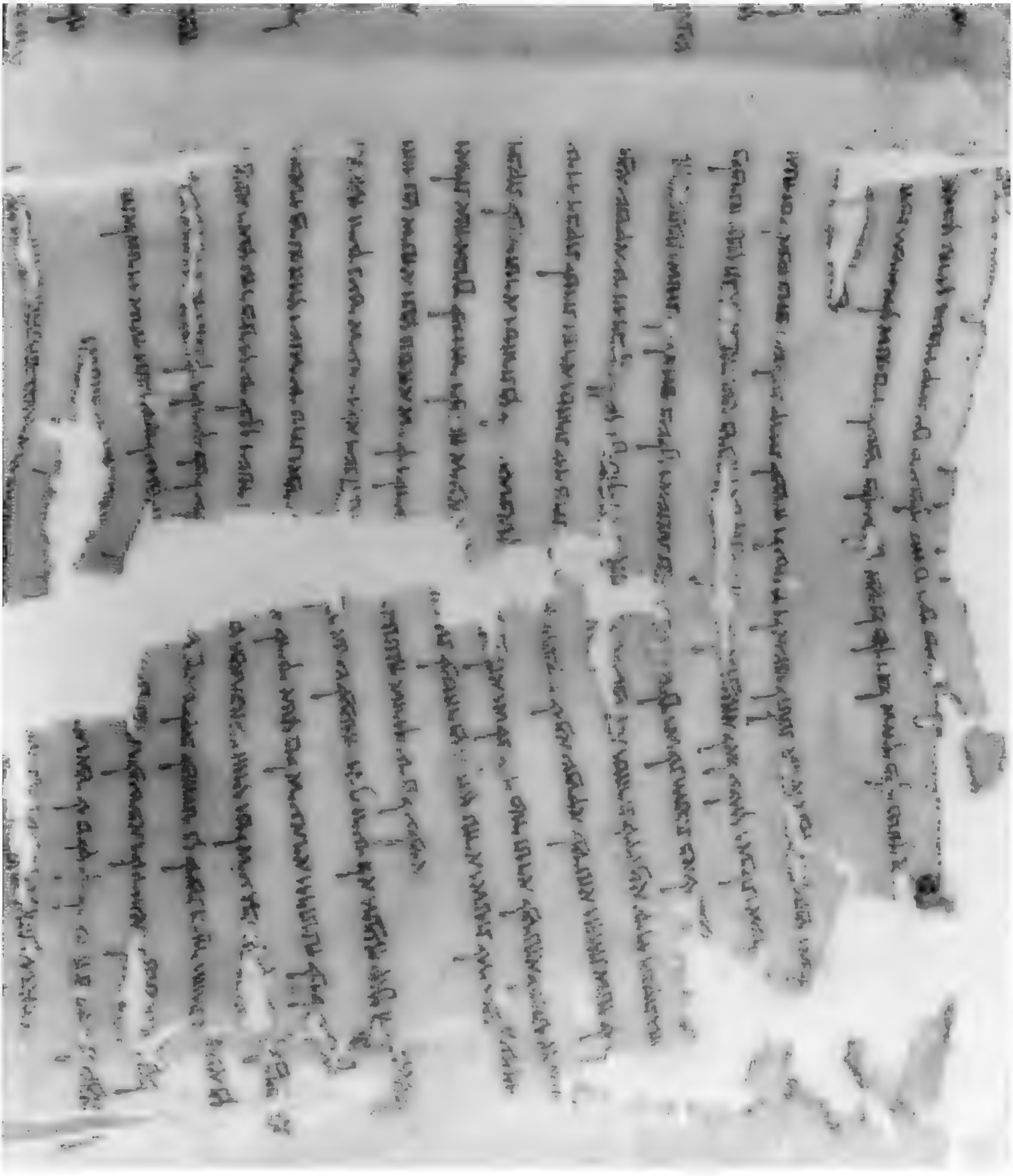

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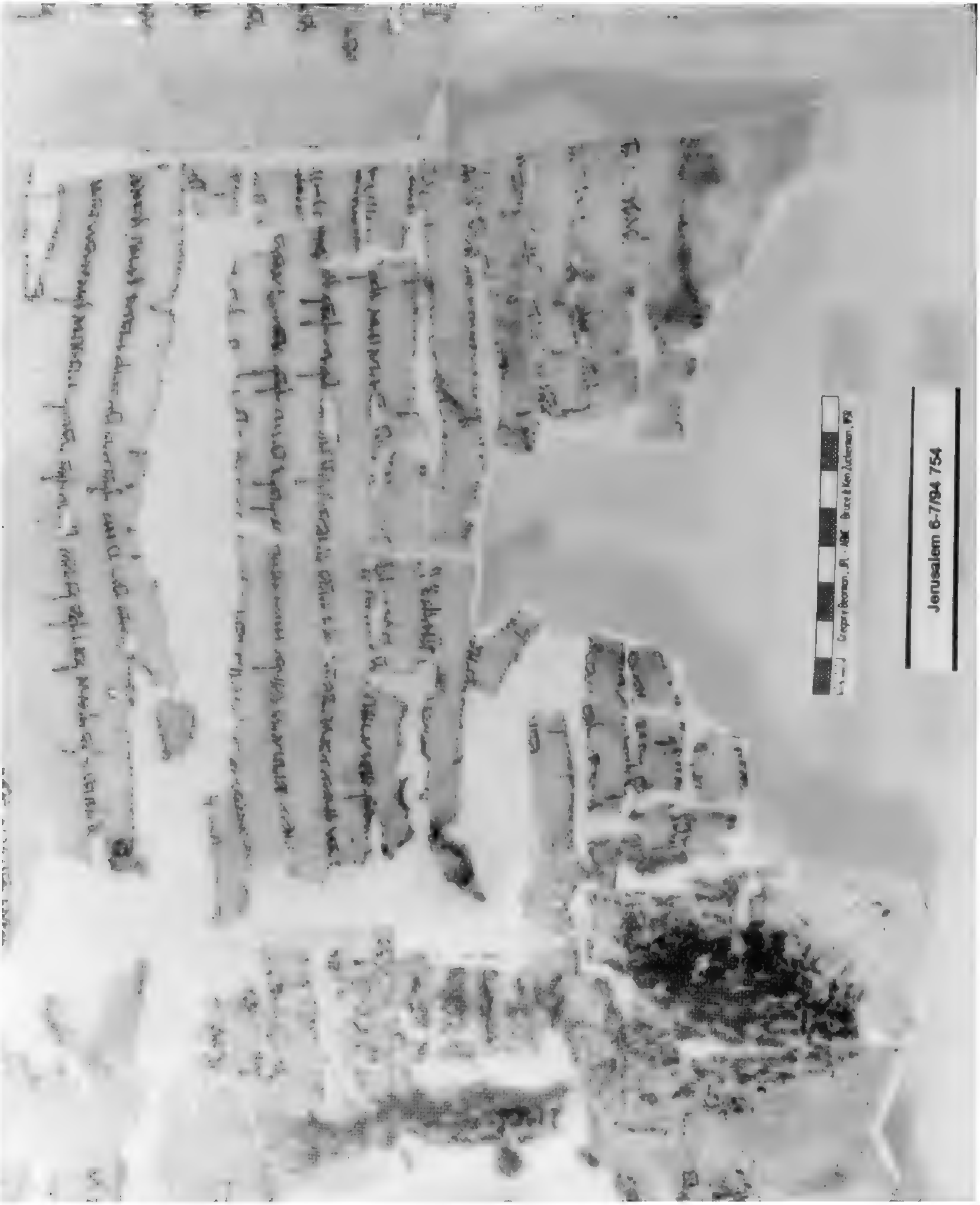
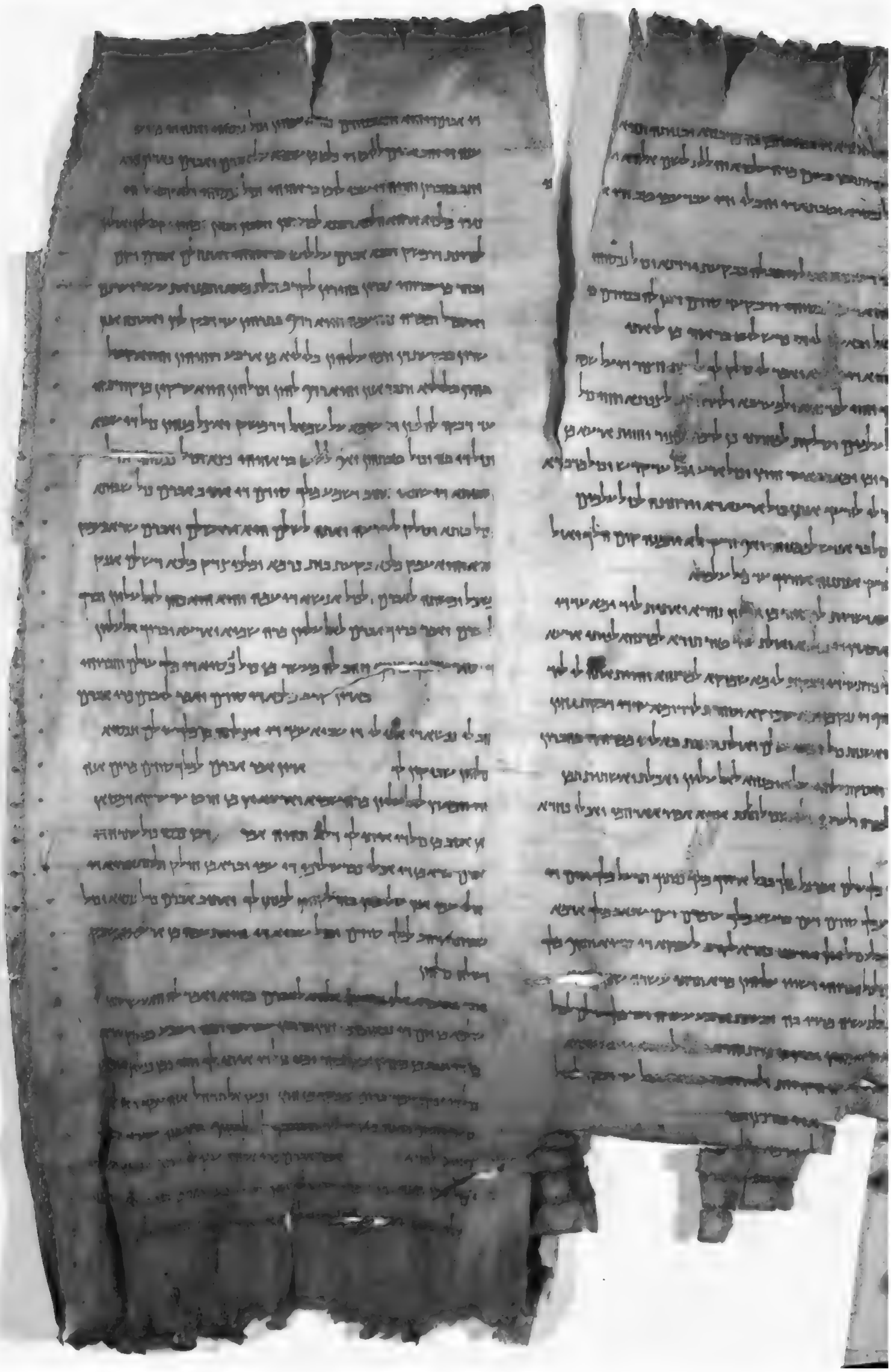

Jerusalem 6-7/94 754
Gregory Bearman, JPL · ABMC · Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSR

BZ21B



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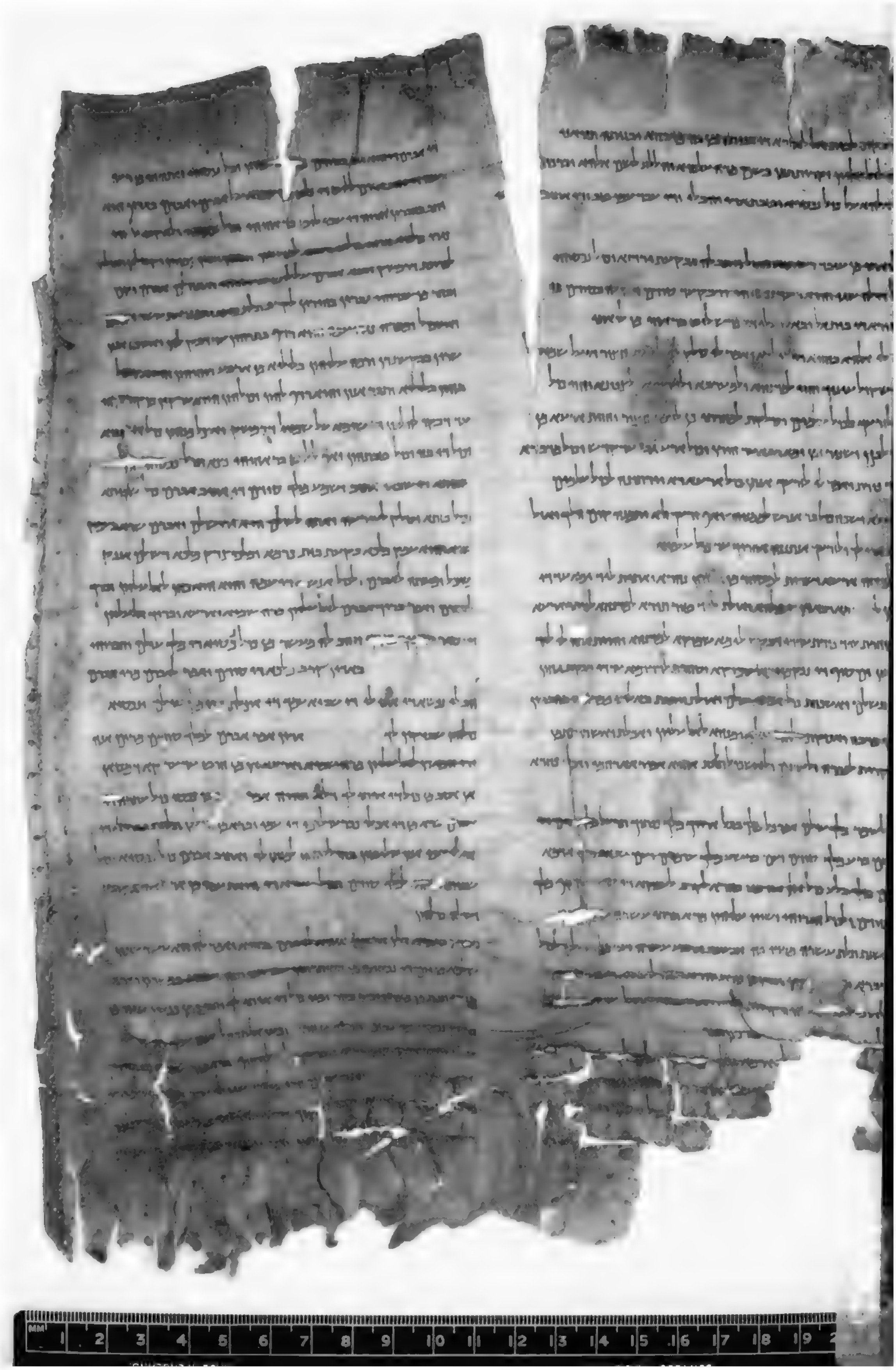

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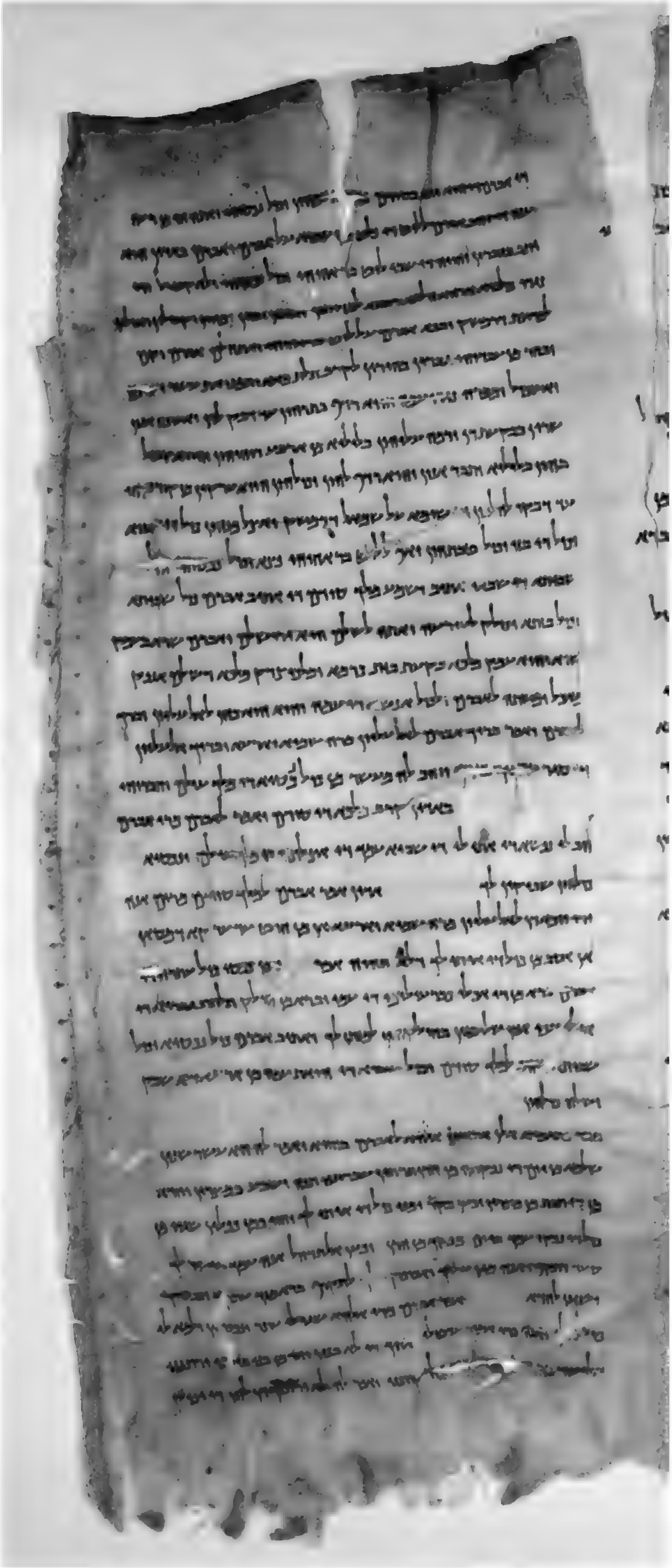

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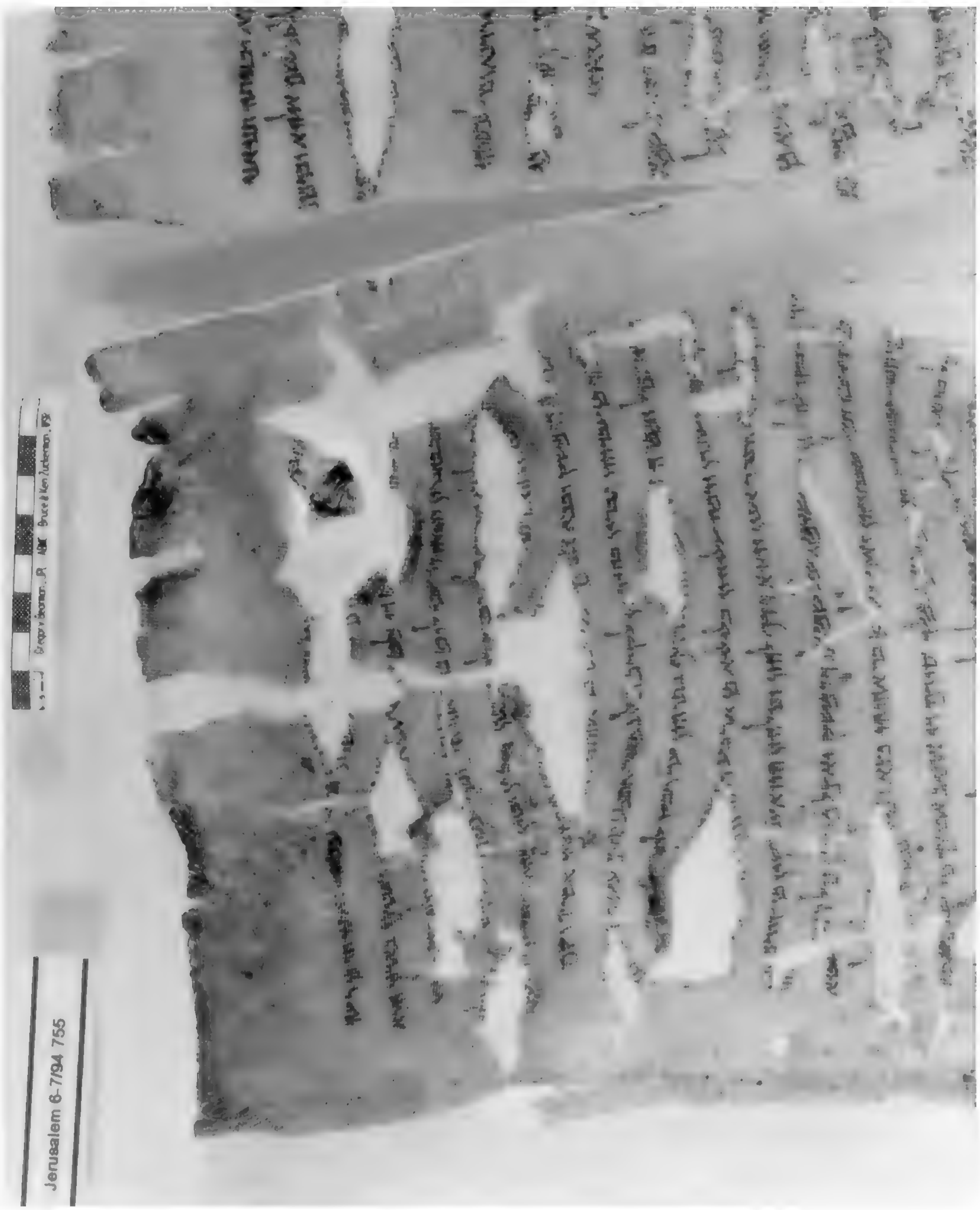
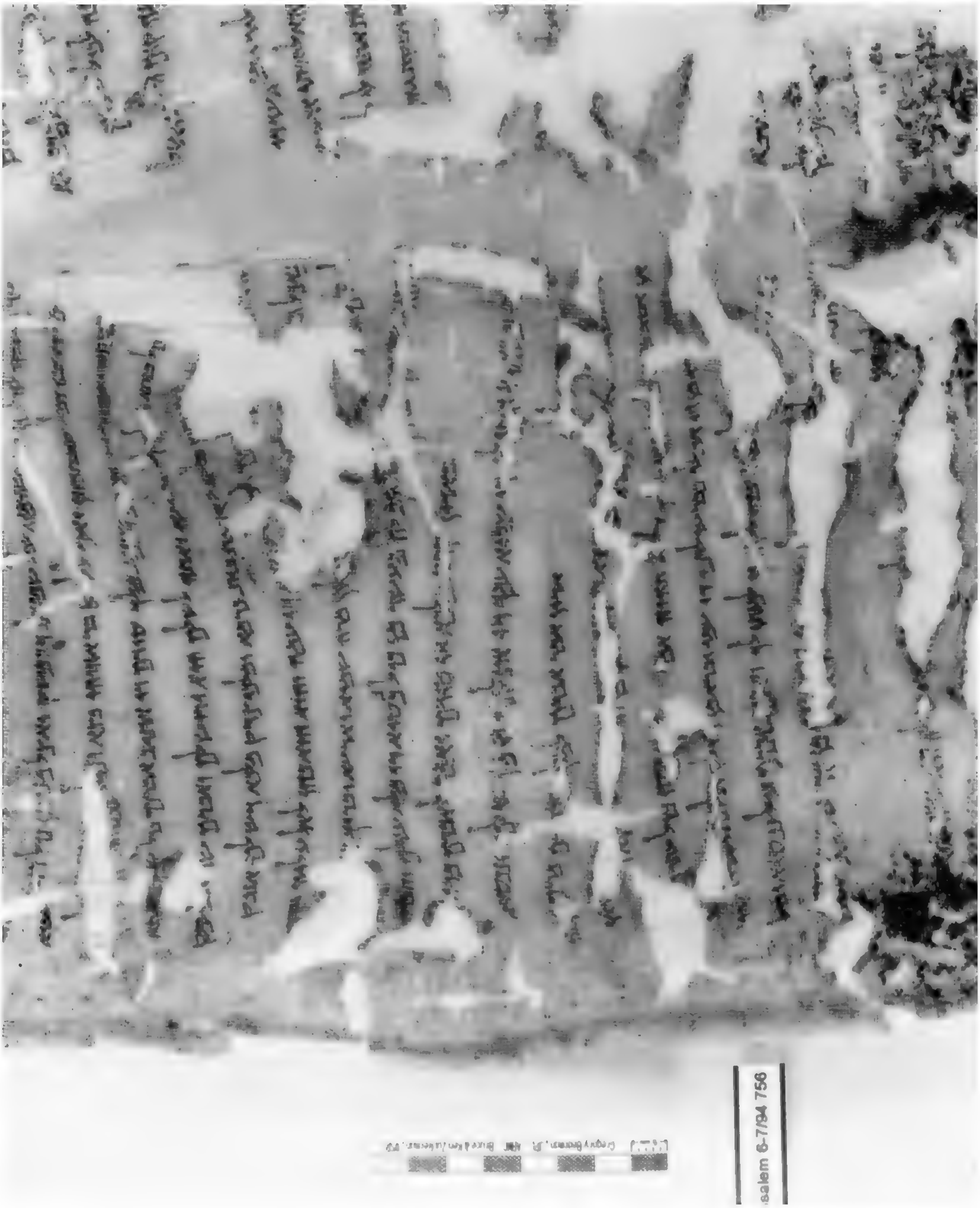
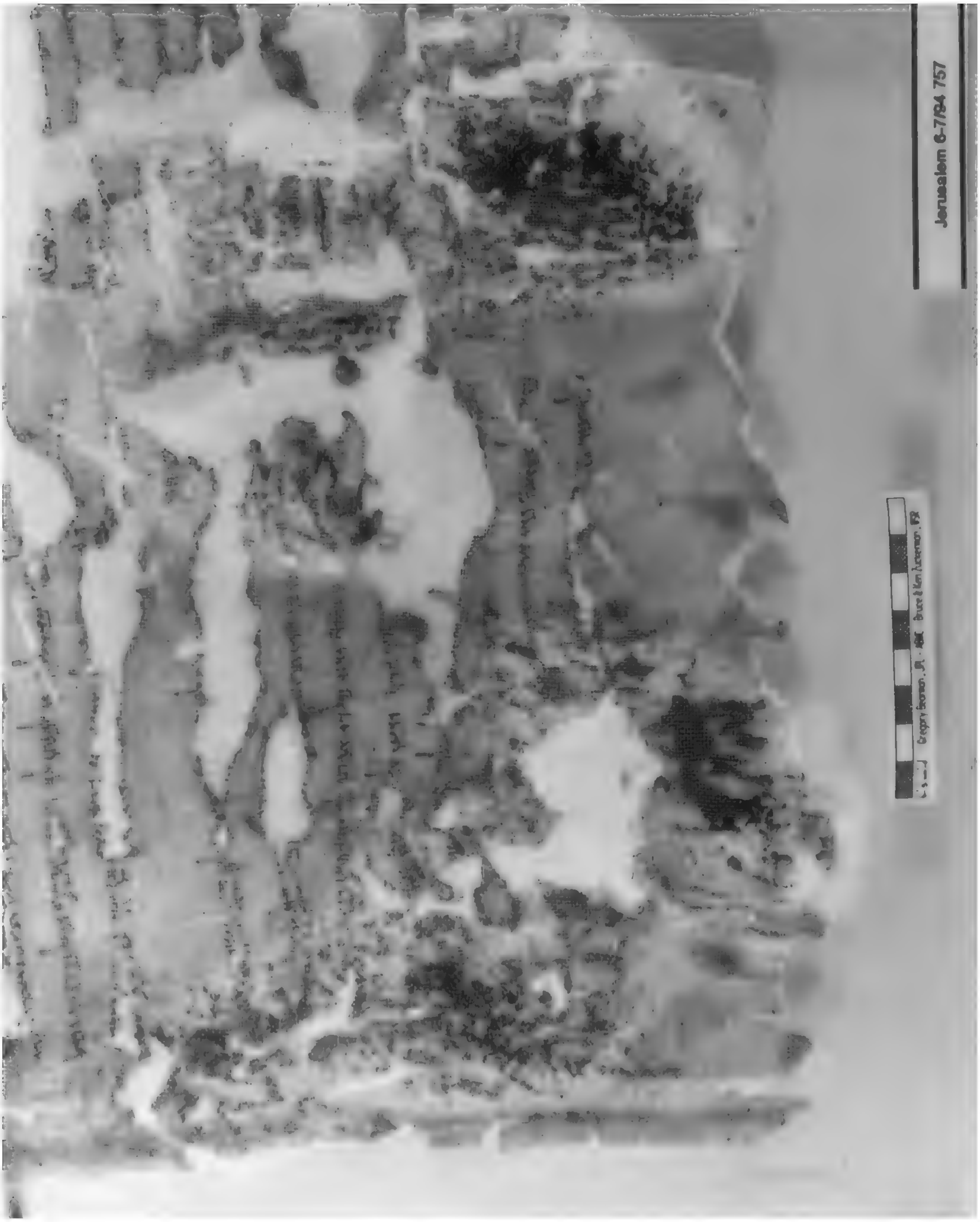

Jerusalem 6-7/94 755
Gregory Bearman, JPL   Bruce & Ken Zuckerman, WSRP

BZ22T


salem 6-7/94 756

BZ22M


Jerusalem 6-7/84 757

BZ22B

אב father [noun]
מתושלח אבי וכולא לה֯[ח]ו֯י֯[ת 2.19
לחנוך] אבוהי וכולא מנה 2.20
וכדי שמע מתושל[ח אבי 2.21
ר֯ט֯ ע֯ל חׄנוך אבוהי למנדע 2.22
[ו]אמׄר לחׄנוך אבוהי יא אבי 2.24
לחׄנוך אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי 2.24
]ארי ביומי ירד אבי 3.3
◦ך֯ א֯ב֯י֯כ֯ם֯ ◦◦◦ןׄ 9.1
די אבותי אׄחדו ואשׄ◦ב֯◦◦ 12.18
ויהב לה נוח אבוהי 17.15

אבד to destroy, wander [verb]
ודי אעדי ואבׄדׄ מנהא 11.13
ו֯חׄלמאׄ למא֯בׄד עד כען לא 19.8

אבדן destruction [noun]
די פלטנא מן אבדנא 12.17

אבן stone, rock [noun]
]אׄ ◦◦ א֯בׄנׄיא וחספיא הווה קצין 13.9

אברם Abram [pers. name]
וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה 19.14
ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא 20.10
בכית אנה/ אברם בׄכׄי תקיף 20.11
אברם דדי לצליׄא על 20.22
אנתת אברם י֯תׄיבו נה לשרי 20.25
י֯תׄיבו נה לשרי לאׄבׄרם בעלה 20.25
וגבלת אנה אברם בנכסׄין 20.33
ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר 21.15
די אברם די הוא יתב 22.1
ענה די יהב אברם ללוט 22.2
פלט מׄן שביא על אברם 22.2
ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון 22.2
ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי 22.5
ואתחלם אברם וקם 22.5
די אתיב אברם כול שביתא 22.12
אברם שרא בעמק 22.13
מאכל ומשתה לאברם 22.15
וברך/ לאׄברם ואמר בריך אברם 22.16
וברך/ לאׄברם ואמר בריך אברם 22.16
ואמר לאברם מרי אברם 22.18
ואמר לאברם מרי אברם 22.18
אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם 22.20
דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי/ אברם 22.23
ואתיב אברם כול נכסיא 22.24
אתחזי{ו} אלהא לאברם בחזוא 22.27
וׄאמר אברם מרי אלהא 22.32

אגר reward [noun]
]◦◦ י֯קׄר֯ ו֯א֯גׄר֯י֯ אנה מׄשלם לך 7.5

באדין/אדין then [prep.]
הא באדין חשׄבׄת בלבי 2.1
באדין אנה למך אתבהלת 2.1
אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ 2.8
ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני 2.11
באדין אנסׄת רוחׄהא ועמי 2.13
באדין אנה למך רטׄת על 2.19
אד֯י֯ן בקושט 5.9
הא באדין ישתבשון ו֯יׄתׄכ֯לון [5.16
בׄ[א]ד֯י֯[ן] הוית אנה נוח 6.6
[ובנן נקבן]בׄא֯ד֯י֯ן֯ לבני נשין 6.8
באדין שלם לבני למׄס֯בׄ להון 6.10
תרין ובאדין מסתם יב֯◦◦[6.18
א֯ד֯י֯[ן אנ]ה֯[נוח 8.3
]◦◦מׄין א֯ד֯ין אׄזׄלת֯ 8.35
באדין בׄר֯כ֯[ת] למׄר֯ה֯ כׄולאׄ 10.1
בׄא֯ד֯י֯ן֯ א֯ז֯ל֯[ת 10.3
באדין ה֯ו֯ו֯אׄ על אׄר֯ע֯א֯ 10.11
אדין ברכת למׄרׄה/ [שמיא 10.12
[בא]ד֯י֯ן ◦ל◦ה֯ כ֯ו֯לה֯ דמהׄון 10.15
באד֯י֯ן עליׄאׄ ב֯[רך] 10.18
[אדין] אׄנׄה֯ נׄו֯חׄ נפקת והלכת 11.11
]לן֯ ב֯[אד]י֯ן֯ ◦◦עׄיׄ 19.21
באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש 20.21
ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון 22.2
באדין קרב מלכא די סודם 22.18
אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם 22.20

אדמא earth, soil [noun]
ו֯[בעי]ר֯ אׄדמׄאׄ ורחׄש יבישתא 13.8

אדמא Admah [place name]
ועם שנאב מלך אדמא 21.24
ומלך [עומרם ומ]לׄך אדמא 21.31

און wrongdoing, iniquity [noun]
נ֯בׄעׄ און וישבׄין ב֯[אר]עׄד֯[15.8

אונס force, oppression [noun]
כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס 20.11

אורך	length [noun]
] כׄוׄל צׄ◦◦ןׄ ולא לאורׄכא	3.2
בארעא לאורכהא ולפותיׄהׄאׄ]	11.11
ועבׄר כעין אׄורׄכׄנׄא	16.9

אזדא	decree, injunction [noun]
]◦ וׄאׄזׄדׄאׄ]	13.7

אזל	to go, depart [verb]
ואזל לאׄרׄךׄ מׄת לפרוין	2.23
קרׄי עׄמׄהׄ וכען אזל	3.12
אזל אמׄרׄ ללמך ברך[די]מׄןׄ לךׄ]	5.10
שקר די אזלן לחשוך עׄלׄמׄאׄ	6.3
בׄ◦◦◦ל֯ אׄזׄלׄתׄ ולאמזרעׄ ברתה	6.7
וׄאׄזׄלׄתׄ [לחד] מׄנׄהׄן ואמׄרׄ	6.21
]◦◦מׄין אׄדׄין אׄזׄלׄתׄ	8.35
בׄאׄדׄי֯ןׄ אׄזׄל֯]ת	10.3
וׄאׄזׄלׄוׄ בׄ◦◦ן והללוׄ ושבחו וׄאׄר֯יׄ	10.8
ואתכנשנא כחדא ואזלנא	12.16
ואז]לׄיׄתׄ אׄנׄהׄ לשׄםׄ ברי	15.22
ואזל תחומא דן כעין	16.17
]וׄאׄזׄלׄ	16.23
והויתׄ אזל לדרומׄאׄ מׄוׄרׄה	19.9
וכען אזל אמר למלכא	20.23
אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24
הא אנתתך דבׄרׄ֯הׄ אזל ועדי	20.27
וסלקת מן מׄצׄרׄ[י]ן [ואז]לׄ[לוט]	20.33
ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא	21.5
קום הלך ואזל/ וחזי	21.13
ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר	21.15
ואזלת ליד טור תורא	21.16
ואזלת ויתבת באלוני ממרה	21.19
ואזלין/ למדינת דרמשק	22.4
תלתת גבריא די/ אזלו עמׄי	22.24

אח	brother [noun]
ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי	2.9
ולי תאמר יא מרי ויאׄ אׄחׄ֯יׄ]	2.13
נשין נסבת מן בנת אחי	6.8
ובנתי לבני אׄח֯יׄ יהׄבׄת כדת	6.8
אׄמׄ[ר]יׄ עלי די אחי הוא	19.20
ואמרת שרי/ למלכא דאחי	20.10
אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בׄליליא	20.11
[לוט]/ בׄר אחי עמי	20.34
בר אחי מן לואתי	21.7
תתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי	21.21
ושׄבׄיׄ לוט בר אחוי	21.34
וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3
ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5
ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא	22.11

אחד	to cling, hold fast [verb]
וׄאׄחׄדׄ֯ת בקושטא וׄאׄתׄקׄפׄתׄ	6.6
◦◦◦הי די אבותי אׄחדו	12.18

אחר	after, behind [prep.]
ומתמחין מן אחרׄהון	0.15
אחריך עד כול עלמיא	21.14

אחרן	last [adj.]
לפׄסׄגׄתׄ חלפתא אחרנׄיׄתׄא	14.15

אחת	sister [noun]
אמר/ לי די אחתי היא	20.27

אי	coast(land), island [noun]
מׄןׄ אׄיא תחׄומׄאׄ ואׄ]	9.10
לעׄוׄבׄרׄיא ודאׄ]יא]כׄ[ו]ל ◦]	11.9
וׄכׄלׄ אׄיׄאׄ ◦ה◦ל לׄי֯ם רׄבׄא	14.18
[י]תׄבׄוׄ בׄגׄאׄ [א]יׄאׄ	14.18
ואיא די בגו לשנא דׄןׄ כׄ[ו]לׄ	17.13

איכן	such that, how (?) [prep.]
אׄיׄכׄנׄהׄ יׄצׄמׄדׄ לׄהׄ עׄמׄא דׄךׄ	15.17

איל פרן	El-Paran [place name]
עד דבׄקׄו לאיל/ פרן	21.29

אילן	tree [noun]
ל◦◦◦◦◦אׄ לׄפׄרזלא ולאילניא	13.10

אימה	awe [noun]
תאכלון אימׄתכון ודׄחׄלׄתׄכׄון	11.17

אימי	Emim [people name]
ולאימיא [די ב]שוה הקריות	21.29

איסוד	base, lower portion [noun]
כׄוׄלׄהׄ דמהׄון לאׄיסוד מדבחׄא	10.15

אתי/איתי	existence, there is [noun]
אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך	21.22
הב לי נפשא די אתי לי	22.19
ומני כול די איתי לך	22.29

אכל	to eat [verb]
ולמׄאׄכׄל ◦◦◦נׄ֯ן	3.24
[י]הׄבׄ לך ולבׄנׄיׄךׄ כׄוׄלׄאׄ לׄמׄאׄכׄלׄ	11.17
ברם כול דם לא תאכלון	11.17
ואכלת ואשתית תמן	21.20
ואכלו כחדא/ עמי ואשתיו עמי	21.21
ברא מן די אכלו כבר	22.23

אל do not [particle of negation]

[ ]◦◦ לׄי֯ ואׄמׄר לך ד֯אׄל תׄר֯גז	2.25
אׄל תׄדחל ו֯אׄל תׄה֯ךׄ	8.34
אׄל תׄדחל ו֯אׄל תׄה֯ךׄ	8.34
ולׄי֯ אׄמׄר֯ אׄל תׄד֯ח֯ל יא נוח	11.15
אל תׄתמה על חׄלמא דׄן	15.19
ואל יׄהׄירבהׄ עלו֯ה֯י֯	15.19
ואמרת אל תקוצו לא֯רזא	19.16
ואל ישלט בליליא דן	20.15
וכען אל תדחל אנה עמך	22.30

אל God [divine name]

לאל עליון לקדישא רבא	12.17
ד֯י֯ ח֯ ◦עׄלי֯ אׄל עׄ֯ל֯י֯ו֯ן֯	12.21
להׄ כ֯ל֯ אׄלם ד֯י֯ ◦◦לי֯ן֯	14.20
למׄב֯ר֯ךׄ אׄל עׄלמׄאׄ ו֯[	15.22
]אׄל֯הׄ לךׄ֯ לק֯◦◦ל֯ לך	15.23
]לק֯ח לךׄ֯ אׄל על[יון	15.24
בריך אנתה אל עליון מרי	20.12
שלח לה אל עליון	20.16
עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
ומנחה לאל עליון	21.2
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7
די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.9
עלא ומנחא לאל עליון	21.20
והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.16
ובריך אל עליון	22.16
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.21

אלה God [divine name]

ו֯קריׄת תמן בׄש֯[ם א]ל[הׄא]	19.7
אׄ֯ל◦ ◦◦ ◦ל◦אׄ	19.8
והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ ל֯אׄלהא	21.2
והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ ל֯אׄלהא	21.3
ואודית תמן קודם אלהא	21.3
ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8
אתחזי{ו} אלהא לאברם בחזוא	22.27
ואמר אברם מרי אלהא	22.32

אלון oak, terebinth (tree) [noun]

ואזלת ויתבת באלונׄי ממרה	21.19

אליעזר Eliezer [pers. name]

אליעזר בר ד֯מׄש֯ק ה֯ו֯אׄ	22.34

הלין/אלן these, those [dem. pronoun]

הלין ו֯אׄ◦◦ בׄג֯ן	8.31
]אׄל֯י֯ן[	15.7
ולסוף חמש שניא אלן	19.23
אלן די מתכתש	20.25
קדמת יומיא אלן	21.23
כול אלן אזדמנו/ כחדא	21.25
בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי{ו}	22.27
ולמא לי/ כול [א]לן	22.33

אם mother [noun]

מן מעׄי אׄמי לקושט נצׄי֯בׄת	6.1

אמורא Amorite [people name]

תתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי	21.21

אמזרע Emzera [pers. name]

ולאמזרעׄ ברתה לי לאנתה	6.7

אמן to trust, strengthen, support [verb]

]לארעא ולמׄחת להאׄימׄנה עמׄא	1.26
בקושט מהימן די֯ ◦◦◦◦	5.8

אמנא Amana [place name]

בׄ֯עדבׄ בׄאמׄנ֯י֯אׄ יד עי֯ל֯ם֯	14.21
לאׄ֯מׄנׄא ד֯צ֯מׄי֯דׄ ט֯ו֯ר֯ הׄרׄרׄט	17.14
ואמנא עׄד֯ ד֯בׄ֯ק֯ לפ֯ו֯[רת	17.14

אמר to say [verb]

בתאנוש אנ֯ת֯י֯ ו֯אׄ[מרת לה	2.3
ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי	2.9
ולי תאמר יא מרי ויאׄ אׄח֯י֯[	2.13
[ו]אׄמׄר לחׄנוך אבוהי יא	2.24
[ ]◦◦ לׄי֯ ואׄמׄר לך ד֯אׄל תׄר֯גז	2.25
וכען לכ{אׄ} אנה אמׄר ברי	5.9
אזל אמׄר֯ ללמך ברך[די]מׄ֯ן֯ לךׄ֯[	5.10
וׄכׄבׄ֯ד֯ אׄמׄ֯ר֯ ◦◦ לךׄ֯ יׄ֯אׄ נ֯ו֯[ח]	6.14
אשמע לך אמרין יא נׄוח ◦◦	6.15
[לחד] מׄ֯נׄ֯הׄן ואמׄר֯ לךׄ֯ ◦[	6.21
ולׄי֯ אׄמׄר֯ אׄל תׄד֯ח֯ל יא נוח	11.15
]לעלמים אמׄר ל◦◦◦◦	11.18
ואמרת אנתה הוא	19.7
אמ[רת] עלא[ ]◦[ ]	19.12
[ובתרה אמרת] הׄא כען	19.13
ואכליׄאת תמרתא ואמרת	19.16
ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם	19.17
ואמרת לי אשתעׄ֯י לי חלמך	19.18
ו֯אׄמׄר֯ת֯ ל[ה] מׄ[ ]ן֯	19.19
אׄמׄ֯[ר]י֯ עלי די אחי הוא	19.20
ואמרת ל◦◦◦◦	19.29
ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי	20.9
ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא	20.12
ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22
וכען אזל אמר למלכא	20.23

אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24
וקרׄא [מ]ל[כ]א֯ לׄי ואמר לי	20.26
[מא] ה֯וית אמר/ לי	20.26
ואמר לי סלק לך לרׄמת חצור	21.8
ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן	21.12
וברך/ לאׄברם ואמר בריך אברם	22.15
ואמר לאברם מרי אברם	22.18
אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם	22.20
דלא תהוה אמר	22.22
ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27
ואׄמר אברם מרי אלהא	22.32
ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן	22.34

אמרפל Amraphel [pers. name]

אמרפל מלך בבל	21.23

אמת truth [noun]

מהׄלך בשבי֯לי אמת עלמא	6.2

הן/אן if, whether [conj.]

]ר֯ז֯א אן אנון	1.7
]ו֯א֯ן	1.13
כולא בקושטא תחוינני הׄן֯[	2.5
לחשוך ע֯למ֯א֯ ו֯ל֯[ח]שב֯ ה֯ן֯	6.3
אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21
אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך	21.22

אנב fruit, produce [noun]

]עליהׄא עדן בׄעליהון ובאנׄבהון	11.12
אׄנׄ[בא]ר֯ברב ושׄפיׄר ומתחזה	13.14
ואתרת מן עלוהי ומׄן֯ אנבהׄ	13.17
]◦י֯ ומן אנב֯הׄ אׄ◦◦[	13.18
]ב֯ ו֯אׄנׄבה֯[	13.20
]א֯נ֯בׄ[ה] תׄתׄבׄו֯נ֯ן֯[א]ע֯א֯ ח֯ו֯בׄ	14.4
כו]ל֯ נ֯ופ֯י[א] ו֯כו֯ל א֯[נב]י֯ ע֯לה֯	14.6
ונופהן ב֯ׄגׄ֯ד֯ף֯ שגי ואנבהׄן֯	15.16

אנא/אנה I [pronoun]

באדין אנה למך אתבהלת	2.1
◦◦ א֯נ֯א יׄעׄד בעליא	2.4
ונשמתי לגו נדנהא ואנה בקושט	2.10
יאמיא אנה לך בקדישא רבא	2.14
אנה] בקושט ממללאׄ עמך	2.17
אנה למך ריתׄ על מתושלח	2.19
ויא מרי די אנה לךׄ א֯ת֯[ית	2.24
דׄן האׄ כדי אנה ח֯נ֯ו֯ך֯	5.3
וכען לכ{אׄ} אנה אמׄר ברי	5.9
ולך אנׄהׄ מׄחוׄה כ֯ו֯ל֯ ד֯[י	5.9
וכען לך אנה מ֯חוה בׄרׄי֯	5.20
ו֯כ֯ד֯י אׄנׄה למך ש֯[מעת	5.26
בׄ[א]ד֯י֯[ן] הוית אנה נוח	6.6
]ו֯א֯[ש]כ֯חׄת א֯נׄ֯הׄ נוח חן רׄבׄו֯	6.23
]◦◦ י֯ק֯ר֯ ו֯א֯גׄר֯י֯ אנה מׄשלם לך	7.5
א֯ד֯י֯[ן אנ]ה֯[נוח	8.3
[וי]הב אנה שׄלטנׄא דׄנׄהׄ ל[ך]	9.3
] כ֯[ע]ן֯ אנה נ֯וׄח ה֯ו֯ית	11.1
[אדין] א֯נׄ֯ה֯ נ֯ו֯ח נפקת והלכת	11.11
עׄמׄך אנה ועם בניך די להון	11.15
ובכול די בהון והא אנה	11.16
אנׄה לך ◦◦ ב֯שׄנין בנׄי֯ך	11.19
אנׄה ובני ובנינׄא	12.8
[ו]שׄרית אנה ובני כולהון	12.23
] ד֯אׄנ֯[ה] נ֯ו֯ח ◦[	12.23
ואתעירת א[נׄ֯א נוׄח מן שנתי	15.21
ושמשא רׄמׄהׄ ו֯אׄנׄהׄ [נוח	15.21
ואז]ל֯י֯ת אׄנ֯ה֯ לשׄ֯ם ברי	15.22
וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה	19.14
חׄלמׄת מן֯ [ד]אנׄה֯ דחל	19.18
]◦◦ ל֯ך֯ א֯נ֯ה֯ ◦◦◦א֯	19.28
◦◦◦ת֯ א֯נ֯ה֯ לצ֯ע֯ן֯ בׄא֯◦◦	19.29
ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא	20.10
בכית אנה/ אברם בׄכׄי תקיף	20.10
אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בׄליליא	20.11
וגבלת אנה אברם בנכסׄין	20.33
ואף אנה אוספת לה	21.6
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא	21.7
די אנה יהב לך	21.10
ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר	21.15
אנה וכול אנש ביתי	21.21
מרים אנה/ ידי יומא דן	22.20
וכען אל תדחל אנה עמך	22.30
ואנה מגן עליך	22.31
ואנה כדי אמותׄ ערטלי אהך	22.33

אנון they, them, those [pronoun]

]ר֯ז֯א אן אנון	1.7
יׄצלחו֯ן ובׄחרו֯ בׄאׄנ֯ו֯ן ◦◦◦[	6.17
ואנון לכ֯ו֯ל ה◦◦◦◦[	15.8
עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון	22.7
ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון	22.9
אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך	22.24

אנחנא we [pronoun]

]וכׄען הא אנחׄנׄא אסירין	0.8
א[נ֯ח֯נ֯]א]לא֯ מ֯דעי֯ן֯	1.4
[א]נ֯ח֯נׄא ידעׄין הלו֯	14.7
עד] כען אנחנא בׄגׄו֯ אׄרׄעׄנׄא	19.12

אנס to suppress, calm [verb]

באדין אנסתׄ רוחׄהא ועמי תמלל	2.13

אנף face, demeanor [noun]

די אשתני אנפי עלי ב֯ר֯ג֯[זי	2.12
למא צלם] אנפיך כדנא עליך	2.17

]◦ להׄוׄן מׄן אנפי ארעא 4.12
לאׄנׄפוהׄי נסבא בׄי 5.12
ושפירׄ לה צלם אנפׄיהא 20.2
ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא 20.3
וׄכול נץ/ אנפיהא מׄשפׄירׄ 20.4

אנוש/אנש man, person [noun]
למׄעׄבׄד אנשא לארעא 1.27
בׄתׄיׄ אׄנׄשׄ[א] ◦הׄ◦םׄ[ ]וׄעׄלׄ 3.8
מ]רׄה עלמׄא לבני אנשא 6.9
ולכול אנוש לא אׄחׄויתה 6.12
]די עם בנת אנושׄ[א 6.20
לׄאנשא ולבׄעׄירׄא ולחיותׄא 6.26
]◦ לכׄול אׄנׄשא בך ◦◦ 7.14
ובׄ[נ]יׄ אׄנׄוׄשׄ אתוׄ ובעיׄן למקץ 19.15
די לא יחזנה כול בׄרׄ אׄנׄוׄשׄ 19.23
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא 20.16
ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל 20.17
ועל כול אנש ביׄתה 20.18
מׄכתשא דן ולאנש/ ביתה 20.19
ואשׄלמׄהאׄ לי ומני עמי אנוש 20.32
דׄי לא ישכח כול בר אנוש 21.13
ואשכחת כול אנשׄיׄ שלם 21.19
אנה וכול אנש ביתי 21.21
ולכול אנשאׄ די עמה 22.15

אנתה wife [noun]
וׄעלת על בתאנוש אׄנׄתׄתׄיׄ 2.3
אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ 2.8
וכדי חזת בׄתׄאנוש אנתתי 2.12
ברתה לי לאנתה נסבת 6.7
למׄסׄבׄ להון נשין לאׄנׄתׄוׄ 6.10
אנתתה בתרה חׄ◦מׄרׄ בׄ◦◦◦[8.1
ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם 19.17
ונסבהא לה לאנתא 20.9
די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף 20.14
לטמיא אנתתי מני 20.15
ושרי אנׄתׄתׄהׄ עׄמה 20.23
ויׄשלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא 20.23
אנתת אברם יׄתׄיבו נה לשרי 20.25
והיא הואתׄ אנתתך 20.27
ונסבתׄהא לי לאנתה 20.27
הא אנתתך דבׄרׄהׄ אזל ועדי 20.27
ונסב לה אנתה מן בׄנׄתׄ מׄצׄרׄ[י]ן 20.34

אנת/אנתה you (m.s.) [pronoun]
אנתה הוא ארזׄאׄ רבאׄ 14.9
אׄנׄתׄ נׄוׄחׄ אל תׄתמה על חׄלמא 15.19
ואמרת אנתה הוא 19.7
ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה 20.12
די אנתה מרה ושליט 20.13
ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט 20.13
ויׄדעוך מרי די אנתה מרה 20.15
אתר די אנתה יתב 21.9

אסי physician, healer [noun]
ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי 20.19
ולׄאׄ יׄכלוׄ כׄול אסיא 20.20

אסי to heal [verb]
הן יכולון לאסיׄותה 20.19
וכול חכימיא למקם לאסיותה 20.20

אסיר prisoner, one bound [noun]
]וׄכׄען הא אנחׄנא אסירין 0.8
]◦◦◦נון אסיר תקיף 1.21

אספרד buckler [noun]
ואספרׄד לׄך לתקיף ברא מנך 22.31

אסר to bind, gird [verb]
בׄ[עדנ]א די אסרנאׄ[0.13
וחצי אסרת בחזון קושטא 6.4

אע wood [noun]
]אׄעׄאׄ [13.8
תׄתׄבׄוׄנׄן[א]עׄאׄ חׄוׄבׄ מׄעׄ[נ]ף 14.4
יׄצׄדׄדׄ וׄאעא מׄנׄהׄ ◦◦ 14.11

אף also, so, even [adv.]
וׄאׄף רז רשעא די 1.2
ואׄף לכול בשרא 1.28
דחל למך ברך וׄאׄףׄ מׄן 5.7
ואׄף לׄאׄ ידעׄהא 20.17
קודמיהא ואׄף לחגר 20.32
ואׄף בכסף ודהב 20.33
ואׄף אנה אוספת לה 21.6
ואׄף זרעך לא יתמנה 21.13
ואׄף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא 22.11

אצבע finger [noun]
וקטינן כול אצבעת ידיהא 20.5

ארבע four [adj.]
]◦◦◦ ארׄבׄעׄ 11.10
ותירׄסׄ ובנן נׄקׄבׄן ארבע 12.12
ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמׄרׄ 12.13
]ארבע]רׄוחי שמיא נשבן 13.16
ארבעא מלאכׄין רׄבׄרׄבׄיׄן[15.14
אׄרׄבׄעׄאׄ [נגאו]תׄ וׄעׄדׄ 17.18
ובשנת ארבע עשרה 21.27
מן ארבע רוחיהון 22.8

ארגואן purple [adj.]
וארג֯ו֯אׄן ד֯י֯ ○○ל֯○ב֯ש֯ 20.31

ארז cedar (tree) [noun]
אנתה הוא ארז֯אׄ רבאׄ 14.9
קדמיתא דבקא בגדם ארׄז֯אׄ 14.11
דבקא בג֯[ד]ם [ארזא 14.14
]לאׄרׄזא[14.27
וׄחׄזית בחׄלמׄי וׄהׄא ארז חד 19.14
ובעׄין למקץ ולמעקר ל[א]רׄזא 19.15
ואמרת אל תקוצו֯ לאׄרזא 19.16
ושׄביׄק ארזא בטלל תמרתא 19.16

ארח trail, path [noun]
ᵇמסלׄי אׄרׄחׄת קושט ולאׄזהׄרותׄני 6.3
וסלקו ארחא די מדברא 21.28
ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון 22.4

ארי take note, see [particle]
] אׄר֯יׄ/ יהׄב֯ת֯ כ֯ו֯לן [1.12
]ארי ביומי ירד אבי 3.3
ושבחו֯ ואׄר֯י֯ ○○י֯ך ברׄיׄא֯ 10.8
משכח ארי במׄ[י]א֯ ○○○ 10.12
] אׄרׄי צדותא הואת שגיא בארעא 12.9
ואׄרׄיׄ הא זיתא גבר ברומה 13.13
ואריᴴᴬ משגית עלו֯ה֯יׄ[13.14
ארי תרינא מן שרש 19.16
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון 20.20
ויחה ארי בׄח֯לם ח֯ז[ני] 20.22
ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה 21.14

אריך long [adj.]
ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת 20.5

אריוך Arioch [pers. name]
אריוך מלך כפתוך 21.23

ארך length [noun]
ואזל לאׄרׄך֯ מׄת לפרוין 2.23
כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיה 21.14

ארם Aram [pers. name]
לו֯ד ואׄרׄם ובנן נקבן חמש 12.11
לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהׄרׄיא 17.9

ארע land, earth [noun]
ארעא ו֯ד֯י אב֯עׄי ל○[1.10
]לארעא ולמׄחת להאימׄנה עמׄא 1.26
למׄעׄבׄד אנשא לארעא 1.27
ותמן אשכחה לקץ א֯[רעא 2.23
להׄוׄה על ארעא כולה֯א 3.9
]○○○○ ב֯אׄר֯עי לימׄא ד֯ן֯ 3.10
פ֯רׄיׄא ח֯דׄאׄ ישׄים אׄרׄעׄא 3.11
]○○ו֯ח ארעא ○○○ קרׄ֯י עׄמׄה֯ 3.12
]ה֯ו֯אׄ ד֯י֯ יפלג כׄ֯ו֯ל ארעא 3.17
]○ ל֯הׄו֯ן מׄן אנפי ארעא 4.12
ו֯ר֯מׄוהי בארעא וכול עובׄד 5.11
וׄחׄשבׄת כׄול לכׄת בני אר֯עׄא 6.16
ארעא וכול די עליהא 7.1
באדין הׄו֯וׄאׄ על אׄר֯עׄא֯ 10.11
] ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת 10.13
והלכת בארעא לאורכהא 11.11
וארעא כׄולהא מליׄא דתׄאׄ 11.12
ו֯תׄבׄת וברכת די רחם עׄל אׄרׄעׄא 11.13
פ]ר֯יׄ֯ ו֯שׄג֯יׄ ו֯מׄלי ארעא 11.16
בירקא ועשבא די ארעא 11.17
א]רׄעׄאׄ 12.2
צדותא הואת שגיא בארעא 12.9
למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב 12.13
שׄרץ ארעא ושרץ מיא ו֯ס֯ף 13.11
מׄיא מׄ֯ן ○○○ אׄ֯ר֯עׄאׄ֯ 14.10
]○ץ֯ חׄדׄ ליׄמׄי֯ן אׄ֯רׄעא 14.17
וחׄד לשׄ֯מׄאׄל אׄ֯ר֯עׄהׄ 14.17
ה֯וׄ֯ה֯ יׄ֯תבין באׄר֯עׄ֯ה֯ 14.18
נׄבׄעׄ און וישביׄ֯ן ב֯[אר]עׄךׄ[15.8
קׄצׄ֯י אׄ֯ר֯עׄאׄ֯ ודי חזיתא 15.9
לגׄבׄרׄאׄ ר֯בׄא אׄתׄהׄ מׄן ימין ארעא 15.10
הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעׄאׄ[15.11
שור מן כול עׄ֯מׄ֯מׄי ארעא 15.15
כול ארע צפונא כולהא 16.10
]ו֯עׄ֯ד֯ אׄ֯ר֯[ע 16.10
לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהׄרׄיא 17.9
כול ארעא די משקה פורת 17.12
והוא כפנא בארעא דׄא כולא 19.10
ונגדת למׄהׄ֯ךׄ֯ ○[ ]לאׄרׄעׄה 19.11
עד] כען אנחנא בׄגׄו֯ אׄרׄעׄנׄא 19.12
כען הׄלכנא ארענא 19.13
ו֯עלנא לארע בנׄי חם 19.13
בנׄי חם לארע מצרין 19.13
בלילה מעלׄ֯י לאׄר֯עׄ֯ מׄצׄר֯יׄן 19.14
ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט 20.13
אנתה מרה לכול מלכי/ ארעא 20.16
ודי אתיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם 21.4
וחזי כול/ ארעא דא 21.10
וחזית ארעא מן/ רמתא דא 21.10
וכול ארע גבל֯ עד קדש 21.11
אנתן כול ארעא דא 21.12
ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא 21.13
למסחר ולמחזה ארעא 21.15
למדנחא לפותי ארעא 21.16
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא 22.16
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא 22.21
מן ארעא דא שבק 22.25

ארפכשד	Arpachshad [pers. name]
לקדמין **ארפכשד** תרתין שנין	12.10
[עיל]ם ואׄשׄור **אׄרׄפׄכׄשׄד**	12.11
לדׄרומׄ[א]דן **לארפכשד**	17.11

אשד	to pour out, spill [verb]
מעיׄד דמא די **אשדו** נפיליא	6.19
ואׄשׄדׄ[ת ו]כול בשרהון	10.15

אשור	Asshur [pers. name]
[עיל]ם **וׄאׄשׄור** אׄרׄפׄכׄשׄד	12.11
לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא	17.8

אשכול	Eshkol [pers. name]
לממרה ולערנם **ולאשכול**	21.21
ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה	22.7

אשף	magician [noun]
ולכול **אשפיא** עם כול אסי	20.19
ואשפיא וכול חכימיא	20.20

את	sign, symbol [noun]
וׄהׄוׄאׄתׄ ליׄ **לאת** בעננא ולמהׄוׄהׄ	12.1

אתי	to come [verb]
ויא מרי די אנה לך **אׄתׄ[ית**	2.24
די לתׄנׄא **אתית** לבׄ[עי]דׄ[	2.25
וׄבׄתׄרׄהׄ **אׄתׄה** עׄל ס◦◦לׄ	10.14
שׄגׄיׄאׄ וׄכׄול חׄמׄרׄאׄ **אׄיׄתת**	12.14
וכדי **אׄתׄהׄ** רגלא קדמיא	12.14
לגבׄרׄאׄ רׄבׄא **אׄתׄהׄ** מׄן ימין ארעא	15.10
הוא די **יתה** מן ימין ארעׄאׄ]	15.11
וׄאתית עד די דבקתׄ לחברון	19.9
ובׄ[נ]יׄ אנוׄש **אתוׄ** ובעיׄן למקץ	19.15
בכול עׄרׄוׄתׄ די [**נתה**]לׄ[הן]	19.20
ולא הׄוׄוׄא **אׄתׄיׄן** למקם	19.26
באדין **אתה** עלי חרקנוש	20.21
ובעא מני די **אתה**	20.21
ואתית ליד ימא עד	21.15
והוית **אתה** לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.17
ותבת **ואתית** לי לביתי בשלם	21.19
אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם	21.23
ואתה חד מן רעה	22.1
וסלק לעורעה **ואתה** לשלם	22.13

אתר	place, location [noun]
כׄל **אתר** משריאתי	21.1
לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחא	21.1
אתר די אנתה יתב	21.9

ב+pron.	by/in me, us, you, her, him, them, it
לאנפוהׄי נסבא **בׄי** ודנחא	5.12
]◦ לכׄול אׄנׄשא **בך** ◦◦	7.14
בׄךׄ וׄעמׄיׄ ◦◦◦]	8.11
ובכול די **בהון** והא אנה	11.16
רׄברב ושׄפיׄר ומתחזה **בהן**	13.14
]כׄוׄלׄאׄ וׄשׄדׄיאׄן קשרן **בה**	13.15
]◦◦ **בׄךׄ** קׄחׄ מׄ◦◦	14.8
]◦יׄאׄ◦◦ עׄלׄל **בׄהׄ** וׄקׄדׄמׄיׄתׄ[א]	14.20
]◦◦◦פׄיׄן **בׄהון** שור	15.14
]ן **בׄהׄ**	15.28
בׄבׄטנא דׄיׄ אׄתׄרבה **בהׄ**	19.26
ואחזי ידך רבתא/ **בה**	20.15
ולא יכל למקׄרׄב **בהא**	20.17
ויתב **בה** ואנה הוית יתב בטורא	21.7
ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו **בה**	21.27
והווא קטל/ **בהון** בליליא	22.9

באר	spring, underground water source [noun]
בתרע ת׳בותׄאׄ **בׄאׄרׄיׄאׄ** לקׄ[שו	11.1

באש	to be disturbing, bad [verb]
ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	21.7

באיש	evil, bad [adj.]
א◦◦◦ שׄגׄיׄ **וׄבׄאׄיׄשׄתׄא**	4.3
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ **באישא**	20.17
ותתגער מננה רוחא דא **באישׄתׄא**	20.28
ואתגערתׄ [מנה רוחא] **בׄאישתא**	20.29

בבל	Babylon [place name]
אמרפל מלך **בבל**	21.23

בדי since, because [conj.]

בדי	since, because [conj.]
בדי הוא רחׄים ור◦◦]	2.20

בדיל see דיל

בדל	to distinguish between, separate [verb]
וׄמׄנׄהׄ יׄנׄדׄבׄ **וׄיׄהׄבׄדׄל** בׄיׄןׄ	15.17

בדר	to scatter [verb]
ובדרתה לרוחׄיׄאׄ ובתרהׄ	13.17

בהל	to frighten, upset [verb]
באדין אנה למך **אתבהלת**	2.1

בוץ	fine linen [noun]
ולבוש שגי די **בׄוׄץ**	20.31

בזה	plunder [noun]
כול שביתא/ וכול **בזתא**	22.13

בזז	to plunder [verb]
ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28
]ו֯ב֯ז֯ מ֯ל֯ך֯ ע֯יל֯ם֯ כול נכסיא	21.33
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין	22.4
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11

בחיר	choice, chosen [adj.]
ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין	22.6

בחר	to choose [verb]
יצ֯לח֯ו֯ן֯ וב֯ח֯ר֯ו֯ ב֯א֯נ֯ו֯ן֯ ◦◦◦[	6.17
ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין	22.6

בטלל	because of [adv.]
וש֯ב֯יק ארזא בטלל תמרתא	19.16
ואח֯ה֯ בטליכ֯י ותפלט֯ נפשי בדיליכי	19.20

בטן	belly, womb [noun]
]ב֯ב֯טנא די֯ א֯תרבה	19.26

בין	to contemplate, consider [verb]
מ֯תבונן הוית בזיתא דן	13.14
]א֯נ֯ב֯[ה] ת֯ת֯ב֯ו֯נ֯ן֯[א]ע֯א֯ ח֯ו֯ב֯	14.4

בין	between [prep.]
ו֯מ֯נ֯ה֯ י֯נ֯ד֯ב֯ וי֯ה֯ב֯ד֯ל ב֯י֯ן֯	15.17
ד֯י֯מ֯א די מן ביניהון	16.9
]ד֯ ב֯י֯ן֯[	16.24
[ו]ש֯ם֯ פ֯ל֯ג֯ [ח]לקה בין בנוהי	17.7
לארם ארעא די בין תרין נה֯ר֯יא	17.9
ומישריא די ביניהון	17.13
[ו]י֯פ֯ת֯ פלג ב֯ין בנוהי	17.16
ובין לשנא ד֯[י] ל֯[י]ד֯ לו֯ד֯	17.17
ע֯ד֯ב֯[י]ה֯[ו]ן בין בניהון	17.22
די/ היא בין נהרין	21.24

בין נהרין	Mesopotamia [place name]
לארם ארעא די בין תרין נה֯ר֯יא	17.9
די/ היא בין נהרין	21.24

בית	house, dwelling place [noun]
מן די֯ נ֯ה֯ך לבית נש֯[	0.11
בה ובכול ביתה	20.15
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא	20.16
ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל	20.17
ועל כול אנש ב֯יתה	20.18
מ֯כתשא דן ולאנש/ ביתה	20.20
וכען צ֯לי ע֯ל֯י ועל ביתי	20.28
עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
וז֯ב֯ן לה בסודם בי	21.6
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7
די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.9
ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם	21.19
אנה וכול אנש ביתי	21.21
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14
וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33

בית אל	Bethel [place name]
עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7
די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.9

בית כרמא	Bet Hakerem [place name]
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14

בכי	to weep [verb]
בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת ובכ֯ת֯[	2.8
ובכת שרי ע֯ל מ֯לי בליליא דן	19.21
בכית אנה/ אברם ב֯כ֯י תקיף	20.10
ובכית וחשית בליליא דן	20.16
ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5

בכי	weeping [noun]
בכית אנה/ אברם ב֯כ֯י תקיף	20.11

בלע	Bela [pers. name]
ועם מלך בלע כול אלן אזדמנו	21.25
ומלך צ֯ב֯ו֯א֯ין ומלך ב֯לע	21.31

בני	to build [verb]
◦◦ל֯ם֯ לס֯עדותי ולמ֯ב֯נ֯ה	7.19
אנ֯ה ובני ובני֯נ֯א	12.8
ו֯ל֯מ֯די֯נ֯ה֯ ד֯ן֯ ב[נ]יאת חברון	19.9
לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחא	21.1
ובניתה תניאני/ ל֯◦	21.1
ובנית תמן מדבח	21.20

בעד	on behalf of, because of [adv.]
]◦◦◦א֯ו֯ ב֯עד מלו֯ה֯י	0.13

בעי	to seek [verb]
ארעא ו֯ד֯י אב֯ע֯י ל◦[	1.10
די לת֯נ֯א אתית לב֯[עי]ך֯[	2.25
]ו֯ב֯ע֯◦◦◦א֯ ב֯ו֯צ֯לין די ב֯ע֯י֯	7.17
וב֯[נ]י֯ אנ֯וש את֯ו֯ ובעי֯ן למקץ	19.15
די יבעון למקטלני	19.19
יב]ע֯ו֯ן֯ לאעדי֯ותכי מני	19.21
ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי	20.9
בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12
ובעא מני די אתה	20.21

בעי	to burst forth [verb]
בב֯ע֯י֯ ענ֯פיאן שגיאן	13.13

בעין see כעין

בעיר cattle, livestock [noun]

לאנשא ולבׄעׄירׄא ולחיותׄא	6.26
ו֯[בעי]ר֯ אׄדמׄא ורחׄש יבישתא	13.8

בעל husband [noun]

וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא	20.23
י֯תׄיבו נה לשרי לאׄבׄרם בעלה	20.25

בצל to branch off (?) [verb]

]ו֯ב֯ע֯◦◦◦◦א֯ ב֯ו֯צׄלין די ב֯ע֯י֯	7.17

בקעה valley [noun]

כ֯[ו]ל ב֯קעאתא ומישריא	17.13
ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא	21.5
אנון /שרין בבקעת דן	22.8
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14

בקר to seek, investigate [verb]

מן מצרין וכען בקר	22.29

בר son [noun]

כול בׄנׄיׄכון ו֯[	1.8
[חד מן] בני שמין	2.5
ולא בׄכדבין חדא ברׄא מ֯נ֯ך֯[	2.6
ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין	2.16
]◦◦◦ו֯◦◦ י֯תׄבין בני [שמין	3.4
יהב למת֯ו֯ש֯[לח ברה	3.26
ויהב למתו]ש֯ל֯ח֯ ב֯ר֯ה֯ שכל	3.27
ולד מתושלח ב[רי	5.2
]ל֯[א] מן בני/ שׄמין	5.3
שׄמין להן מן למךׄ ב֯ר֯ך֯ [	5.4
מן]/ חׄזוה דחל למך ברך	5.7
וכען לכ{אׄ} אנה אמרׄ ברי	5.9
אזל אמׄר֯ ללמך ברך[די]מ֯ן֯ לך֯[	5.10
ו]ל֯[א]מ֯ן בׄנ֯י֯ [שמין	5.10
וכען לך אנה מ֯ח֯וה בׄרׄי֯	5.20
ללמך]/ ברך אחוי ברׄזא דׄנׄאׄ	5.21
ועם למך ברה ברז מׄלל֯[	5.25
וילדת֯ לי בׄנ֯י֯ן תל֯[ת]הׄ	6.7
[ובנן נקבן]ב֯א֯ד֯י֯ן֯ לבני נשין	6.8
ובנתי לבני אח֯י֯ יה֯בׄת כדת	6.8
מ]רׄה עלמ֯א לבני אנשא	6.9
באדין שלם לבני למ֯ס֯ב֯ להון	6.10
בעובד בני שמין ומׄאׄ כ֯ו֯ל	6.11
וׄחׄשבתׄ כׄול לכׄת בני אר֯עׄא	6.16
◦◦◦יׄה֯ו֯ן ו֯ב֯נׄיׄה֯ו֯ן וכנישת	7.23
]◦◦ לבׄנׄיׄךׄ מׄן בתר֯ך לכול	8.33
ותליתי לבני שׄפ֯נ֯י֯נ֯א֯	10.15
◦◦◦◦ ו֯ברי	11.5
בׄנ֯י֯הון[	11.5
עׄמׄד אנה ועם בניך די להון	11.15
[י]ה֯ב֯ לך ולבׄנׄיׄךׄ כ֯ו֯לׄא֯ למ֯אׄכׄל	11.17
אנה לך ◦◦ ב֯שנין בנ֯יׄך	11.19
]ה֯ בׄר֯י֯ ◦◦[	12.7
אנה ובני ובנינׄא	12.8
ויׄל֯י֯ד֯ו֯ ל[בני בני]ן֯[וב]נׄן	12.9
ויׄל֯י֯ד֯ו֯ ל[בני בני]ן֯[וב]נׄן	12.9
ל֯[שם] בׄר֯י֯ רׄבא יליד לה בר	12.10
ל֯[שם] בׄר֯י֯ רׄבא יליד לה בר	12.10
ו֯[הוו]א֯ כול בני שם כולהׄון	12.10
וב֯[ני חם כוש ומצרי]ן ו֯פׄוט	12.11
ובני יפת גומׄר ומׄגׄוׄג ומדי	12.12
[ו]שׄרית אנה ובני כולהון	12.13
קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי	12.16
קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי	12.16
קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי	12.16
וראמא עד רׄמה תלתת בנ֯י֯ן֯	14.10
[ה]א֯ בׄרׄ ק֯ד֯מ֯י֯א֯ כׄול יומוהי	14.12
מ֯ן פׄל֯ג֯ה֯ כ֯[ו]ל בׄנ֯י֯ך֯	14.12
ב֯רׄ [ק]ד֯מׄיא יפוק	14.13
תרׄין בנ֯י֯ן֯ ◦◦◦תה	14.16
ואז]ל֯י֯ת֯ אׄנ֯הׄ לש֯םׄ ברי	15.22
ו֯נוׄחׄ ח֯לׄקׄ בעׄדׄבׄ ליפת ולבנוׄהׄיׄ	16.12
למׄירת לה ולבנוׄהי	16.14
בני]ה֯ון [כ]ו֯ל֯ ב֯נ֯י֯ [נוח	16.21
בני]ה֯ון [כ]ו֯ל֯ ב֯נ֯י֯ [נוח	16.21
למ֯י֯ר֯ת֯ לה֯[ו]ל[בנוהי	16.26
]למׄשׄךׄ ו֯ב֯נ֯י֯[	17.1
[ו]ש֯םׄ פ֯ל֯ג֯ [ח]לקה בין בנוהי	17.7
[ו]י֯פ֯ת֯ פלג בׄין בנוהי	17.16
[ימא די דבק ליד חו]ל֯ק בני חם	17.19
]בני נ֯וׄח֯ [ח]ל֯[קו] ע֯ד֯ב֯[י]ה֯[ון	17.22
ע֯ד֯ב֯[י]ה֯[ון בין בניהון	17.22
]◦ ו֯ב֯נ֯ו֯ה֯י֯	17.24
ועלנא לארע בנׄי חם	19.13
ובׄ[נ]י֯ אנוש אתו ובעין למקץ	19.15
די לא יחזנה כול ב֯ר֯ א֯נ֯ו֯ש֯	19.23
אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בׄליליא	20.11
[לוט]/ בׄר אחי עמי	20.34
בר אחי מן לואתי	21.7
דׄי לא ישכח כול בר אנוש	21.13
וׄשׄבׄי לוט בר אחוי	21.34
וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3
ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5
ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא	22.11
אהך די לא בנין	22.33
וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33
אליעזר בר ד֯מ֯ש֯ק֯ ה֯ו֯א֯	22.34

בר field [noun]

עו]ף֯ ש֯מׄיא וחיות ברא	13.8

ברא outside, beside [prep.]

ברא מן די אכלו כבר	22.23
וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא	22.23
ואספרךׄ לךׄ לתקיף ברא מנך	22.31

ברה daughter [noun]

ולאמזרעׄ ברתה לי לאנתה	6.7
[ובנן נקבן]ב֯אׄד֯י֯ן֯ לבני נשין	6.8
נשין נסבת מן בנת אחי	6.8
ובנתי לבני אח֯י֯ יה֯בׄת כדת	6.8
די עם בנת אנוש֯[א]	6.20
ויל֯ד֯ו֯ ל[בני בני]ן֯[וב[נׄןׄ	12.9
לוׄד ואׄרׄם ובנן נקבן חמש	12.11
ומצרי]ן ו֯פׄוט וכנען ובנן	12.11
ותירׄסׄ ובנן נׄקׄבׄן ארבע	12.12
ולבנתהון ואתכנשנא כחדא	12.16
ונסב לה אנתה מן בׄנׄתׄ מ֯צ֯ר֯[י]ן	20.34

בריא Creator [noun]

ושבחו ואׄר֯י֯ ◦◦י֯ד ברׄיׄאׄ	10.8

בריך blessed [adj.]

וברך/ לאׄברם ואמר בריך אברם	22.16
ובריך אל עליון	22.16

ברך to bless [verb]

מברך למרה כולא ה◦[	5.23
ח֯למת וב֯רׄכ֯ת֯ קד֯[י]שׄאׄ ר֯בׄאׄ	7.20
באדין בׄר֯כ֯[ת] למ֯ר֯ה֯ כׄו֯לׄאׄ	10.1
אדין ברכת למׄרׄהׄ/ [שמיא	10.12
ב֯ר֯כ֯ת֯ ו֯ע֯ם כׄולהון מׄלחא	10.17
באדין עליׄאׄ ב֯[רך]	10.18
ו֯ת֯בׄת וברכת די רחם עׄל אׄרׄעׄא	11.13
וה֯וׄית מבׄרׄך למרה שמיא	12.17
למׄב֯ר֯ך֯ א֯ל֯ עׄל֯מׄאׄ ו֯[	15.22
ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה	20.12
והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ ל֯אׄלהא	21.2
וברך/ לאׄברם ואמר בריך אברם	22.15

ברם but [conj.]

ברם כול דם לא תאכלון	11.17
ב֯רם דא כול טבותא	19.19

ברע Bera [pers. name]

ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם	21.24

ברשע Birsha [pers. name]

ועם ברשע מלך עומרם	21.24

בשר flesh [noun]

ולקלל לכול בשרא	1.24
ואף לכול בשרא	1.28
ו]כול בשרהון על מדבחׄא	10.15

בת daughter [noun]

ב֯ת֯י֯ אׄנשׄ[א] ◦ה֯◦ם֯[ ]ו֯ע֯ל֯	3.8

בתאנוש Batenosh [pers. name]

ועלת על בתאנוש אנ֯ת֯ת֯י	2.3
אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ	2.8
וכדי חזת בׄתׄאנוש אנתתי	2.12

בתולה virgin [noun]

וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן	20.6

בתר after [prep.]

אנתתה בתרה חׄ◦מׄרׄ ב֯◦◦◦[	8.1
]◦◦ לבׄנׄיׄך מׄן בתרׄך לכול	8.33
[שעיר]ה֯ לקדמׄין ו֯בׄתׄרׄה֯ אׄתׄה	10.14
ומן בתר כן נחתת לשפׄ֯ולי֯	12.8
בני]ן֯[וב]נן מן בתר מבולא	12.9
תרתין שנין בתר מבולאׄ	12.10
[בתר נצבה די]כׄרׄמׄאׄ ביׄוׄמׄאׄ	12.16
ובתרה֯ [עברת רוח] ◦ל◦	13.17
ובׄת֯[רה]למערבא לאשור	17.8
◦◦ל ו֯ב֯ת֯רׄה֯	17.8
ו֯בׄת֯רׄהׄ ללו֯ד֯ ◦טׄ	17.9
ובתרה למׄגוג ובתרה	17.16
ובתרה למׄגוג ובתרה	17.16
ובׄתרה ליואן כול נגאותא	17.17
בׄ[תר ע]לל[בג]אׄ ימׄא ר֯בׄהׄ	19.13
[ובתרה אמרת] הׄא כען	19.13
בׄתר יומא דן פרש לוט	21.5
והוא רדף בתרהון	22.7
בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי{ו}	22.27

גבל Gebal [place name]

וכול ארע גבל עד קדש	21.11
ולחוריא די בטורי גבל	21.29

גבל to grow in size, expand [verb]

וגבלת אנה אברם בנכסׄין	20.33

גבר (grown) man, warrior [noun]

בׄ[א]ד֯י֯[ן] הוית אנה נוח גבר	6.6
ופלטׄ לגׄ֯ב֯רׄ צ֯ד֯יׄקא ל◦◦◦	11.14
לגבׄרׄאׄ ר֯בׄא אׄתׄה מׄן ימין	15.10
ותׄלתׄאׄ ג֯בׄרׄין מן רברבי מצרין֯	19.24
ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין	22.6
וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא	22.23

גבר to grow up, grow powerful [verb]

וארי֯ הא זיתא גבר ברומה	13.13
וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא	20.18

גדם trunk, stump [noun]

קדמיתא דבקא בגדם ארׄזׄאׄ	14.11
דבקא בג֯[ד]ם [ארזא	14.14

גדף to blaspeheme [verb]

ונופהן ב֯י֯נ֯ד֯ף֯ שגי ואנבה֯ן	15.16

גדרא Gadera [place name]

עד ד֯י֯ דבק לג֯[ד]רׄא	16.11

גא/גו midst, middle [noun]

ב֯ח֯ו֯ם ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא	2.10
ובגו כרמי כ֯ומרא דן פתחת	12.15
ע֯לל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.16
עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.17
[י]ת֯ב֯ו֯ ב֯ג֯א֯ [א]י֯א֯	14.18
ואיא די בגו לשנא ד֯ן כ֯[ו]ל֯	17.13
ל֯יד לה בגו	17.18
עד] כען אנחנא בׄגׄו֯ אׄרׄע֯נׄא	19.12
בׄ[תר ע]לל֯[בג]א֯ י֯מא ר֯ב֯ה	19.13

גוים Goiim [people/place name]

תרעל מלך גׄוים	21.23

גמר/גומר Gomer [pers. name]

ובני יפת גומׄר ומׄגוג ומדי	12.12
לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא	17.16

גיור adulterer [noun]

]די בכול נקבל ג֯יו֯ר	0.2

גיחון Gihon (River), Nile [place name]

ע]ד֯ ג[יחו]ן֯[נהרא	16.27
ושרית למסחר מן גׄיחון נהרא	21.15
דבקת גחון/ נהרא	21.18

גלא to reveal [verb]

וׄאח֯[וה] לי ולמ֯ג֯לא כול	7.22

גן garden [noun]

הלין ו֯א֯◦◦ ב֯ג֯ן	8.31

גנון bridal chamber [noun]

לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא	20.6

גער to rebuke, banish [verb]

ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באישׄתׄא	20.28
ואתגערת֯ [מנה רוחא] בׄאישתא	20.29

דא this, that [dem. pronoun]

ד֯א֯ ב֯כ֯ולׄא ושגי לבי עלי[	2.11
ו֯ד֯בׄק ד֯א֯ ◦◦ן בׄע֯י֯ן֯	3.15
◦[יׄז֯כׄה ד֯א֯ ז֯כ֯י֯ בׄד֯מ֯א֯ ע֯ל	7.12
ד֯א֯]	8.5
]א֯ דׄח֯י֯ל֯פ֯תׄא ד֯א֯ ה֯ו֯ו֯ה֯ י֯תבין	14.18
לראיש טוׄר הׄו֯ר֯[רט]בקרית ד֯א֯	17.9
והוא כפנא בארעא דׄא כולׄא	19.10
ב֯רם דא כול טבותא	19.19
ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באישׄתׄא	20.28
ודי אתיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם	21.4
וחזי כול/ ארעא דא	21.10
וחזית ארעא מן/ רמתא דא	21.11
אנתן כול ארעא דא	21.12
מן ארעא דא שבק	22.25

דאל to quiver [verb]

ושפליא דאלין וזאעין	0.7

דבק to reach, go as far as, cling [verb]

ו֯ד֯בׄק ד֯א֯ ◦◦ן בׄע֯י֯ן֯	3.15
לחלפתא קדמיתא דבקא בגדם	14.11
דבקא בג֯[ד]ם [ארזא	14.14
עד] ד֯י֯ דׄבׄק [ל	16.8
עד די דבק לרׄאׄיׄשׄ	16.10
עד ד֯י֯ דבק לג֯[ד]רׄא	16.11
ב֯י֯ם֯ מ֯א֯ו֯תׄא ד֯י֯ ד֯ב֯קׄ ◦לשׄן	16.16
עׄד ד֯י דבק לעׄדׄב֯	16.19
]צׄ◦ ד֯בׄקׄ ע֯ד֯ [דרו]םׄ	16.27
חׄדקל נ֯ה֯ר֯א֯ עד דדבק לימ֯א	17.7
לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא	17.8
עד די דבק לראיש טוׄר	17.9
עד דבק למגו֯ג֯ כ֯ול ל[יד]לשׄנ֯א	17.10
◦◦ל◦ ע֯[ד]ד֯ב֯ק֯	17.11
ע֯[ד] ד֯בׄק֯ ל֯[	17.13
ואמנא עׄד֯ ד֯ב֯ק֯ לפ֯ו֯[רת	17.14
]◦אׄ עׄד די ד֯[בק ל	17.14
עד די דבק לטינה נהרא	17.16
[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לׄק בני חם	17.19
עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא	19.9
ו֯אתית עד די דבקׄת לחברון	19.9
ו֯ה֯ו֯א֯ [דבק]ת לכׄרמונא	19.11
עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
ודבק עד סודם	21.6
די/ דבקת לטור תורא	21.16
עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	21.17
עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא	21.17
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף	21.18
דבקת גחון/ נהרא	21.18
עד דבׄקׄו לאיל/ פרן	21.29
עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון	22.7
עד דבקו לחלבון	22.10

דבר to conduct (oneself), speak [verb]

וקושטא כול יומי דברת	6.2

דבר to take, lead, drive [verb]

ושלח/ לעובע דברהא	20.9
כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס	20.11
די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף	20.14
הא אנתתך דב֯ר֯הׄ אזל ועדי	20.27
דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.27

דד uncle [noun]

אברם דדי לצליׄא על	20.22

דהב gold [noun]

חזה הׄוית לדׄהבׄיא ו֯לכׄ֯ס֯[פי]אׄ	13.9
ויהב להׄ מלכאׄ כ֯[סף וד]הב [ש]גיא	20.31
ואף בכסף ודהב	20.33

דחל to fear, be afraid [verb]

דחיל לעליך	2.26
מן]/ חׄזוה דחל למך ברך	5.7
אׄל תׄדׄחל וא֯ל ת֯ה֯ךׄ	8.34
ולׄי אׄמׄר֯ א֯ל ת֯ד֯ח֯ל יא נוח	11.15
חׄלמׄתׄ מ֯ן [ד]אנה֯ דחל	19.18
ו]ד֯ח֯ל֯ת֯ [י]ת֯ירׄא בנפשה֯	19.23
וכען אל תדחל אנה עמך	22.30

דחלה fear, dread [noun]

תאכלון אימתכון וד֯ח֯לתׄכׄון	11.17

ד–/די that, which, of [prep.]

]די בכול נקבל גיׄור	0.2
כו]ל די תׄמׄ◦ל◦	0.4
מן דׄי נ֯הׄד לבית נשׄ[	0.11
ב֯[עדנ]א די אסרנאׄ[	0.13
]◦◦ נ֯ור די אתחזי	0.13
ו֯אף רז רשעא די	1.2
]עׄתין ורזא די	1.3
יום דׄ[י	1.7
ארעא ו֯ד֯י אב֯עי ל◦[	1.10
עובדׄא די עׄד֯ כׄ[ען	1.11
]◦◦ ד֯יׄ על	1.11
חשׄבׄתׄ בלבי די מן עירין	2.1
אנתתי די אשתני אנפי עלי	2.12
די מנך זרעא דן	2.15
ויא מרי די אנה לךׄ א֯ת֯[ית	2.24
ו֯אׄמׄרׄ לך ד֯א֯ל ת֯ר֯גז עלי	2.25
ד֯א֯ל ת֯ר֯גז עלי די לת֯נ֯א	2.25
בקשוט די לאׄ ב֯כ֯דב֯י֯ן	3.13
]ה֯ו֯אׄ ד֯י֯ יפלג כ֯ו֯ל ארעא	3.17
]ל֯ה֯ ד֯[י]ן ב֯כ֯ל י֯ם[	3.28
]◦◦ן ועד דׄ[י	3.30
◦◦◦ן שם/ ד֯י֯ ק֯[ד]י֯שאׄ	4.12
]ל דׄי עולי֯מ֯אׄ	5.2
בקושט מהימן דׄי ◦◦◦◦	5.8
ולך אנהׄ מׄחׄוה כ֯ו֯ל֯ ד֯[י	5.9
אזל אמׄר֯ ללמך ברך[די]מ֯ן֯ לך֯[	5.10
עׄבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד דׄי֯[	5.18
די]/ ביומׄו֯ה֯י֯ יתעׄבד	5.21
חׄדׄי די מנ֯י א֯נפׄיק מ֯ר֯[ה	5.27
די אזלן לחשוך ע֯למ֯א֯	6.3
]די יהב מ[רׄה עלמ֯א	6.9
שלמו לי לחשבון די חשבׄתׄ	6.9
מעיׄד דמא די אשדו נפיליא	6.19
שפית וקוית עד די ק[	6.19
◦◦ה֯א֯ קדישין די עם בנת	6.20
ודם ק֯[י]נ֯[א] ע֯ליׄא דׄי קׄ◦◦[	6.24
ארעא וכול די עליהא	7.1
]ו֯ב֯ע֯◦◦◦◦א֯ ב֯ו֯צלין די ב֯עי֯	7.17
]◦◦ ודי יחׄד֯ק להׄ ל◦[	7.18
ד[י֯ ח֯למת ו֯ב֯רכ֯ת֯ קד֯[י]שאׄ	7.20
ד֯י֯ ◦◦נ֯ך֯ ב֯מלך ש֯מ֯י֯[א	8.10
ו֯כשבועה וכתיב֯הׄ ד֯[י	8.18
למ֯ר֯ה֯ כולאׄ דׄי מׄני מׄ◦◦בׄ◦ל	10.1
[ע]ד֯ ד֯י֯ כול ◦◦◦י֯אׄ	10.9
ד֯י֯ ◦◦◦א֯	11.5
לטוריא ודׄמדבר֯יא לע֯ו֯ברׄיא	11.9
לע֯ו֯ברׄיא ודא֯[יא]כ֯[ו]ל ◦[	11.9
ו֯ת֯בׄת וברכת די רחם עׄל אׄרעׄא	11.13
אׄרעׄא ודי אעדי ואבׄדׄ מנהא	11.13
עׄמׄך אנה ועם בניך די להון	11.15
ובכול די בהון והא אנה	11.16
בירקא ועשבא די ארעא	11.17
לרגלא קדמיא ד֯י֯ ב֯חודשא	12.14
[בתר נצבה די]כׄרמׄאׄ ביׄומׄאׄ	12.16
די פלטנא מן אבדנא	12.17
◦◦◦הי די אבותי אׄחדו	12.18
ד֯י֯ ח֯◦ ◦עׄלי֯ אׄל עׄל֯י֯ו֯ן֯	12.21
] ד֯אׄנ֯[ה] נ֯ו֯ח֯ ◦[	12.23
חזה הוית עד די אסיפׄוׄהׄי֯	13.11
תמהת ע֯ד֯ דׄי֯[	13.15
דׄי הׄו֯א קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9
[ור]א֯מׄתׄ חׄלפ֯ת֯א די נפקא מנה	14.10
] ו֯ד֯י֯ ח֯ז֯י֯ת֯הׄ לחלפתא קדמיתא	14.11
ודי חזיתא לחלפׄתא דבקא	14.14
]◦◦◦י֯ת֯ ודי חזיתה לפׄסׄג֯ת֯	14.15
אחרנׄיׄתׄא דׄי ◦◦◦ מ֯נׄהׄ ◦[	14.15
ו֯ד֯י חזית מן קצת נופהן	14.17
]א֯ ד֯ח֯י֯לפ֯תׄאׄ ד֯אׄ ה֯ו֯ו֯ה֯ יתבין	14.18
◦מ֯יׄא די יב◦ך֯	14.19
להׄ כ֯ל֯ אׄלם ד֯י֯ ◦◦ל֯י֯ן֯	14.20
קׄצ֯י֯ א֯ר֯ע֯א֯ ודי חזיתא	15.9
להון רשיעין ודי חׄזׄי֯ת֯הׄ	15.9
הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעׄאׄ[	15.11
]ר֯א ודי חזיתה עדרׄו֯ ◦[	15.13
ע֯מ֯י ארעא די לא ישלטו֯[	15.15

]למׄחׄוׄהׄ דׄיׄ א○○אׄ לךׄ[	15.23
עד] דׄיׄ דׄבׄק [ל	16.8
דׄימׄא די מן ביניהון	16.9
דׄימׄא די מן ביניהון	16.9
עד די דבק לרׄאׄישׄ	16.10
עד דׄיׄ דבק לג֯[ד]רׄא	16.11
[ע]דׄ טׄ֯יׄנׄהׄ נהרא דׄיׄ אׄ○○○	16.16
בׄיׄם מׄאׄיוׄתׄאׄ דׄיׄ דׄבׄקׄ ○לׄשׄן	16.16
כעין מי לשׄנׄאׄ דׄןׄ דׄ[י	16.17
עׄדׄ לשן ימא די פנה למצׄרׄ[י]ןׄ	16.18
עדׄ דׄי דבק לעׄדׄבׄ	16.19
חׄדׄקׄל נׄהׄרׄאׄ עד דדבק לימׄאׄ	17.7
שׄמׄוׄקא לראישה די בצפונׄאׄ	17.8
לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהׄרׄיא	17.9
עד די דבק לראיש טורׄ	17.9
○○○○וׄל דׄיׄ בׄ֯ים מדנחא	17.10
בׄצׄפ֯וׄנ֯א די מחען לשנא דן	17.11
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא	17.11
די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא	17.12
כול ארעא די משקה פורת	17.12
ומישריא די ביניהון	17.13
ואיא די בגו לשנא דן כׄ[ו]ל֯	17.13
לאׄמׄנא דׄצׄמׄידׄ טׄוׄרׄ הׄרׄרׄט	17.14
]○אׄ עׄדׄ דׄיׄ דׄ[בק ל	17.14
חׄולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה	17.15
עד די דבק לטינה נהרא	17.16
כול נגאותא די לי֯ד לוד	17.17
ובין לשנא דׄ[י] ל֯[י]דׄ לוׄדׄ	17.17
לתׄוׄבׄל דׄבׄעבר	17.17
[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לׄק בני חם	17.19
]אׄ דׄיׄ יׄהׄבׄ ○○○ [	17.21
וׄאתית עד די דבקׄתׄ לחברון	19.9
ושמעת די עׄ[ב]וׄרא הׄוׄ[א] במצרין	19.10
ראשי נהרא דן די	19.12
יׄמא רׄבׄהׄ [ד]יׄ מׄלׄחׄא	19.13
חׄלׄמׄתׄ מׄןׄ [ד]אנׄהׄ דחל	19.18
די יבעון למקטלני	19.19
דׄ[י ת]עׄבׄדׄיׄןׄ עׄמׄיׄ בכול עׄרׄוׄתׄ	19.20
בכול עׄרׄוׄתׄ די [נתה]ל֯[הן]	19.20
אׄמׄ[ר]יׄ עלי די אחי הוא	19.20
די לא יחזנה כול בׄרׄ אׄנׄוׄשׄ	19.23
]בׄבׄטנא דׄיׄ אׄתׄרבה	19.26
עד די אעׄהׄ צח להון	19.26
וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן	20.6
עמהא ודלידיהא/ יאא	20.7
די פם חד תלתהון ממללין	20.8
ואמרת שרי/ למלכא דאחי	20.10
די אנתה מרה ושליט	20.13
די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף	20.14
ויׄדעוך מרי די אנתה מרה	20.15
ובעא מני די אתה	20.21
אלן די מתכתש	20.25
אמר/ לי די אחתי היא	20.27
וׄצׄליׄתׄ על[וה]י֯[די] אׄרׄפא/ הו	20.28
די לא יׄדׄעׄהׄא ו[לא ט]מׄיהא	20.30
ולבוש שגי די בׄוׄץ	20.31
וארגׄוׄאׄן דׄיׄ○○ל֯○בׄשׄ	20.31
די ינפקׄ֯[מן מצרי]ןׄ ל֯[ ]○○○	20.32
עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחא	21.1
וטבתא די יהב לי	21.3
ודי עבד עמי טב	21.3
ודי אתיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם	21.3
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7
ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	21.7
ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8
די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.8
אתר די אנתה יתב	21.9
די אנה יהב לך	21.10
וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן	21.12
דׄי לא ישכח כול בר אנוש	21.13
די/ דבקת לטור תורא	21.15
יׄמא רבא דן די מלחא	21.16
עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	21.17
עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא	21.17
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף	21.18
די נפק מן ימא שמוקא	21.18
וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת	21.18
באלוׄני ממרהׄ דׄי בחברון	21.19
די/ היא בין נהרין	21.23
לקרב לעמקא די סׄדׄיא	21.25
ומלכיא די עמה	21.26
וסלקו ארחא די מדברא	21.28
ומחו לרפאיא די בעשתׄרׄא	21.28
ולזוזמיא די בעמן	21.29
ולאימיא [די ב]שׄוה הקריות	21.29
ולחוריא די בטורי גבל	21.29
לאיל / פרן די במדברׄא	21.30
]○ דׄיׄ בחצצן תמר	21.30
בעמׄקׄא ד[י סדיא]	21.32
ומלכיא] די עמה	21.32
כול נכסיא די סודׄם	21.33
ודי/ [ע]וׄמׄרׄםׄ [וכול]	21.33
[וכול] רׄ[כ]וׄשׄיׄאׄ [די	21.34
וכול ד[יׄ אשכׄ[ח]וׄ [תמן]	21.34
די אברם די הוא יתב	22.1
די אברם די הוא יתב	22.1
ענה די יהב אברם ללוט	22.2
די פלט מׄן שביא על אברם	22.2
וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3
ודי/ נגדו מלכיא	22.3
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	22.10

ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11
די שבאו אתיב	22.12
די אתיב אברם כול שביתא	22.12
ולכול אנשׄא די עמה	22.15
די סגר שׂנׄאׄיׄך בידך	22.17
די מלך עילם וחברוהי	22.17
באדין קרב מלכא די סודם	22.18
הב לי נפשא די אתי לי	22.19
די שביא עמך	22.19
די אצלתה מן מלך עילם	22.19
אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך	21.22
דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי	22.22
דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי/ אברם	22.22
ברא מן די אכלו כבר	22.23
עולימי די עמי	22.23
תלתת גבריא די/ אזלו עמׄי	22.23
וכול שביא די הואת עמה	22.25
מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28
וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.29
ומני כול די איתי לך	22.29
מן/ כול די נפקו עמך	22.30
אהך די לא בנין	22.33
להן די יפוק	22.34

בדיל/דיל for the sake of, in order that [prep.]

]○○○ש֯ בדיל	7.4
ח֯ד֯ ו֯לכ֯ול קנה בדילה	11.14
ותפלט֯ נפשי בדיליכי	19.20
כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא	20.10
ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא	20.10
ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי	20.25
ואמר לי מׄא עבדתה לי בדיל	20.26
אוספת לה על דילה שגי	21.6

דין judgment [noun]

חזית למעׄבד דין ומ֯[שפט] ע֯ל	4.11
למעבד בכולהון דין	20.13
עבד לי דין מנה	20.14

דך that [dem. pronoun]

א֯יכׄנׄה יצ֯מ֯ד לׄה עׄמׄא ד֯ך	15.17

דכר to remember [verb]

ויא מרי דכרׄ לך על עדינׄתי	2.9

דלמא lest [conj.]

דלמא תהוה אמר	22.22

דם blood [noun]

ובׄדמא לא הו֯וׄ֯א ○○[	5.5
מעי֯ד דמא די אשדו נפיליא	6.19
ע֯מׄא ע֯למׄא ודׄם ק֯[י]נ֯[א]	6.24
ע֯ד מלל֯ו כׄ○○ב֯ ד֯מׄא	7.10
]○ יׄזׄכׄה דׄא ז֯כ֯י בׄדׄמ֯א עׄל	7.12
כ֯ול֯ה֯ דמׄהׄון לאיסוד מדבחׄא	10.15
על מדבחא קׄרׄבׄת דׄמׄהון	10.16
ברם כול דם לא תאכלון	11.17

דמך to fall asleep [verb]

ושכׄבת ע֯ל מ֯שכׄבי ודׄמכ֯ת֯ ○[	12.19

דמע tear [noun]

ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה	20.12

דמשק Dameseq (or Damascus) [pers. name]

אליעזר בר ד֯מ֯ש֯ק ה֯ו֯א֯	22.34

דנה/דנא/דן this, that [dem. pronoun]

○○יׄה֯ דׄנׄא	0.9
משתני על עולימא דנא	2.2
מנך זרעא דן ומנך הריונא	2.15
ומנך הריונא דן ומנך נצבת	2.15
ומנך נצבת פריא֯] דן	2.15
אנפיך כדנא עליך שנא	2.17
ורוחך כדן עליכׄא ○[	2.17
]○○○○ בׄא֯רׄ֯עי לימׄא ד֯ן֯	3.10
ד֯ן האׄ כדי אנה ח֯נ֯ו֯ך֯	5.3
עולימׄא דן נור והׄוא ל○○○○○	5.13
אחוי ברׄזא דׄנׄא כ֯ו֯ל֯[	5.21
] שׁמ֯יא וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי	6.12
ו֯ב֯כ֯ול ש֯נׄא ד֯נׄה֯ ו֯י֯ו֯ב֯לׄא	7.3
○○○○○ת֯ על דׄנׄה	7.8
○○○ ד֯ן֯ וכ֯ול[	8.12
[וי]הב אנה שׁלטנׄא דׄנׄה ל[ך]	9.3
נחתת לשפ֯ול֯י ט֯ורא דן	12.8
ובגו כרמי כ֯ומרא דן פתחת	12.15
נצבה די]כׄרׄמׄא בׄיׄומׄא דן	12.16
מתבונן הוית בזיתא דן וארי	13.14
והוית תמהׄ עׄל זיתא דׄן	13.15
וח֯בׄלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16
אל תׄתמה על חׄלמא דׄן	15.19
[ו]עׄבׄרׄ תחומא דן מי ימא רבא	16.11
]נ֯פ֯ק מי טינה נהרא ד֯נ֯א֯	16.15
ואזל תחומא דן כעין	16.17
כעין מי לשׁנ֯א ד֯ן֯ ד֯[י	16.17
נפל טור תורא דן ועבר	17.10
ועבר חולקא דן למערבא	17.10
ב֯צ֯פ֯ונ֯א די מחען לשנא דן	17.11
לדׄרומׄ[א]דׄן לארפכשד	17.11
ואיא די בגו לשנא דׄן כ֯[ו]ל֯	17.13
ראשי נהרא דן די	19.12
[ד]אנה֯ דחל מ֯[ן] ח֯למׄא דן	19.18
ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן	19.18

חלמא ד֯ן֯ אׄ○○○	19.19
ובכת שרי עׄל מׄלי בליליא דן	19.21
ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא	20.7
בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12
ואל ישלט בליליא דן	20.15
ובכית וחשית בליליא דן	20.16
לאסיׄותה מן מׄכתשא דן	20.19
ויתוד מנכה מ֯כׄתשא דׄן	20.26
בי֯[ומא דנ]א֯ מנתנ֯[ן] ש֯גיא֯ן	20.30
בׄתר יומא דן פרש לוט	21.5
וסחרת מן לי֯[ד]י֯מא רבא דן	21.16
מרים אנה/ ידי יומא דן	22.21
ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן	22.34

דן Dan [place name]

עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון	22.7
אנון/ שרין בבקעת דן	22.8

דנח to shine [verb]

ודנחא עינוהי כשמ֯[שא	5.12

דרום south [noun]

]צׄ○ ד֯בׄק ע֯ד֯ [דרו]ם֯	16.27
לדׄרומׄ[א]דן לארפכשד	17.11
די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא	17.12
והויתׄ אזל לדרומׄא מׄו֯רׄה֯	19.9
למדנחא ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא	21.9
וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת	21.18

דרמשק Damascus [place name]

ואזלין/ למדינת דרמשק	22.5
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	22.10

דרע arm [noun]

דרעׄיהא מא שפירן	20.4

דשן to prosper, make fat [verb]

]ד֯שנני ו֯עׄדה֯ לי֯	7.9

דת custom, rule [noun]

יה֯בׄת כדת חוק עלמא	6.8

דתא grass [noun]

ומליׄא דתׄאׄ ועשב ועבור	11.12

הא oh, behold [exclamatory particle]

]וׄכען הא אנחׄנא אסירין	0.8
הא באדין חשׄבׄת בלבי	2.1
דׄן האׄ כדי אנה ח֯נ֯ו֯ך֯	5.3
הא באדין ישתבשון ויׄתׄכ֯לון [	5.16
ביומׄו֯ה֯י֯ יתעׄבד והׄא ○○[	5.22
ובכול די בהון והא אנה	11.16
האׄ קׄשת֯י֯ [בענן י]ה֯ב֯ת֯	12.1
וארׄי֯ הא זיתא גבר ברומה	13.13
וארי $^{\text{הא}}$ משגית עלו֯ה֯י֯[	13.14
ו֯ה֯אׄ פ֯ל֯יׄג֯אׄ חׄדׄה֯ י֯צׄדׄ֯	14.11
[ה]א֯ בׄרׄ קׄד֯מ֯י֯א֯ כׄול יומוהי	14.12
[ובתרה אמרת] הׄא כען	19.13
וחׄזית בחׄלמׄי ו֯הׄא ארז חד	19.14
הא אנתתך דב֯ר֯ה֯ אזל ועדי	20.27
ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27

הוא he, it [pronoun]

תתק֯ף ותׄתקיׄאם ומן הוא	0.5
ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא	1.25
בדי הוא רחׄים ור○○[	2.20
ה֯וׄא ד֯י יפלג כ֯ול ארעא]	3.17
עולימ֯א דן נור והׄוא ל○○○○○	5.13
שׄבׄח ע֯מׄד לעלם הוא ולה	10.13
אנתה הוא ארזׄא֯ רבׄא	14.9
ו֯מׄרׄה רׄבותא הוא די יתה	15.11
ואמרת אנתה הוא	19.7
ושמעת די עׄ[ב]ו֯רא ה֯ו[א] במצרין	19.10
ו֯ה֯ו֯א֯ [דבק]ת לכׄרמונא	19.11
א֯מ֯[ר]י֯ עלי די אחי הוא	19.20
ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא	20.3
ואמרת שרי/ למלכא דאחי הוא	20.10
וצׄליתׄ על[וה]י֯ [די] א֯רׄפא/ הו	20.29
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14
והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15
אליעזר בר ד֯מ֯ש֯ק ה֯ו֯א֯	22.34

הוא/הוי to be [verb]

הוו]אׄ נחתׄ[י]ן ועם נקבתא	1.1
○צ֯○○ו ולךׄ לה֯ו֯ן	3.7
לה֯ו֯ה על ארעא כולה֯א	3.9
ובׄדמא לא הוו֯א֯ ○○[	5.5
והׄוית מהׄלך בשבי֯לי אמת	6.2
בׄ[א]ד֯י֯[ן] הוית אנה נוח	6.6
ע]מ֯ה֯ להׄו֯הׄ ○○○○○ לה֯	7.13
]○ש֯ שת עׄשרה והׄוא כ֯ו֯ל	8.1
באדין ה֯ו֯ו֯א על אׄר֯עׄא֯	10.11
מׄלחא הׄוית יהב ורח	10.17
[כ֯[ע]ן֯ אנה נ֯וׄח ה֯ו֯י֯ת בתרע	11.1
די להון כואתך לעלמים	11.15
ו֯ה֯ו֯א֯ת֯ ל֯י֯ לאת בעננא	12.1
ל֯י֯ לאת בעננא ולמה֯ו֯ה	12.1
צדותא הואת שגיא בארעא	12.9
ו֯[הוו]א֯ כול בני שם כולהון	12.10
והׄו֯י֯ת מבׄרׄך למרה שמיא	12.17
]א֯ ○○ א֯בׄניא וחספיא הווה קצין	13.9
חזה הׄוית לדהביא ו֯לכ֯ס֯[פי]א֯	13.9
ח֯זה הוית לשמשא ולשהרׄאׄ	13.10
חזה הוית עד די אסיפׄו֯הׄי	13.11
מתבונן הוית בזיתא דן	13.14

והוית תמהׄ עׄל זיתא דׄןׄ	13.15
דׄיׄ הׄו֯א קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9
ה֯ו֯ו֯ה֯ יׄתבין בארׄעׄהׄ	14.18
]לׄהׄשׄתכׄ֯ל לרזא הׄו֯ו֯אׄ ל֯ך ס֯ף֯	14.19
[ע]דׄ הו֯אׄ ◦◦שׄחׄ	15.6
משגיתהון להון רשיעין	15.9
וכולהון להון פלחין ומשתבשין	15.18
והויׄתׄ אזל לדרומאׄ מׄורׄהׄ	19.9
והוא כפנא בארעא דׄא כולא	19.10
והווא יהבׄין/ לׄ[י מתנין שגיאן	19.24
ולא ה֯ו֯ו֯א אׄתׄ֯ין למקם	19.26
הוו]א עׄ֯לל ◦◦◦	19.29
כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא	20.10
והואת כתשא לה	20.17
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון	20.20
[מא] ה֯וית אמר/ לי	20.26
והיא הואׄת אנתתך	20.27
והו֯יׄת שרׄהׄ [עמה]	20.34
והוא רעהׄ נכסוהי	21.6
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא	21.7
והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.17
תרתי עשרה שנין הׄוׄוא	21.26
והׄוׄוא מׄחין ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28
די אברם די הוא יתב	22.1
ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון	22.2
והוא רדף בתרהון	22.7
והווא קטל/ בהון בליליא	22.8
ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון	22.9
וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9
והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15
דלא תהוה אמר	22.22
וכול שביא די הואת עמה	22.25
ואהׄוׄהׄ לך/ סעד ותקף	22.30

הוד to go [verb]

מן דׄי נ֯הׄ֯ך לבית נשׄ]	0.11
אׄל תׄדחל ואׄל תׄ֯הׄ֯ךׄ	8.34
ונגדת ל֯מׄ[ה]ךׄ֯ תׄמׄ֯ןׄ	19.9
ונגׄדת לׄמׄהׄ֯ך ◦[ ]לאׄרׄעׄה	19.11
ואנה כדי אמותׄ ערטלי אהך	22.33

הוררט Ararat [place name]

חד מן טורי הׄוררט ונורׄ עלמאׄ	10.12
]בׄ֯טׄ֯ו֯ר֯יׄ/ [הוררט	12.8
בטוריׄ הוררט ומן בתר כן	12.8
לראיש טוׄר הׄו֯ר[רט]בקרית דׄאׄ	17.9
לאׄמׄנא דׄצׄ֯מׄידׄ טׄ֯וׄר הׄרׄרׄט	17.14

היא she, it [pronoun]

והׄיא עמה/ תרתין שנין	20.17
אמר/ לי די אחתי היׄא	20.27
והׄיא הואׄת אנתתך	20.27
די/ היׄא בין נהרין	21.24
אתה לשלם היׄא ירושלם	22.13

הלו look, behold [exclamatory particle]

[א]נׄ֯חׄנא ידעׄין הלׄ֯ו	14.7

הליך conduct, manner of going [noun]

מ]תׄנׄ֯דׄ֯דׄא בׄ֯יׄעןׄ ה֯לׄ֯יׄ֯כׄ֯הׄ֯ן ושגׄהׄ֯ן	15.16

הלך to walk, go [verb]

והׄוית מׄהׄלך בשבׄ֯ילי אמת	6.2
והלכת בארעא לאורכהא	11.11
ורחׄש יבישתא הׄ֯לׄכׄ֯ין	13.8
כען הׄלכנא ארענא	19.13
קום הלך ואזל/ וחזי	21.13

הלל to praise [verb]

ואׄזׄ֯לׄו֯ בׄ֯◦◦ן והללׄו֯ ושבחו	10.8
והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ ל֯אׄלהא	21.2

הן if, whether [see אן]

הן they [pronoun]

הן יכולון לאסיׄוׄתה	20.19

הרי to conceive [verb]

ובכור הׄורׄתי יעית לקושט	6.1
וׄהׄרת מני וילדתׄ לי בׄנׄ֯ין	6.7

הריא conception [noun]

די מן עירין הריאׄ֯תׄא	2.1

הריון conception [noun]

ומנד הריונא דן	2.15

זאע to tremble [verb]

ושפליא דאלין וזאעין	0.7

זבן to buy, aquire [verb]

וׄזׄ֯בׄ֯ן לה בסודם בי	21.6

זהר to warn, admonish [verb]

ולאׄזׄהׄרותׄני מן נׄ֯תׄיב שקר	6.3

זומזמי Zumzamite [people name]

ולזו֯זמיא די בעמן	21.29

זית olive tree [noun]

ואׄתפנית למחזה זיתא וארׄיׄ	13.13
וארׄיׄ הא זיתא גבר ברומה	13.13
מתבונן הוית בזיתא דן	13.14
והוית תמהׄ עׄל זיתא דׄןׄ	13.15
וחׄבׄלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16

זכי to be (made) pure, purify [verb]

]◦ יׄזׄכׄהׄ דׄאׄ זׄ֯כׄ֯י֯ בׄדׄמׄ֯אׄ עׄל	7.12
]נׄ֯קׄ֯ זׄכׄ֯הׄ֯ וׄזׄ◦◦◦	12.19

זכי pure, clear [adj.]

]◦ יׄזׄכׄהׄ דׄאׄ זׄ֯כׄ֯י֯ בׄדׄמׄ֯אׄ עׄל	7.12

זכירן remembrance [noun]

וכתב כׄולהׄון בׄמׄגׄ֯לׄא לׄזׄ֯כׄ֯י֯רׄ֯ן	5.1

זמן to agree, unite [verb]

כול אלן אזדמנו/ כחדא	21.25

זעקא supplication, outcry [noun]

בׄמׄעיל זׄ֯עׄקׄ֯אׄ וׄ֯◦◦◦[	6.4

זר stranger [noun]

ולא מן כול זר ולא מן	2.16
זׄ֯רׄעׄאׄ֯ מן זׄרׄ]	5.14

זרע seed, offspring [noun]

ומן קדישין זׄרׄעׄאׄ ולנפׄילׄ[ין	2.1
די מנך זרעא דן ומנך	2.15
זׄ֯רׄעׄאׄ֯ מן זׄרׄ]	5.14
ובזרעה יתקרה שׄמׄ֯ךׄ	14.12
וׄ֯זרע	14.26
ולזרעך לכול עלמים	21.10
ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן	21.12
ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא	21.13
ואף זרעך לא יתמנה	21.13
ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה	21.14

חבט to strike [verb]

◦◦◦◦◦ם֯ מערב וחבטתה ואתרת	13.17

חבי to seal [verb]

ויתחׄבׄון לדׄ֯קׄיׄ֯רׄ֯תׄ֯ ויׄ֯שׄ֯פׄיׄ֯[	15.13

חבל to damage, destroy [verb]

וחׄ֯בׄלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16

חבר companion, friend [noun]

מלי חרקנוש ומלי תרין חברוהי	20.8
למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי	21.26
דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.28
די מלך עילם וחברוהי	22.17

חברון Hebron [place name]

וׄ֯אתית עד די דבקׄתׄ לחברון	19.9
וׄ֯למׄ֯דׄ֯ינׄהׄ דׄןׄ ב[נ]יאת חברון	19.9
באלוׄנׄי ממרהׄ דׄי בחברון	21.19
כלמדנח צפון חברון	21.20
ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון	22.3
עד דבקו לחלבון	22.10

חגר Hagar [pers. name]

קודמיהא ואף לחגר	20.32

חד one [adj.]

[חד מן] בני שמין	2.5
ולא בׄכדבין חדא ברׄא מׄנׄ֯ךׄ֯]	2.6
כׄולהׄ֯א פׄ֯רׄיׄא חׄ֯דׄ֯אׄ ישׄיׄם	3.11
וׄ֯אׄ֯זׄלׄ֯תׄ֯ [לחד] מׄ֯נׄהׄ֯ן ואמׄרׄ֯ לךׄ֯	6.21
]תׄבותא נחת חד מן טורי	10.12
חׄדׄ֯ וׄ֯לׄכׄ֯ול קנה בדילה	11.14
אׄתׄ֯הׄ֯ רגלא קדמׄיא בׄיׄום חד	12.14
ביום חד לשתא חמׄישׄיאׄתׄא	12.15
וׄ֯הׄ֯אׄ פׄ֯לׄיׄ֯גׄ֯אׄ חׄ֯דׄהׄ יׄ֯צׄדׄדׄ֯	14.11
]◦ךׄ֯ חׄדׄ לׄימׄיׄן אׄ֯רׄעא	14.17
וחׄד לׄשׄ֯מׄאׄל אׄ֯רׄ֯עׄהׄ	14.17
חד מן/ ראׄשׄ֯יׄ נהרא	19.11
וׄחזית בחׄלמׄיׄ וׄ֯הׄ֯א ארז חד	19.14
ותמרא/ חדא כׄחׄ֯דׄאׄ צׄמׄ֯חׄ֯[ו]	19.15
צׄמׄ֯חׄ֯[ו] מׄן שׄ֯רׄ[ש חד]	19.15
די פם חד תלתהון ממללין	20.8
ואתה חד מן רעה	22.1
וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.28
וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33

חדי to rejoice [verb]

חׄדׄיׄ די מׄנׄ֯יׄ אׄ֯נׄ֯פׄיק מׄרׄ֯[ה	5.27
וחדית למלי מרה שמיא	7.7

חדי breast [noun]

כמא יאא לה חדיה	20.4

חדק to force [verb]

]◦◦ ודי יׄחׄדׄ֯קׄ להׄ לׄ◦[	7.18

חדקל Tigris (River) [place name]

ליד מי חׄדׄקׄל נׄ֯הׄ֯רׄ֯אׄ	17.7
לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא	17.8

חוב crown, upper portion [noun]

א]עׄאׄ֯ חׄ֯וׄבׄ מׄעׄ֯[נ]ף מׄןׄ֯	14.4

חודי oneness, solitude [noun]

ולׄמׄשׄבׄקׄ תׄמרא בלחודיהה	19.15

חודש month [noun]

לרגלא קדמיא דׄ֯יׄ֯ בׄ֯חׄוׄדׄשא	12.14

חוט string, thread [noun]

אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21

חוי to tell, narrate [verb]

כולא בקושטא תחוינני הןׄ[	2.5
[בקושטא] תׄחׄוׄיׄנני ולא בׄכדבין	2.6
ואנה בקושט כולאׄ אׄ֯[חוינ]ךׄ֯	2.10

מתושלח אבי וכולא להׄ[ח]ו֯י֯[ת	2.19
עדׄבׄה פליג ולה מחוין כולא	2.21
ולך אנׄהׄ מׄחוׄהׄ כ֯ו֯ל֯ ד֯[י	5.9
וכען לך אנה מ֯חׄוה בׄרׄי֯	5.20
ללמד]/ ברך אחוי ברׄזא דׄנׄאׄ	5.21
חׄז֯י֯ת֯ ואׄחׄואׄה ואודעת בעובד	6.11
ולכול אנוש לא אׄחׄויתה	6.12
א֯[ח]ו֯ה֯ ובׄחזיון עמי מׄלל	6.14
ואׄח֯[וה] לי ולמ֯גׄלא כול	7.22
]כולא בקושט אחויתך	15.20
וכולא אחׄו֯[ת]ל[ה]	15.22
]למ֯ח֯ו֯ה֯ דׄיׄ אׄ◦◦אׄ לך֯[	15.23
וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3

חלק/חולק portion, allotment [noun]

[ו]ש֯ם֯ פ֯ל֯ג֯ [ח]לקה בין בנוהי	17.7
ועבר חולקא דן למערבא	17.10
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא	17.11
חׄולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה	17.15
[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לׄק בני חם	17.19
וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא	22.23
אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך	22.24

חום heat [noun]

ב֯ח֯ו֯ם עׄנתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא	2.10

חוק law, statute [noun]

יה֯בׄת כדת חוק עלמא	6.8

חורי Hurrian [people name]

ולחוריא די בטורי גבל	21.29

חורן Hauran [place name]

ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן	21.11
וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן	21.12

חזו vision, appearance [noun]

מן]/ חׄזוה דחל למד ברך	5.7
ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8
אתחזי{ו} אלהא לאברם בחזוא	22.27

חזיון/חזון vision [noun]

וחצי אסרת בחׄזון קושטא	6.4
[ואתחזי לי מרה] ש֯מׄי֯א בחזי֯ון	6.11
א֯[ח]ו֯ה֯ ובׄחזיׄון עמי מׄלל	6.14

חזי to see [verb]

◦◦]נ֯ו֯ר די אתחזי	0.13
וכדי חזת בׄתׄאנוש אנתתי	2.12
חׄזית למעׄבד דין ו֯מׄ[שפט] עׄל֯	4.11
[ואתחזי לי מרה] ש֯מׄי֯א בחזי֯ון	6.11
חׄז֯י֯ת֯ ואׄחׄואׄה ואודעת בעובד	6.11
י֯דׄעת וחזׄיׄת כול[	6.16
ו֯א֯[תחזי] ל֯י֯ ◦◦◦◦ מׄן֯ שׄמׄיׄאׄ	11.15
]שג֯י֯אׄן ו֯◦בעׄ אתחזיׄאת לי	12.3
חזה הׄוית לדׄהביא ו֯לׄכ֯ס֯[פי]אׄ	13.9
ח֯זׄה הוית לשמשא ולשהרׄאׄ	13.10
חזה הוית עד די אסיפׄוׄהׄיׄ	13.11
ו֯אׄתפנית למחזה זיתא	13.13
ר֯ברב ושׄפׄיר ומׄתחזה בהן	13.14
[ו֯ד֯י֯ ח֯ז֯י֯ת֯הׄ לחלפתא קדמיתא	14.11
ודי חזיתא לחלפׄתא דבקא	14.14
ודי חזיתה לפׄסׄג֯ת֯ חלפתא	14.15
ו֯דׄיׄ חזית מן קצת נופהן	14.17
קׄצׄי֯ א֯ר֯ע֯אׄ ודי חזיתא	15.9
להון רשיעין ודי חׄזׄיׄת֯הׄ	15.9
]ר֯א ודי חזיתה עדרׄו֯ ◦[	15.13
ו֯חׄזׄיׄת בחׄלמׄי֯ ו֯ה֯א ארז חד	19.14
די לא יחזנה כול ב֯ר֯ א֯נ֯ו֯ש֯	19.23
וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא	20.9
ואחזי ידך רבתא	20.14
ויחה ארי ב֯ח֯לם ח֯ז֯[ני]	20.22
ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8
ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנחא	21.9
וחזי כול/ ארעא דא	21.9
וחזית ארעא מן/ רמתא דא	21.10
קום הלך ואזל/ וחזי	21.14
למסחר ולמחזה ארעא	21.15
בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי{ו}	22.27
וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו	22.29

חיוה living creature, wild beast [noun]

ולבׄעׄיׄרׄא ולחיותׄא ו֯לעופא	6.26
עו]ף֯ ש֯מׄיא וחיות ברא	13.8

חיי to live [verb]

ואׄחׄה֯ בטליכי ותפלׄט נפשי בדיליכי	19.20
ויחה ארי ב֯ח֯לם ח֯ז֯[ני]	20.22
ויצלה עלוהי ויחה	20.23
וח֯י֯ וקם ו֯י֯הׄבׄ/ לי מלכא	20.29

חכים wise one [noun]

ושלח/ קרא לכול ח֯כ֯י֯מׄ[ין] מצרין	20.19
ואשפיא וכול חכימיא	20.20

חכמה wisdom [noun]

בחזון קושטא וחכמתא	6.4
ואׄתׄקׄפׄת בׄח֯כ֯מׄת֯אׄ אׄ[	6.6
על מלי ועל חׄכמתי	19.24
וש]א֯לו להׄון סׄפׄרא וחׄכׄמׄתׄא	19.25
ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא	20.7

חלה	valley [noun]	
	ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון	22.4
חלם	to dream [verb]	
	ד]י֯ ח֯למׄת וב֯רכת֯ קד֯[י]שׁאׄ	7.20
	וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה	19.14
	חלם/ חׄלמׄתׄ מ֯ן [ד]אנה֯ דחל	19.18
חלם	dream [noun]	
	דׄי֯ הׄו֯א קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9
	אל תׄתמה על חׄלמא דׄן	15.19
	וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה	19.14
	וחׄזית בחׄלמׄי֯ ו֯הׄא ארז חד	19.14
	ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם	19.17
	[ד]אנה֯ דחל מ֯[ן] ח֯למׄאׄ דן	19.18
	ואמרת לי אשׁתע֯י לי חלמך	19.18
	ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמׄא דן	19.18
	חלמׄא ד֯ן֯ אׄ◦◦◦	19.19
	ויחה ארי בׄחׄלם חׄז֯[ני]	20.22
חלם	to be well, sound, firm [verb]	
	ו֯ח֯למׄאׄ למאׄבד	19.8
	ואתחלם אברם וקם	22.5
חלף	to pass over [verb]	
	ו֯ח֯לפת שבעת ראשי נהרא	19.12
חלפה	shoot, offshoot [noun]	
	[ור]אׄמׄתׄ חׄלׄפ֯תׄא די נפקא מנה	14.10
	] ו֯ד֯י֯ ח֯ז֯י֯תׄהׄ לחלפתא קדמיתא	14.11
	ודי חזיתא לחלפׄתא דבקא	14.14
	לפׄסׄגׄתׄ חלפתא אחרניׄתׄא	14.15
	]א֯ דׄח֯י֯לׄפׄתׄאׄ ד֯א֯ ה֯ו֯ו֯ה֯ יתבין	14.18
חלץ	vehemence, earnestness [noun]	
	בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת	2.8
חלק	to divide, apportion [verb]	
	ו֯נוׄחׄ ח֯לׄקׄ בעׄדׄבׄ ליׄפת	16.12
	]בני֯ נ֯ו֯ח֯ [ח]ל֯[קו] ע֯ד֯ב֯[י]ה֯[ו]ן	17.22
חם	Ham [pers. name]	
	וב֯[ני חם כוש ומצרי]ן ו֯פׄוט	12.11
	ו֯לׄחׄםׄ[נפ]ק֯[עדבא תלת]י֯אׄ	16.26
	[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לׄק בני חם	17.19
	ועלנא לארע בנׄי חם	19.13
חמה	heat [noun]	
	]םׄ חמת רגזך	0.6
חמיד	stimulating, alluring [adj.]	
	וחׄמ֯יׄד כול מחזה ידׄי֯הא	20.5

חמישיא	fifth [adj.]	
	ביום חד לשתא חמׄישׄיׄאׄתׄא	12.15
חמס	violence [noun]	
	עׄבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די֯[	5.18
	ישלקׄון וכול שׁבׄי֯לׄי֯ חׄמׄס֯	5.19
	[ ]ל[ ]◦◦ כול שבילי חמס	6.5
	כ֯וׄל֯ עׄבׄדׄי֯ חמסא ורשעא ושקרא	11.14
חמר	wine [noun]	
	ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמׄר	12.13
	שׁ֯ג֯יׄא֯ ו֯כׄול ח֯מ֯ר֯אׄ איׄתת	12.14
	]י֯ן חמרא	19.27
חמש	five [adj.]	
	לוד ואׄרׄם ובנן נקבן חמש	12.11
	כול ב֯ר֯ א֯נ֯ו֯ש֯[חמ]ש֯ שׁ֯נׄין	19.23
	ולסוף חמש שניא אלן	19.23
חן	grace, compassion [noun]	
	א֯נ֯ה֯ נוח חן ר֯ב֯ו֯ ו֯קושטׄה֯	6.23
חנוך	Enoch [pers. name]	
	לחנוך] אבוהי וכולא מנה	2.19
	ר֯ט֯ ע֯ל חׄנוך אבוהי למנדע	2.22
	[ו]אמׄר לחׄנוך אבוהי יא אבי	2.24
	דׄן האׄ כדי אנה ח֯נ֯ו֯ך֯	5.3
	וׄקרית קודמיהון לס֯פׄר֯ מלי֯ ח֯נוך	19.25
	כ֯[ו]ל֯ מ֯לׄי חׄנ֯ו֯ך֯	19.29
חנן	to seek favor [verb]	
	מתחׄנׄנין ו◦◦◦◦ מׄן מׄר֯ה֯	0.24
	בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12
חסף	clay [noun]	
	]אׄ ◦◦ א֯בׄניא וחספיא הווה קצין	13.9
חען	to embrace, cling [verb]	
	ב֯צׄפׄונא די מחען לשנא דן	17.11
חץ	loin [noun; from חלץ or חרץ]	
	וחצי אסרת בחזון קושטא	6.4
חצצן תמר	Hazazon-Tamar [place name]	
	]◦ ד֯י֯ בחצצן תמר	21.30
חקר	to examine [verb]	
	בׄ◦֯◦ וחׄקׄר֯י֯ן יהׄו֯◦]	6.22
חרן	Haran [place name]	
	מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28
	ביום מפקד מן חרן	22.30

חרקנוש	Herqanosh [pers. name]
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8
באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש	20.21
וׄכׄדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט	20.24

חרש	act of divination [noun]
סׄמין כׄשׄפׄין וׄחׄרׄ[שין	1.9

חשב	to think, consider, reckon [verb]
הא באדין חשבׄתׄ בלבי	2.1
לחשוך עׄלׄמׄאׄ וׄלׄ[ח]שׄבׄ הׄןׄ	6.3
שלמו לי לחשבון די חשבׄתׄ	6.9
קׄודמי וׄחׄשבׄתׄ כׄוׄל לכׄתׄ	6.16

חשבון	calculation, reckoning [noun]
שלמו לי לחשבון די חשבׄתׄ	6.9

חשוך	darkness [noun]
די אזלן לחשוך עׄלׄמׄאׄ	6.3

חשי	to be silent [verb]
ובכית וחשית בליליא דן	20.16

טב	good [noun]
ודי עבד עמי טב	21.3

טבה	goodness, goods [noun]
וטבתא די יהב לי	21.3
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11

טבו	favor, goodness [noun]
בׄרם דא כול טבותא	19.19

טור	mountain [noun]
וכול די עליהא בימיא ובטׄוריא	7.1
חד מן טורי הוׄררט ונוׄר עלמאׄ	10.12
לטוריא ודמדברׄיא לעׄוׄבׄריא	11.9
בׄיׄמׄיהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא	11.16
]בׄטׄוׄרׄיׄ/ [הוררט	12.7
בטוריׄ הוררט ומן בתר כן	12.8
נחתת לשׄפׄוׄלׄיׄ טׄוׄרא דן	12.8
בלובר טורא ולשנין ארבע	12.13
בחלמך על ראיש טׄוׄרׄיׄםׄ	14.9
יקׄיׄץ טׄוׄרׄ שׄגׄאׄיׄ וׄמׄנׄהׄ יׄנׄדׄבׄ	15.17
לראיש טׄוׄרׄ הׄוׄרׄ[רט]בקרית דׄאׄ	17.9
נפל טור תורא דן ועבר	17.10
לאׄמׄנׄא דׄצׄמׄיׄדׄ טׄוׄרׄ הׄרׄרׄט	17.14
עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא	19.9
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7
די/ דבקת לטור תורא	21.16
ואזלת ליׄד טור תורא	21.16
ולחוריא די בטורי גבל	21.29

טינה	Tina (River) [place name]
ראיׄש מׄחׄק עׄדׄ טׄיׄנׄהׄ [נ]הׄרׄא	16.9
]נׄפׄק מי טינה נהרא דׄנׄאׄ	16.15
[ע]דׄ טׄיׄנׄהׄ נהרא דׄיׄ אׄ◦◦◦	16.16
עד די דבק לטינה נהרא	17.16

טמי	to be unclean, impure [verb]
]בׄקסׄמׄא א[ט]מׄהׄ וׄאׄזׄלׄתׄ	6.21
לטמיא אנתתי מני	20.15
די לא יׄדׄעׄהׄא ו[לא ט]מׄיׄהא	20.30

טמאה	uncleanness, impurity [noun]
עלמא יהבׄין כׄטׄמׄאׄתׄהׄוׄן	5.17

טמר	to hide away [verb]
] שׄמׄיׄא וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי	6.12

יאי	lovely, graceful [adj.]
כמא יאין להׄיׄן לה עיניהא	20.3
כמא יאא לה חדיה	20.4
כמא יאין כפיהא	20.5
ודלידיהא/ יאא	20.7

יבישא	dry land [noun]
יבישתא למׄקׄיׄיׄםׄ[	1.1
וׄ[בעי]רׄ אׄדׄמׄאׄ ורחׄש יבישתא	13.8

יא	oh [particle]
ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי	2.9
ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי	2.9
ולי תאמר יא מרי ויׄאׄ אׄחׄיׄ[	2.13
ולי תאמר יא מרי ויׄאׄ אׄחׄיׄ[	2.13
לחׄנוך אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי	2.24
לחׄנוך אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי	2.24
וׄכׄבׄדׄ אׄמׄרׄ ◦◦ לׄךׄ יׄאׄ נׄוׄ[ח]	6.14
אשמע לך אמרין יא נוח ◦◦	6.15
ולׄיׄ אׄמׄרׄ אׄל תׄדׄחׄל יא נוח	11.15

יבב	to cry out [verb]
כולהון יׄבׄבׄיׄן וסורין	15.9

יד	hand [noun]; beside, next to [prep.]
וכען קרׄיׄבׄהׄ יׄדׄךׄ לממחה	0.12
בׄעדבׄ באׄמׄנׄיׄאׄ יד עׄיׄלׄםׄ	14.21
מגלא בידה ונורא עמה	15.10
ליׄד מי חׄדקׄל נׄהׄרׄאׄ	17.7
עד דבק למׄגׄוׄגׄ כׄול ל[יד]לשׄנׄאׄ	17.10
כול נגאותא די ליׄד לוד	17.17
ובין לשנא דׄ[י] לׄ[י]דׄ לוׄדׄ	17.17
ליׄד לה בגו	17.18
[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לק בני חם	17.19
וידיהא כמא/ כׄלילן	20.4

וחׄמׄיד כול מחזה ידׄיׄהא	20.5
וקטינן כול אצבעת ידיהא	20.5
ודלידיהא/ יאא	20.7
ואחזי ידך רבתא	20.14
ואסׄמוך ידי עלוהי	20.22
וסמכת ידי עׄלׄ [ר]אׄישה	20.29
ואתית ליד ימא עד	21.15
וסחרת מן ליׄ[ד]יׄמא רבא דן	21.16
ואזלת לׄיׄד טור תורא	21.16
וסחרת ליד פורת	21.17
והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.17
די סגר שׄנׄאׄיךׄ בידך	22.17
מרים אנה/ ידי יומא דן	22.21

ידה to give thanks [verb]

ואודית תמן קודם אלהא	21.3

ידע to know [verb]

א]נׄחׄנׄ[א]לׄאׄ מׄדעיׄן	1.4
וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע בדי	2.20
חׄנוך אבוהי למנדע מנה כולא	2.22
חׄזׄיׄתׄ ואׄחׄואׄ^{ת} ואודעת בעובד	6.11
יׄדׄעת וחזית כול]	6.16
[א]נׄחׄנא ידעׄין הלׄוׄ	14.7
אשתעׄי לי חלמך ואנדע	19.18
וי^{נ}דעוך מרי די אנתה מרה	20.15
ואף לׄא ידׄעׄהא	20.17
די לא יׄדׄעׄהׄא ו[לא ט]מׄיהא	20.30

יהב to give [verb]

] אׄרׄיׄ/ יהׄבׄתׄ כׄוׄלן [	1.13
יהב למׄתׄוׄשׄ[לח ברה	3.26
ויהב למתו]שׄלׄח בׄרׄהׄ שכל	3.27
◦◦יןׄ ויהבׄ לׄ◦]	3.32
וכול עובד שוׄפׄטׄ אׄהׄבׄ להׄ ◦]	5.11
עלמא יהבׄיׄן כׄטׄמׄאׄתׄהׄוׄן	5.17
ובנתי לבני אחׄיׄ יהׄבׄת כדת	6.8
[די יהב מ]רׄה עלמׄא	6.9
[וי]הב אנה שלטנא דנׄה לׄ[ך]	9.3
וׄיׄהׄבׄת סולת נשׄיׄפא פילא	10.16
מׄלחא הוית יהב ורח	10.17
[י]הׄבׄ לך ולבׄנׄיךׄ כׄוׄלׄאׄ למׄאׄכׄל	11.17
הׄאׄ קׄשׄתׄיׄ [בענן י]הׄבׄתׄ	12.1
ויהב לה נוח אבוהי	17.15
לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא	17.16
]אׄ דׄיׄ יׄהׄבׄ ◦◦◦ [	17.21
והווא יהבׄין/ לׄ[י מתנין שגיאן	19.24
וחׄיׄ וקם וׄיׄהׄבׄ/ לי מלכא	20.29
ויהב לׄהׄ מלכאׄ כׄ[סף וד]הב [ש]גׄיא	20.31
וטבתא די יהב לי	21.3
די אנה יהב לך	21.10
יׄהבין מדתהון למלך עילם	21.27
ענה די יהב אברם ללוט	22.2
ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיא	22.17
הב לי נפשא די אתי לי	22.19
וכול/ שביתא וׄיהב למלך סודם	22.25

יואן Javan [pers. name]

ויואן ותׄוׄבל ומשוך	12.12
ובׄתרה ליואן כול נגאותא	17.17

יובל jubilee [noun]

]שא יובלׄין עשרה	6.10
וׄבׄכׄוׄל שׄנׄאׄ דׄנׄהׄ וׄיׄוׄבׄלׄאׄ	7.3

יום day [noun]

יום דׄ[י	1.7
]ארי ביומׄי ירד אבי	3.3
[◦◦◦◦ עׄדׄ יׄוׄם	3.6
ביוׄמׄוׄהׄיׄ יתעׄבד והׄא ◦◦]	5.22
וקושטא כול יומׄי דברת	6.2
וביומׄי כדי שלמׄו לי	6.9
אׄתׄהׄ רגלא קדמׄיא ביׄוׄם חד	12.14
ביום חד לשתא חמׄישׄיאׄתׄא	12.15
נצבה די]כׄרׄמׄאׄ ביׄוׄמׄאׄ דן	12.16
כׄול יומוהי לא יפרש מנך	14.12
יׄוׄמׄאׄ וׄפׄל◦◦◦◦סׄ]	14.13
בׄ[ומא דנ]אׄ מנתנׄ[ן] שׄגׄיאׄן	20.30
בׄתר יומׄא דן פרש לוט	21.5
קדמת יומׄיא אלן	21.23
מרים אנה/ ידי יומא דן	22.21
מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28
ביום מפקד מן חרן	22.30

יכל to be able [verb]

ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל	20.17
הן יכולון לאסיׄותה	20.19
ולׄא יׄכׄלׄוׄ כׄול אסיא	20.20
ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22

ילד to give birth [verb]

והׄרת מני וילדתׄ לי בׄנׄין	6.7
ויׄלׄיׄדׄוׄ ל[בני בני]ןׄ[וב]נן	12.9
לׄ[שם] בׄרׄיׄ רׄבא יליד לה בר	12.10

ים sea [noun]

[◦◦◦◦ בׄאׄרׄעי ליׄמׄא דׄןׄ	3.10
]להׄ דׄ[י] בׄכׄל יׄם]	3.28
וכול די עליהא בימׄיא ובטׄוריא	7.1
בׄיׄמׄיהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא	11.16
וׄכׄלׄ אׄיׄאׄ ◦הׄ◦ל ליׄם רׄבׄא	14.18
[י]מׄאׄ [ר]בׄהׄ מׄ]	14.21

ד֯י֯מׄא די מן ביניהון 16.9
[ו]עׄבׄר תחומא דן מי ימא רבא 16.11
ב֯ים֯ מׄאׄיוׄתׄאׄ ד֯י֯ ד֯בׄק֯ ◦לש֯ן 16.16
יׄם מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן 16.17
ע֯ד֯ לשן ימא די פנה למצר֯[י]ן֯ 16.18
חׄדׄקׄל נׄהׄרׄאׄ עד דדבק לימׄא 17.7
◦◦◦◦ול ד֯י֯ ב֯ים מדנחא 17.10
[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לק בני חם 17.19
בׄ[תר ע]לל[בג]אׄ יׄמא רׄבׄה 19.13
ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן 21.11
ואתית ליד ימא עד 21.15
וסחרת מן לי֯[ד]יׄמא רבא דן 21.16
עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא 21.17
והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא 21.18
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף 21.18
די נפק מן ימא שמוקא 21.18

ימי to swear [verb]
עדינתי יאמיא אנה לך 2.14
וימא לי מלכא במומה 20.30

ימין right, south [adj.]
]◦ךׄ חׄדׄ לי֯מׄי֯ן אׄרׄעא 14.17
לגׄבׄרׄאׄ רׄבׄא אׄתׄהׄ מׄן ימין ארעא 15.10
הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעׄאׄ[15.11
]יׄמׄי֯ן 15.13

יסוד see איסוד

יסף to add [verb]
ואף אנה אוספת לה 21.6

יעא to emerge [verb]
ובכור הׄורׄתי יעית לקושט 6.1

יעי to expound [verb]
עד די אׄעׄהׄ צח להון 19.26

יען because of, due to [adv.]
מ]תׄנׄדׄדׄא בׄיׄען הׄלׄיׄכׄהׄן ושגׄהׄן 15.16

יער forest [noun]
◦◦◦◦◦◦בׄ ליעׄרׄין 3.29

יפת Japheth [pers. name]
ובני יפת גומׄר ומׄגוג ומדי 12.12
וׄנוׄחׄ חׄלק בעׄדׄבׄ ליׄפת ולבנוׄהׄיׄ 16.12
[ו]יׄפׄתׄ פלג בׄין בנוהי 17.16

יצב certainty [noun]
וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע 2.20

יקר honor, worth [noun]
]◦◦ יׄקׄרׄ וׄאׄגׄרׄי אנה מׄשלם לך 7.5

ירד Jared [pers. name]
]ארי ביומי ירד אבי 3.3

ירדן Jordan [place name]
ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא 21.5

ירושלם Jerusalem [place name]
אתה לשלם היא ירושלם 22.13

ירותת inheritance [noun]
למירׄתׄ ירׄותׄת עׄלׄמׄיׄם 16.12
ולבנוהי לׄ[ירותת ע]ל[מים 16.14

ירק vegetation, greenery [noun]
כׄוׄלׄאׄ למׄאׄכׄל בירקא ועשבא 11.17

ירת to inherit [verb]
למׄיׄרׄתׄ ירותת עׄלׄמׄיׄם 16.12
למירת לה ולבנוׄהי 16.14
למׄיׄרׄתׄ להׄ[ו]ל[בנוהי 16.26
וירתונה לכול עלמים 21.12
וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני 22.33
הׄוׄאׄ ◦◦◦ למׄתׄרתני 22.34
ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן 22.34

ישב to reside, dwell, sit [verb]
נׄבׄע און וישבין בׄ[אר]עׄדׄ[15.8

יתב to reside, dwell, sit [verb]
]◦◦◦וׄ◦◦ יׄתׄבין בני [שמין 3.4
הׄוׄוׄהׄ יׄתבין בארׄעׄהׄ 14.18
[י]תׄבׄוׄ בׄגׄאׄ [א]יׄאׄ 14.18
ויתבת [תמ]ן [תרתי]ן שׄנׄין 19.9
ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא 21.5
ויתב בה ואנה הוית יתב בטורא 21.7
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא 21.7
אתר די אנתה יתב 21.9
ואזלת ויתבת באלוני ממרה 21.19
די אברם די הוא יתב 22.1
ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון 22.3

יתיר excessively, very [adv.]
ו]דׄחׄלׄתׄ [י]תׄירׄא בנפשׄהׄ 19.23

כבד weighty, loud (?) [adj./adv.]
ולקובלי קׄם וׄכׄבׄדׄ אׄמׄרׄ ◦◦ 6.14

כבר already [adv.]
ברא מן די אכלו כבר 22.23

כדב lie [noun]
[בקושטא] תׄחׄוׄינני ולא בׄכדבין 2.6
בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבׄין] 2.7
בקשוט די לׄא בׄכׄדׄבׄיׄן 3.13

כדי when [adv.]
וכדי חזת בתׄאנוש אנתתי 2.12
וכדי שמע מתושל[ח אבי 2.21
ד֯ן הׄא כדי אנה ח֯נ֯ו֯ך֯ 5.3
וכדי שמע מׄתושלח מ֯[לי 5.24
ו֯כ֯ד֯י אׄנה למך ש֯[מעת 5.26
וכדי֯ נׄפקת מן מעׄי אׄמי 6.1
וביומי כדי שלמו֯ לי 6.9
וכדי אׄת֯ה֯ רגלא קדמיׄא 12.14
כ֯ד֯י֯ עׄ[ל]לנ֯א֯ למ֯ד֯י֯[נ]ת֯ מ֯[צרין 19.22
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש 20.8
כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא 20.10
כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס 20.11
ו֯כׄדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט 20.24
ואנה כדי אמותׄ ערטלי אהך 22.33

כדרלעומר Chedarlaomer [pers. name]
אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם 21.23
לקובלי כדרלעׄ[ומר ומלכיא] 21.32

כהן priest [noun]
והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון 22.15

כואת like [adv.]
די להון כואתך לעלמים 11.15

כוכב star [noun]
שמשא שהרא וכוכב֯י֯א֯ ועׄירׄיא 7.2
ו֯לכוכביא קצין ונסבין להו֯ן מנה 13.11

כל/כול all, each, every(thing) [adj./noun]
]◦כ֯◦◦ ו֯כ֯[ו]לנ֯א מׄן 0.1
]די בכול נקבל גיו֯ר 0.2
כו]ל די תׄמׄ◦ל◦ 0.4
]ו֯ל֯אׄעדיא כול 0.12
כול בׄניׄכון ו֯[1.8
] אׄר֯יׄ/ יהב֯ת֯ כ֯ו֯לן [1.13
ולקלל לכול בשרא 1.24
ואף לכול בשרא 1.28
במרה רבותא במלך כול עׄ[למים 2.4
עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני 2.5
במלך כול עלמׄיׄם עד בקושט 2.7
ואנה בקושט כול֯א א֯[חוינ]ך֯ 2.10
]ד֯א֯ ב֯כ֯ולא ושגי לבי עלי 2.11
ולא מן כול זר 2.16
ולא מן כול עירין 2.16
ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין 2.16
מתושלח אבי וכולא לה֯[ח]ו֯י֯[ת 2.19
וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע 2.20
עדׄבׄה פליג ולה מחוין כולא 2.21
למנדע מנה כולא בקושׄטׄאׄ] 2.22
[כ֯ו֯ל צ֯◦◦ן֯ ולא לאורׄכא 3.2
להׄו֯ה על ארעא כולה֯א 3.9
]א֯ון כולה֯א פ֯ר֯יׄא ח֯ד֯א֯ ישׄיׄם 3.11
למׄ◦◦ כ֯ו֯לא֯ 3.16
]ה֯ו֯א ד֯י֯ יפלג כ֯ו֯ל ארעא 3.17
]לה֯ ד֯[י] ב֯כׄל יׄם[3.28
]עׄד לכול עלמים 4.3
וכתב כ֯ולה֯ון ב֯מ֯ג֯י֯לׄא ל֯ז֯כ֯י֯ר֯ן֯ כׄול 5.1
וכתב כׄולה֯ו֯ן ב֯מ֯ג֯י֯לׄא ל֯ז֯כ֯י֯ר֯ן֯ כׄול 5.1
ולך אנׄה מׄחוׄה כ֯ו֯ל֯ ד֯[י 5.9
וכול עובׄד שופ֯ט֯ אׄה֯ב֯ לה֯ ◦[5.11
ישלקון וכול שׄב֯י֯ל֯י֯ חׄמ֯ס 5.19
אחוי ברׄזא דׄנׄא כ֯ו֯ל֯[5.21
מברך למרה כולא ה◦[5.23
וקושטא כול יומי דברת 6.2
] [ל֯] [◦◦ כול שבילי חמס 6.5
בעובד בני שמין ומׄא כ֯ו֯ל 6.11
ולכול אנוש לא אׄחׄויתה 6.12
וחׄשבתׄ כׄול לכׄת בני אר֯עׄא 6.16
בני אר֯עׄא י֯ד֯עת וחזׄית כול[6.16
ד֯מׄל[ד] כ֯[ו]ל֯[עלמיא] 6.25
כו]ל ע֯בׄד֯א֯ ו֯[כו]ל 6.27
כו]ל ע֯בׄד֯א֯ ו֯[כו]ל 6.27
ארעא וכול די עליהא 7.1
◦ל֯דא כול מזלת שמיא שמשא 7.2
ו֯ב֯כ֯ול ש֯נ֯א֯ ד֯נ֯ה֯ ו֯י֯ו֯ב֯ל֯א֯ 7.3
לך֯ ו֯ל◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ מן כ֯ו֯לה֯ו֯ן 7.4
◦◦לב֯ן ו֯כולא ועׄם שׄא֯◦◦ל◦ 7.8
]◦ לכ֯ול אׄנ֯שא בך ◦◦ 7.14
ו֯מ֯◦צׄית כול עובׄד 7.21
ואׄח֯[וה] לי ולמ֯ג֯לא כול 7.22
]◦ש֯ שׄת עׄשרה והוא כ֯ו֯ל 8.1
ובכול מב֯ו֯ל֯א֯ ◦◦◦◦[8.9
◦◦◦ ד֯ן֯ ו֯כ֯ול[8.12
]◦ לכ֯ול ◦◦◦◦◦ 8.30
]◦◦ לבׄנׄיך מׄן בתר֯ך לכול 8.33
בא֯◦ כ֯ול לא יפׄצ֯א֯ ו֯א֯◦◦ כׄול 9.2
בא֯◦ כ֯ול לא יפׄצ֯א֯ ו֯א֯◦◦ כׄול 9.2
באדין ברׄכ֯[ת] למ֯ר֯ה֯ כ֯ו֯לא֯ 10.1
לנ֯וח ◦◦א֯ ◦◦ל מ֯לי֯ן֯ כ֯ו֯לה֯ו֯[ן 10.2
]כ֯ולכון למׄרכון ו֯ר֯◦◦◦◦◦ 10.9
ל֯מ֯לך כׄול עלמׄיׄא לעלם 10.10
לעלם ולעד עד כ֯ול ע֯למים 10.10
] ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת 10.13
] ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת 10.13
[בא]ד֯י֯ן ◦ל◦ה֯ כ֯ו֯ל֯ה֯ דמׄהון 10.15
דׄמהון ו֯כ֯ו֯להון עלו֯ה֯[י] 10.16
ב֯ר֯כ֯ת֯ ו֯ע֯ם כׄולהון מׄלחא 10.17
]◦◦ן֯ ו֯[כו]לה֯ו֯ן֯ ◦כ֯ו֯ל 11.8
]◦◦ן֯ ו֯[כו]לה֯ו֯ן֯ ◦כ֯ו֯ל 11.8
לע֯ו֯ב֯רׄיא ודא֯[יא]כ֯[ו]ל ◦[11.9
וארעא כׄולהא מליׄא דתׄאׄ 11.12
כ֯ו֯ל֯ עׄבׄד֯י֯ חמסא ורשעא ושקרא 11.14
ח֯ד֯ ו֯לכ֯ול קנה בדילה 11.14

ומׄלי ארעא ושלט בכולהון	11.16
ובכול די בהון והא אנה	11.16
[י]הׄבׄ לך ולבׄנׄיך כׄולׄאׄ למׄאׄכׄל	11.17
ברם כול דם לא תאכלון	11.17
וׄ[הוו]אׄ כול בני שם כולהׄון	12.10
וׄ[הוו]אׄ כול בני שם כולהׄון	12.10
[ו]שׄרית אנה ובני כולהון	12.13
שׄגׄיׄאׄ וׄכׄול חׄמׄרׄאׄ איׄתת	12.14
לבני ולבני בני ולנשי כולנא	12.16
◦◦נׄאׄ ולכול	12.18
ל◦◦◦◦ׄ כול שנׄהׄ בׄל◦	12.27
]כׄהׄ לׄכׄול	13.7
כולהון קצין ונסבׄין להׄון מׄנׄהׄ	13.10
]כׄוׄלׄאׄ וׄשדׄיׄאׄן קשרן בה	13.15
כו]ל נׄוׄפׄי[א] וׄכׄול אׄ[נב]ׄי עׄלׄהׄ	14.6
כו]ל נׄוׄפׄי[א] וׄכׄול אׄ[נב]ׄי עׄלׄהׄ	14.6
כׄול יומוהי לא יפרש מנך	14.12
מׄן פׄלׄגׄהׄ כׄ[ו]ל בׄנׄיׄךׄ	14.12
יפוק לנצבת קושט לכול	14.13
וׄכׄלׄ אׄיׄאׄ ◦הׄ◦ל ליׄם רׄבׄא	14.18
להׄ כׄלׄ אׄלם דׄיׄ ◦◦ליׄןׄ	14.20
]ברשע לׄכׄוׄל מׄ◦◦	15.5
ואנון לׄכׄוׄל ה◦◦◦◦[	15.8
כולהון יׄבׄבׄיׄן וסורין	15.9
ונורא עמה ארציׄן כׄול	15.10
ורמי על נורא כול פש[עיא	15.12
שור מן כול עׄמׄמׄי ארעא	15.15
]בׄין כול עממיא וכולהון להון	15.18
כול עממיא וכולהון להון פלחין	15.18
ומשתבשין ◦◦יׄן[ ]כׄוׄל	15.18
]כולא בקושט אחויתך	15.20
וכׄולא אחׄוׄ[ת]ל[ה]	15.22
כול ארע צפונא כולהא	16.10
כול ארע צפונא כולהא	16.10
בני]הׄון [כ]וׄלׄ בׄנׄיׄ [נוח	16.21
עד דבק למגׄוׄגׄ כׄול ל[יד]לשׄנׄאׄ	17.10
די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא	17.12
די משקה פורת וכול	17.12
כׄ[ו]ל בׄקעאתא ומישריא	17.13
ואיא די בגו לשנא דׄן כׄ[ו]ל	17.13
ובׄתרה ליואן כול נגאותא	17.17
]◦ כׄוׄלׄ◦[	17.21
והוא כפנא בארעא דׄא כולא	19.10
בׄרם דא כול טבותא	19.19
דׄ[י ת]עׄבׄדׄיׄן עׄמׄי בכול עׄרׄוׄת	19.20
די לא יחזנה כול בׄרׄ אׄנׄוׄשׄ	19.23
כׄ[ו]לׄ מׄלׄי חׄנׄוׄךׄ	19.29
וׄכול נץ/ אנפיהא מׄשׄפׄירׄ	20.3
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא	20.4
וחׄמׄיד כול מחזה ידׄיׄהא	20.5
ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת	20.5
וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן	20.6
ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרׄת	20.6
ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7
ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא	20.7
וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא	20.9
אנתה אל עליון מרי לכול	20.12
אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא	20.13
ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט	20.13
למעבד בכולהון דין	20.13
בה ובכול ביתה	20.15
אנתה מרה לכול מלכי/ ארעא	20.15
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא	20.16
ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל	20.17
ועל כול אנש ביׄתה	20.18
ושלח/ קרא לכול חׄכׄיׄמׄ[י] מצרין	20.19
ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי	20.19
ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי	20.19
ולׄא יׄכׄלו כׄול אסיא	20.20
ואשפיא וכול חכימיא	20.20
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון	20.20
אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24
ועדי לך מן/ כול מדינת מצרין	20.28
כׄל אתר משריאתי	21.1
על כול נכסיא	21.3
וכול נכסוהי/ עמה	21.5
וחזי כול/ ארעא דא	21.9
ולזרעך לכול עלמים	21.10
וכול ארע גבל עד קדש	21.11
וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן	21.11
אנתן כול ארעא דא	21.12
וירתונה לכול עלמים	21.12
דׄי לא ישכח כול בר אנוש	21.13
אחריך עד כול עלמיא	21.14
ואשכחת כול אנשׄי שלם	21.19
אנה וכול אנש ביתי	21.21
כול אלן אזדמנו/ כחדא	21.25
למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי	21.26
דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.27
וׄשׄגיאין מׄןׄ [כו]לׄ[ ]ל[	21.33
]וׄבׄזׄ מׄלׄךׄ עׄילׄם כול נכסיא	21.33
[ע]וׄמׄרׄם [וכול] רׄ[כ]וׄשׄיׄאׄ	21.34
וכול ד]ׄי אשכׄ[ח]וׄ [תמן]	21.34
עמהון וכול נכסוהי	22.1
וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל	22.3
וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9
ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11
וכול נכסוהי וׄכׄול/ שביתא	22.11
וכול נכסוהי וׄכׄול/ שביתא	22.11
די אתיב אברם כול שביתא	22.12

כול שביתא/ וכול בזתא 22.13
ולכול אנשׄא די עמה 22.15
ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיא 22.17
ונכסיא/ כולהון שביקין לך 22.20
אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך 21.22
דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי 22.22
ואתיב אברם כול נכסיא 22.24
וכול/ שביתא ויהב למלך סודם 22.24
וכול שביא די הואת עמה 22.25
ושלח כולהון 22.26
ומני כול די איתי לך 22.29
מן/ כול די נפקו עמך 22.30
ולמא לי/ כול [א]לן 22.33

כומר vessel, jar [noun]
ובגו כרמי כ֯ומרא דן פתחת 12.15

כור womb, oven [noun]
ובכור הׄורׄתי יעית לקושט 6.1

כוש Cush [pers. name]
וב֯[ני חם כוש ומצרי]ן 12.11

כחדא together [adv.]
ולבנתהון ואתכנשנא כחדא 12.16
ותמרא\ חדא כׄח֯דׄאׄ צ֯מ֯ח[ו] 19.15
ואכלו כחדא/ עמי 21.21
כול אלן אזדמנו/ כחדא 21.25
בסודם כחדׄא עמהון 22.1

כלה bride [noun]
וכל בתולן וכלׄאן די יעלן 20.6

כלי to destroy, bring to an end [verb]
הא באדין ישתבשון ו֯י֯ת֯כ֯לון [5.16

כלי to cry out [verb]
ואכליׄאׄת תמרתא ואמרת 19.16

כליל perfect [adj.]
וידיהא כמא/ כ֯לילן 20.5

כמה/כמא how [particle]
כׄמׄהׄ נ֯י֯צׄח֯ ושפיר֯ לה 20.2
וכמׄא/ נ֯ע֯י֯ם֯ מ֯י֯צ֯[חה]א֯ 20.2
כמא יאין להי֯ן לה עיניהא 20.3
כמא יאא לה חדיה 20.4
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא 20.4
וידיהא כמא/ כ֯לילן 20.4
כמא יאין כפיהא 20.5
רגליהא/ כמא שׄפׄירׄן 20.6
וכמׄאׄ ש֯למׄא להן לה שקיהא 20.6

כמן how, how much [particle]
כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיה 21.14
כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיה 21.14
וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו 22.29

כן thus, so, this [adv.]
ומן בתר כן נחתת לשפ֯ו֯לי֯ 12.8
אחויתך וכן כתיׄבׄ עלי֯ך֯[15.20
וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור 21.10

כנען Canaan [pers. name]
ומצרי]ן ו֯פוט וכנען ובנן 12.11

כנש to gather together, congregate [verb]
∘∘∘יׄה֯ון ו֯ב֯נׄי֯הׄון וכנישת 7.23
ולבנתהון ואתכנשנא כחדא 12.16

כסף silver [noun]
חזה הׄוית לדׄהביא ו֯לכ֯ס֯[פי]אׄ 13.9
ויהב להׄ מלכאׄ כ֯[סף וד]הב [ש]גיא 20.31
ואף בכסף ודהב 20.33

בעין/כעין as a spring, by sight (?) [adv.]
ו֯ד֯בׄק ד֯א֯ ∘∘ן בׄ֯ע֯י֯ן֯ 3.15
]כ֯ע֯י֯ן֯ ב֯[16.8
ועבׄרׄ כעין א֯ו֯ר֯כׄנׄא 16.9
]∘כ֯ע֯י֯ן֯[16.15
ואזל תחומא דן כעין 16.17

כען now [adv./conj.]
]וכׄען הא אנחׄנא אסירין 0.8
וכען קר֯י֯ב֯ה֯ י֯ד֯ך למחה 0.12
עובדׄאׄ די עד֯ כׄ[ע]ן 1.11
קר֯י עׄמה֯ וכען אזל 3.12
ו֯כׄעׄן ∘ה֯∘∘ 4.1
וכען לכ{אׄ} אנה אמׄר ברי 5.9
וכען לך אנה מ֯חׄוה בׄרׄי֯ 5.20
] כ֯[ע]ן֯ אנה נ֯וׄח ה֯ו֯ית בתרע 11.1
[וכען] אצת֯ ושמע אנתה הוא 14.9
עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא 19.9
עד] כען אנחנא בׄגׄו אׄרׄעׄנׄא 19.12
[ובתרה אמרת] הׄא כען 19.13
וכען/ קבלתך מרי 20.13
וכען אזל אמר למלכא 20.23
וכען צׄלי עׄליׄ ועל ביתי 20.28
מן מצרין וכען בקר 22.29
וכען אל תדחל אנה עמך 22.30

כף palm, sole [noun]
כמא יאין כפיהא 20.5

כפל to double [verb]
וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו 22.29

כפן hunger, famine [noun]

והוא כפנא בארעא דׄא כולא	19.10

כפר to atone, make propitiation [verb]

] ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת	10.13

כפתוך Cappadocia [place name]

אריוך מלך כפתוך	21.23

כרם vineyard [noun]

למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב	12.13
]◦ בׄכרׄמׄי ובגו כרמי כׄומרא דן	12.15
]◦ בׄכרׄמי ובגו כרמׄי כׄומרא דן	12.15
[בתר נצבה די]כׄרׄמׄאׄ בׄיומׄאׄ	12.16
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14

כרמון Karmon [place name]

] דבק]ת לׄכרמונא נהרא	19.11

כשף act of sorcery [noun]

סׄמין כׄשׁפׄין וׄחׄרׄ[שין	1.9

כתב to write [verb]

וכתב כׄולהון בׄמׄגׄלׄאׄ לׄזׄכׄירׄןׄ	5.1
אחויתך וכן כתיׄב עליׄךׄ]	15.20

כתב written document, book [noun]

[פר]שׁׄ[ג]ןׄ כתב מלי נוׄחׄ [	5.29

כתיבה writing [noun]

וכׄשבועה וכתׄיׄבׄהׄ דׄ[י	8.18

כתש to strike, inflict [verb]

רוח מכדש למכתשה	20.16
והואת כתשא לה	20.17
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון	20.20
אלן די מתכתש	20.25

ל+pron. to/for me, us, you, her, him, them, it

]להׄ[ון] ומתמחין מן אחרׄהון	0.15
ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא	1.25
]להׄון עבד ואף לכול בשרא	1.28
בתאנוש אנׄתׄתׄי וׄאׄ[מרת לה	2.3
דכרׄ לך על עדינׄתי א◦◦ךׄ	2.9
ולי תאמר יא מרי ויאׄ אׄחׄיׄ]	2.13
יאמיא אנה לך בקדישא רבא	2.14
מתושלח אבי וכולא להׄ[ח]וׄיׄ[ת	2.19
עדׄבׄה פליג ולה מחוין כולא	2.21
ויא מרי די אנה לׄךׄ אׄתׄ[ית	2.24
[ ]◦◦ ליׄ ואׄמׄרׄ לך דׄאׄל תׄרׄגז	2.25
[ ]◦◦ ליׄ ואׄמׄרׄ לך דׄאׄל תׄרׄגז	2.25
◦צׄ◦◦ו ולׄךׄ להׄוׄן	3.7
]להׄ דׄ[י] בׄכׄל יׄם[	3.28
ינתן]ל[ה] מׄרׄהׄ לשׁׄם קׄי[י]םׄ	3.29
]◦ להׄוׄן מׄן אנפי ארעא	4.12
ולך מתושלח ב[רי	5.2
וכען לכ{אׄ} אנה אמׄר ברי	5.9
ולך אנׄה מׄחוׄה כׄוׄלׄ דׄ[י	5.9
אזל אמׄרׄ ללמך ברך[די]מׄןׄ לׄךׄ[	5.10
וכול עובׄד שופׄטׄ אׄהׄבׄ להׄ ◦[	5.11
וכען לך אנה מׄחׄוה בׄרׄיׄ	5.20
ברתה לי לאנתה נסבת	6.7
והׄרת מני וילדתׄ לי בׄניׄן	6.7
כדי שלמו לי לחשבון	6.9
למׄסׄבׄ להון נשין לאׄנׄתׄוׄ	6.10
[ואתחזי לי מרה] שׁׄמׄיׄא בחזיׄון	6.11
וׄכׄבׄדׄ אׄמׄרׄ ◦◦ לׄךׄ יׄאׄ נׄוׄ[ח]	6.14
ובמ]שׁׄלׄחת קדישאׄ רׄבׄא ליׄ	6.15
לך אמרין יא נוח ◦◦	6.15
[לחד] מׄנׄהׄן ואמׄרׄ לׄךׄ ◦[	6.21
לׄךׄ וׄל◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ מׄן כׄוׄלׄהׄוׄן	7.4
]◦◦ יׄקׄרׄ וׄאׄגׄרׄיׄ אנה מׄשׄלם לך	7.5
]דׄשנני וׄעׄדׄהׄ ליׄ	7.9
ע]מׄהׄ להׄוׄהׄ ◦◦◦◦◦ להׄ	7.13
◦◦◦ת לׄךׄ]	7.16
]◦◦ ודי יחׄדׄק להׄ ל◦[	7.18
וׄאׄחׄ[וה] לי ולמׄגׄלא כול	7.22
צׄוׄקׄמׄ◦ קח לׄך ול◦◦◦◦ךׄ	8.32
לׄךׄ [וי]הב אנה שׁׄלטנׄאׄ דׄנׄהׄ	9.3
[וי]הב אנה שׁׄלטנאׄ דׄנׄהׄ ל[ך]	9.3
וׄאׄ[תחזי] ליׄ ◦◦◦◦ מׄן שׁמׄיׄאׄ	11.15
מלל עמי וליׄ אׄמׄרׄ אׄל תׄדׄחׄל	11.15
[י]הׄבׄ לך ולבׄניׄך כׄוׄלׄאׄ למׄאׄכׄל	11.17
אנה לׄך ◦◦ בׄשׄנין בניׄך	11.19
וׄהׄוׄאׄתׄ ליׄ לאת בעננא	12.1
]שגׄיׄאׄן וׄ◦בעׄ אתחזיאת לי	12.3
לׄ[שם] בׄרׄיׄ רׄבא יליד להׄ בר	12.10
ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמׄרׄ	12.13
]אׄ וׄלׄךׄ [	13.3
קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.9
כולהון קצין ונסבׄין להׄוׄן מׄנׄהׄ	13.10
וׄלכוכביא קצין ונסבין להׄון מנה	13.11
וחׄבׄלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16
ויתברן לה לקדמין עׄבׄרׄתׄ [רוח]	13.16
]להׄשׄתכׄלׄ לרׄזׄא הׄוׄאׄ לׄךׄ סׄףׄ	14.19
להׄ כׄלׄ אׄלם דׄיׄ ◦◦ליׄןׄ	14.20
]ל[ ]אׄה להון שור מן כול עׄמׄמׄי	15.15
אׄיׄכׄנׄהׄ יׄצׄמׄדׄ להׄ עׄמׄא דׄךׄ	15.17
וׄאׄלׄ[פ]ףׄ מׄעׄמׄךׄ לׄךׄ	15.21
לׄךׄ[ואתעירת א]נׄאׄ נוׄחׄ	15.21
[וכולא אחׄוׄ[ת]ל[ה	15.22
]אׄלׄהׄ לׄךׄ לׄקׄ◦◦לׄ לׄך	15.23
]אׄלׄהׄ לׄך לׄקׄ◦◦לׄ לׄךׄ	15.23
]למׄחׄוׄהׄ דׄיׄ אׄ◦◦אׄ לׄךׄ[	15.23

ל֯ךׄ[	15.24
]לקׄח **לךׄ** אׄל על[יון]	15.24
למירת **לה** ולבנׄוׄהי	16.14
למׄירׄתׄ **להׄ**[ו]ל[בנוהי	16.26
חׄולקא די פלג **לה** ויהב לה	17.15
ויהב **לה** נוח אבוהי	17.15
ל֯יד **לה** בגו	17.18
ואמרת **לי** אשתעׄי לי חלמך	19.18
ואמרת לי אשתעׄי **לי** חלמך	19.18
ושרית לאשתעיא **לה** חלמא דן	19.18
וׄאמׄרׄתׄ **ל[ה]** מׄ[ ]ןׄ	19.19
למקטלני ו**לכי** למשבק	19.19
בכול עׄרׄוׄתׄ די [נתה]**ל֯[הן]**	19.20
○○○○○ ○○ל֯○ **ל֯י**	19.24
והווא יהבׄין/ **ל֯]י** מתנין שגיאן	19.25
וש]אׄלוׄ **להׄון** סׄפׄרׄא וׄחׄכׄמׄתׄא	19.25
עד די אעׄהׄ צח **להון**	19.26
]○○ **ל֯ךׄ** אׄנׄהׄ ○○○אׄ	19.28
כׄמׄהׄ נׄיׄצׄחׄ ושפירׄ **לה**	20.2
[ו]רקׄיׄקׄ **להׄ** שער ראישה	20.3
כמא יאין **להׄיׄן** לה עיניהא	20.3
כמא יאין להׄיׄן **לה** עיניהא	20.3
ומא רגג הוא **לה** אנפהא	20.3
כמא יאא **לה** חדיה	20.4
וכמא שפיר **לה** כול לבנהא	20.4
וכמאׄ שׄלמׄא **להן** לה שקיהא	20.6
וכמאׄ שׄלמׄא להן **לה** שקיהא	20.6
ונסבהא **לה** לאנתא	20.9
שלח **לה** אל עליון	20.16
והואת כתשא **לה**	20.17
ואמר **לה** לוט לא יכול	20.22
וקרׄא [מ]ל[כ]אׄ **לי** וׄאמר לי	20.26
וקרׄא [מ]ל[כ]אׄ לי וׄאמר **לי**	20.26
וׄאמר לי מׄא עבדתה **לי** בדיל	20.26
[מא] הׄוית אמר/ **לי**	20.27
ונסבתׄהא **לי** לאנתה	20.27
ועדי **לך** מן/ כול מדינת מצרין	20.27
וחׄיׄ וקם וׄיׄהׄבׄ/ **לי** מלכא	20.30
וימא **לי** מלכא במומה	20.30
ואתׄיׄבׄ **לי**/ לשׄרׄי	20.30
ויהב **לה** מלכאׄ כׄ[סף וד]הב [ש]גיא	20.31
ואשׄלמהאׄ **לי** ומני עמי אנוש	20.32
○○○ לׄעׄמׄךׄ **לׄךׄ** [ ]	20.32
לוט קנה **לה** נכסין שגיאין	20.34
ונסב **לה** אנתה מן בׄנׄתׄ מׄצׄרׄ[י]ן	20.34
ובניתה תניאני/ **ל֯○**	21.2
וטבתא די יהב **לי**	21.3
ואזל ויתב **לה** בבקעת ירדנא	21.5
ואף אנה אוספת **לה**	21.6
וׄזׄבׄן **לה** בסודם בי	21.6
ואתחזי **לי** אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8
ואמר **לי** סלק לך לרׄמת חצור	21.8
ואמר לי סלק **לך** לרׄמת חצור	21.8
די אנה יהב **לך**	21.10
ואמר **לי** לזרעך אנתן	21.12
ארי **לך** ולזרעך אנתננה	21.14
והוית אתה **לי** ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.17
ותבת ואתית **לי** לביתי בשלם	21.19
ותבר אנון והוא רדף **להון**	22.9
ויהב **לה** מעשר מן כול כסיא	22.17
הב **לי** נפשא די אתי לי	22.19
הב לי נפשא די אתי **לי**	22.19
ונכסיא/ כולהון שביקין **לך**	22.20
אן אסב מן כול די איתי **לך**	21.22
אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן **לך**	22.24
ואמר **לה** הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27
ומני כול די איתי **לך**	22.29
ואהׄוׄהׄ **לך**/ סעד ותקף	22.30
ואספרךׄ **לךׄ** לתקיף ברא מנך	22.31
שגי **לי** עתר ונכסין	22.32
ולמא **לי**/ כול [א]לן	22.32
ואמר **לה** לא ירתנך דן	22.34

לא no, not [particle]

מן אחרׄהון וׄ**לאׄ** עוד	0.15
א]נׄחׄנׄ[א]**לאׄ** מׄדעׄיןׄ	1.4
]○ **ל֯אׄ**	1.5
[בקושטא] תׄחׄויׄנני ו**לא** בׄכדבין	2.6
עמי תמללין ו**לא** בכדבׄין	2.7
ו**לא** מן כול זר	2.16
ו**לא** מן כול עירין	2.16
ו**לא** מן כול בני שמ[ין	2.16
] **לאׄ**	3.1
] כׄוׄל צׄ○○ןׄ ו**לא** לאורׄכא	3.2
בקשוט די **לאׄ** בׄכׄדׄבׄיׄןׄ	3.13
לאׄ ל֯[	4.13
]**ל֯[א]** מן בני/ שׄמין	5.3
וׄבׄדמא **לא** הווׄאׄ ○○[	5.5
וׄ**לא** ○○○○[	5.6
[ו]**ל֯[א]**מׄןׄ בׄנׄיׄ [שמין	5.10
ולכול אנוש **לא** אׄחׄויתה	6.12
באׄ○ כׄוׄל **לא** יׄפׄצׄאׄ וׄאׄ○○ כׄוׄל	9.2
ברם כול דם **לא** תאכלון	11.17
הׄדׄבׄ○ל **ל֯אׄ**[	13.19
כׄוׄל יומוהי **לא** יפרש מנך	14.12
○הׄ○ל ליׄם רׄבׄא ו**לא**	14.18
עׄמׄמׄי ארעא די **לא** ישלטוׄ[ן	15.15
עד כען **לא** דבקתה לטורא	19.9
ו**לאׄ** קׄצׄצׄוׄנׄיׄ	19.17
די **לא** יחזנה כול בׄרׄ אׄנׄוׄשׄ	19.23
וׄ**לא** הׄוׄוׄא אׄתׄיןׄ למקם	19.26
לגנון **לא** ישפרן מנהא	20.6

	בדילהא ולא קטילת	20.10
	ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל	20.17
	ואף לאׄ ידעׄהא	20.17
	ולאׄ יכׄלוׄ כׄול אסיא	20.20
	ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22
	די לא יׯדׯעׄהׄא ו[לא ט]מׄיהא	20.30
	די לא יׯדׯעׄהׄא ו[לא ט]מׄיהא	20.30
	דׄי לא ישכח כול בר אנוש	21.13
	ואף זרעך לא יתמנה	21.13
	וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל	22.3
	אהך די לא בנין	22.33
	ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן	22.34
לבב/לב	heart, mind [noun]	
	הא באדין חשבׄתׄ בלבי	2.1
	ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני	2.11
	] שׯמׄיׯא וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי	6.12
לבונא	incense [noun]	
	במשח עם לבונא למׄנׄחׄתׄהׄוׄן	10.16
לבן	white, whiteness [adj./noun]	
	וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא	20.4
לבנן	Lebanon [place name]	
	מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן	21.11
להן	but, rather, except [conj.]	
	שׄמין להן מן למך בׄרׄךׄ [	5.4
	להן די יפוק	22.34
לובר	Lubar [place name]	
	בלובר טורא ולשנין ארבע	12.13
לוד	Lud [pers. name]	
	לוׄד ואׄרׄם ובנן נקבן חמש	12.11
	ובׄתׄרׄהׄ ללוׄדׄ ◦טׄ	17.9
	כול נגאותא די ליׯד לוד	17.17
	ובין לשנא דׄ[י] לׯ[י]דׄ לוׄדׄ	17.17
לוט	Lot [pers. name]	
	אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בׄליליא	20.11
	ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22
	וכׄדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט	20.24
	וסלקת מן מׄצׄרׄ[י]ן [ואז]לׄ[לוט]	20.33
	לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין	20.34
	בׄתר יומא דן פרש לוט	21.5
	ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	21.7
	ושׄבׄי לוט בר אחוי	21.34
	ענה די יהב אברם ללוט	22.2
	וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3
	ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5
	ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא	22.11

לואת	near, beside [prep.]	
	מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא	21.5
	בר אחי מן לואתי	21.7
לחדא	very much, greatly [adv.]	
	]◦◦◦יׯאׄ חׄ◦ לחד שׄפׄירא	7.18
	]שמיׄא לחׄדׄא וקצׄי ◦[	7.19
	זיתא דׄן ועׄלוהי שגי לחדא	13.15
	בנכׄסין שגיאין לחדא	20.33
	עתרׄך ונכסיך/ ישגון לחדא	22.32
לילה	night [noun]	
	בׄליׯליׯאׄ לׄ◦ל◦◦◦	10.3
	[ו]מׄלל עׄמׄי בליׯליׯא	19.8
	וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה	19.14
	ואתׄעׄירת בליליא מן שנתי	19.17
	ובכת שרי עׄל מׄלי בליליא דן	19.21
	אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בׄליליא	20.11
	בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12
	ואל ישלט בליליא דן	20.15
	ובכית וחשית בליליא דן	20.16
	ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8
	ורמה עליהון בליליא	22.8
	והווא קטל/ בהון בליליא	22.8
לכת	conduct [noun]	
	וחׄשבתׄ כׄול לכׄת בני ארׯעׄא	6.16
למא	why? [adv.]	
	למא צלם] אנפיך כדנא עליך	2.16
	]הׄ ולׄמׄאׄ מׄ◦◦[	4.2
	ולמא לי/ כול [א]לן	22.32
למך	Lamech [pers. name]	
	באדין אנה למך אתבהלת	2.1
	אנה למך רטתׄ על מתושלח	2.19
	שׄמין להן מן למך בׄרׄךׄ [	5.4
	מן]/ חׄזוה דחל למך ברך	5.7
	אזל אמׄרׄ ללמך ברך[די]מׄןׄ לךׄ[	5.10
	ללמך]/ ברך אחוי ברׄזא דׄנׄא	5.20
	ועם למך ברה ברז מׄללׯ[	5.25
	וׯכׯדׄי אׄנה למך שׄ[מעת	5.26
לפד	torch (?) [noun]	
	]לׯפׄדׄיׯאׄ ורׄשעא ורמי על נורא	15.12
לפף	to cling to, join [verb]	
	ואׯלׄ[פ]ףׯ מׯעׯמׯךׯ לׄךׄ	15.21
לקח	to take [verb]	
	צׯוׯקׯמׯ◦ קח לך ול◦◦◦◦ךׯ	8.32
	]◦◦ בׄךׄ קׄחׄ מׄ◦◦	14.8
	]לקׯח לךׯ אׄל על[יון	15.24

לקש to recede [verb]

בתרע תׄבותׄאׄ בׄאׄרׄיׄאׄ לקׄ]שו	11.1

לשן gulf, tongue [noun]

בׄ֯יׄם מׄאׄיׄותׄאׄ דׄ֯יׄ֯ דׄבׄקׄ ◦לׄשׄן	16.16
כעין מי לשׄנׄאׄ דׄ֯ן דׄ]י	16.17
עׄדׄ לׄשׄן ימא די פנה למצׄרׄ֯[י]ןׄ֯	16.18
עד דבק למׄגׄ֯וׄ֯גׄ כׄול ל[יד]לׄשׄ֯נׄאׄ	17.10
בׄצׄ֯פׄונׄאׄ די מחען לשנא דן	17.11
ואיא די בגו לשנא דׄן כׄ[ו]לׄ	17.13
ובין לשנא דׄ֯[י] לׄ֯[י]דׄ לׄוׄ֯דׄ֯	17.17
ללשׄ]נא ת]נׄ֯יׄ֯אׄנא	17.17
ל]שנא]תׄנׄ֯יׄ֯אׄנׄאׄ למשך	17.18
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף	21.18

מא what, how [adv.]

]◦ין מא למׄעׄבׄדׄ אנשא	1.27
בעובד בני שמין ומׄאׄ כׄ֯ולׄ	6.11
ומׄא רגג הוא לה אנפהא	20.3
דרעיהא מא שפירן	20.4
ומׄא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת	20.5
ואמר לי מׄא עבדתה לי בדיל	20.26
[מׄא] הׄוית אמר/ לי	20.26

מאא hundred [adj.]

גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא	22.6

מאיותא Maeota (Sea) [place name]

בׄ֯יׄם מׄאׄיׄותׄאׄ דׄ֯יׄ֯ דׄבׄקׄ ◦לׄשׄן	16.16

מאכל food [noun]

בׄמׄאכל שגי ובמשתה שׄ֯גׄ֯יׄ	19.27
מאכל ומשתה לאברם	22.15

מאפל darkness (?) [noun]

◦מׄאׄפׄ֯לׄאׄ ומן קצׄת נׄופׄהׄ֯ןׄ	14.16

מבול flood [noun]

ובכול מׄבׄ֯ולׄ֯אׄ ◦◦◦◦[	8.9
בני]ןׄ[וב]נן מן בתר מבולא	12.9
תרתין שנין בתר מבולאׄ	12.10

מגוג Magog [pers. name]

ובני יפת גומׄר ומׄגׄוׄגׄ ומדי	12.12
עד דבק למׄגׄ֯וׄ֯גׄ כׄול ל[יד]לׄשׄנׄאׄ	17.10
ובתרה למׄגׄוׄג ובתרה	17.16

מגילא scroll [noun]

וכתב כׄולהון בׄמׄגׄ֯יׄ֯לׄאׄ לׄ֯זׄ֯כׄ֯יׄ֯רׄ֯ןׄ	5.1

מגל sickle [noun]

מגלאׄ בידה ונורא עמה	15.10

מגן shield [noun]

ואנה מגן עליך	22.31

מדבח altar [noun]

כׄולׄהׄ דמׄהׄון לאיסוד מדבחׄא	10.15
בשרהון על מדבחׄא אקטרת	10.15
עׄ[מ]הׄ֯וׄן על מדבחא קׄרׄבׄתׄ	10.16
מדבח]א והׄוׄיׄת מבׄרׄך למרה	12.17
לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחא	21.1
ובנית תמן מדבח	21.20

מדבר wilderness, desert [noun]

לטוריא ודמדברׄיא לעׄוׄבׄרׄיא	11.9
בׄ֯יׄמׄיהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא	11.16
וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן	21.11
וסלקו ארחא די מדברא	21.28
לאיל/ פרן די במדברׄא	21.30

מדה tax, tribute [noun]

ושויו עליהון מדא	21.26
יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם	21.27

מדי Madai [pers. name]

ובני יפת גומׄר ומׄגוג ומדי	12.12
למׄדׄיׄ ובׄתרה ליואן	17.17

מדינא region, city [noun]

מׄדׄ]ינא	12.9
וׄלמׄדׄינׄהׄ דׄן ב[נ]יאת חברון	19.9
כׄדׄיׄ עׄ[ל]לׄנׄאׄ למׄדׄ֯יׄ[נ]תׄ מׄ[צרין	19.22
ועדי לך מן/ כול מדינת מצרין	20.28
ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון	22.4
ואזלין/ למדינת דרמשק	22.5

מדנח east, rising [noun]

למדנחא	16.20
◦◦◦◦ול דׄיׄ בׄיׄם מדנחא	17.10
ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנחא	21.9
וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן	21.12
טור תורא למדנחא	21.16
לימא שמוקא למדנחא	21.17
כלמדנח צפון חברון	21.20

מומה oath, curse [noun]

וימא לי מלכא במומה	20.30

מורה Moreh [place name]

והויתׄ אזל לדרומאׄ מׄורׄהׄ	19.9

מות to die [verb]

ואנה כדי אמותׄ ערטלי אהד	22.33

מזלה planet, heavenly body [noun]

◦ל̊דא כול מזלת שמיא שמשא	7.2

מחזה view, appearance [noun]

וחמ̊יד כול מחזה ידי̊הא	20.5

מחי to strike, erase, wipe out [verb]

וכען קר̊י̊ב̊ה̊ י̊ד̊ך לממחה	0.12
]לה̊[ון] ומתמחין מן אחר̇הון	0.15
והווא מ̇חין ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28
ומחו לרפאיא די בעשת̇ר̇א	21.28
ות̇ב̇ו̊ ו̊מ̊ח̊ו̊ לע̊י̊ן̊ ד̊[ינא	21.30
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין	22.4

מחק Mahaq (Sea) [place name]

ראיש מ̇ח̊ק̇ ע̇ד ט̇י̊נ̇ה̇ [נ]ה̇ר̊א	16.9

מחרת next day [noun]

וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור	21.10

מין water [noun]

משכח ארי במ̊[י]א̊ ◦◦◦	10.12
ש̇רץ ארעא ושרץ מ̇יא ו̊ס̊ף	13.11
מ̊י̇א וסף	13.12
מ̇יא מ̊ן̊ ◦◦◦ א̊ר̊ע̊א̊	14.10
[ו]ע̇ב̇ר̇ תחומא דן מ̇י ימא רבא	16.11
]נ̊פ̊ק מ̇י טינה נהרא ד̊נ̊א̊	16.15
כעין מ̇י לשנ̊א̊ ד̊ן̊ ד̊[י	16.17
ליד מ̇י ח̇דקל נ̊ה̊ר̊א̊	17.7

מישר plain, level place [noun]

ב̊קעאתא ומ̇ישריא די ביניהון	17.13

מכדש plague, pestilence [noun]

רוח מ̇כדש למכתש̇ה	20.16

מכי humble, timid [adj.]

פ]ת̊יא ומכ̇יא ושפליא	0.7

מכתש plague, pestilence [noun]

וגברו עלוהי מכתש̇יא ונגדיא	20.18
לאסיותה מן מ̇כתשא דן	20.19
אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24
ויתוד מנכה מ̊כ̇תשא ד̇ן	20.26
ואתפלי מנה מכתשא	20.29

מלא to fill, be full [verb]

וארעא כ̇ולהא מל̇יא דת̇א̇	11.12
פ]ר̊י̊ ו̊ש̊ג̊י̊ ומ̇לי ארעא	11.16

מלאך angel [noun]

ארבעא מלאכ̇ין ר̇ב̊ר̊ב̊י̊ן̊[	15.14

מלה word, utterance [noun]

ב̇עד מלוה̇י סאף	0.13
וכדי שמע מ̇תושלח מ̊[לי	5.24
[פר]ש̊[ג]ן̊ כתב מלי נו̇ח̇ [	5.29
וחדית למלי מרה שמיא	7.7
לנ̊וח ◦◦א̊ ◦◦ל מ̊לי̊ן̊ כ̊ולה̊ו̊[ן	10.2
ובכת שרי ע̇ל מ̇לי בליליא דן	19.21
ב̇פר̊ע̇[ו] צע̇ן̊ על מלי	19.24
וקרית קודמיהון לס̊פ̊ר̊ מלי̇ ח̊נוך	19.25
◦ל̊◦ל̊י̊ ◦◦◦ מלי	19.26
כ̊[ו]ל̊ מ̊ל̊י ח̊נ̊ו̊ך̊	19.29
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8
וכ̇די שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט	20.24

מלח salt [noun]

ב̊ר̊כ̊ת̊ ו̊ע̊ם כ̇ולהון מ̇לחא הוית	10.17
ים מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן	16.17
י̊מא ר̊ב̊ה̇ [ד]י̊ מ̇לח̇א	19.13
י̊מא רבא דן די מלחא	21.16

מלך king [noun]

במרה רבותא במלך כול ע̇[למים	2.4
במלך כול עלמ̇ים עד בקושט	2.7
בקדישא רבא במלך ש[מיא	2.14
ד̊מ̊ל̊[ך] כ̊[ו]ל̊[עלמיא]	6.25
ד̊י̊ ◦◦נ̊ך̊ ב̊מ̊ל̊ך̊ ש̊מ̊י̊[א	8.10
ל̊מ̊לך כ̇ול עלמ̇יא לעלם	10.10
] מ̊ל̊כ̊א ושרי̊◦[	13.3
ו̊מ̊ל̊ך̊ ע̊ל̊מ̊[י]ם̇	19.8
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8
ואמרת שרי/ למלכא דאחי	20.10
ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט	20.13
על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	20.14
אנתה מרה לכול מלכי/ ארעא	20.15
ואצלה על/ מלכא	20.22
אברם דדי לצליא על/ מלכ̇א̇	20.23
וכען אזל אמר למלכא	20.23
אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24
ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי	20.25
ורוח שחלניא וקר̇א [מ]ל[כ]א̊	20.26
וח̊י̊ וקם ו̊י̊ה̇ב̇/ לי מלכא	20.30
וימא לי מלכא במומה	20.30
ויהב לה̇ מלכא̊ כ̊[סף וד]הב [ש]גיא	20.31
אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם	21.23
אמרפל מלך בבל	21.23
אריוך מלך כפתוך	21.23
תרעל מלך ג̇וים	21.23
ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם	21.24
ועם ברשע מלך עומרם	21.24
ועם שנאב מלך אדמא	21.24
ועם שמיאבד מלך צבוין	21.25

ועם מלך בלע כול אלן אזדמנו	21.25
ותקף מלך/ עׄיל	21.25
ומלכיא די עמה	21.26
למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי	21.26
יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם	21.27
דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.27
וׄנפק מלך סׄודׄם לעורעהׄון	21.31
ומלך [עומרם ומ]לׄך אדמא	21.31
ומלך [עומרם ומׄ]לׄך אדמא	21.31
ומלך צׄבׄואׄין ומלך בׄלע	21.31
ומלך צׄבׄואׄין ומלך בׄלע	21.31
לקובלי כדרלעׄ[ומר ומלכיא]	21.32
וׄאתבר מלך סודום וערק	21.32
ומׄלׄך עומׄרׄם/ נׄפל	21.32
]וׄבׄזׄ מ֯ל֯ךׄ עׄילׄם כול נכסיא	21.33
ודי/ נגדו מלכיא	22.4
ושמע מלך סודם	22.12
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14
ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק	22.14
די מלך עילם וחברוהי	22.17
באדין קרב מלכא די סודם	22.18
די אצלתה מן מלך עילם	22.19
אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם	22.20
וכול/ שביתא ויׄהב למלך סודם	22.25

מלכיצדק Melchizedek [pers. name]

ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק	22.14

מלל to speak [verb]

בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבׄין [	2.7
בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת ובכ֯ת֯]	2.8
באדין אנסׄת רוחׄהא ועמי תמלל	2.13
אנה] בקושט ממללׄא עמך	2.18
ועם למך ברה ברז מׄללׄ]	5.25
ובׄחזיון עמי מׄלל ולקובלי קׄם	6.14
ע֯ד֯ מללו֯ כׄ◦◦ב֯ ד֯מׄאׄ	7.10
מׄ]לל ע֯מ֯י ואׄח֯[וה] לי	7.22
◦◦◦◦ מׄן֯ שׄמׄיׄאׄ מלל עמי	11.15
[ו]מׄלל ע֯מׄי בליׄליׄא	19.8
די פם חד תלתהון ממללין	20.8

ממרה Mamre [pers./place name]

ואזלת ויתבת באלונׄי ממרה	21.19
ושלחׄת קרית לממרה ולערנם	21.21
ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה	22.7

מן from, against [prep.]

]◦כ֯◦◦ ו֯כ֯[ו]לנ֯א מׄן	0.1
תתק֯ף וׄתתקיׄאם ומן הוא	0.5
ו֯[ל]עדׄהׄ מׄן רׄגׄזך]	0.10
מן דׄי נ֯ה֯ך לבית נשׄ]	0.11
ומתמחין מן אחרׄהון	0.15
וׄ◦◦◦◦ מׄן מׄר֯ה֯ ע֯למ֯אׄ	0.17
]מׄן קצת/ עובדׄא	1.10
וׄבׄש֯◦א֯ן ו֯מׄן	1.23
די מן עירין הריאת֯א	2.1
הריאת֯א ומׄן קדישין זׄרׄעׄאׄ	2.1
[חד מן] בני שמין	2.5
די מנך זרעא דן ומנך	2.15
ומנך הריונא דן ומנך	2.15
ומנך נצבת פריא֯] דן	2.15
ולא מן כול זר	2.16
ולא מן כול עירין	2.16
ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין	2.16
וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע	2.20
למנדע מנה כולא בקושטׄאׄ]	2.22
◦◦◦ [מ]ןׄ מעׄאׄ	3.31
]◦ ל֯ה֯וׄן מׄן אנפי ארעא	4.12
]ל֯[א] מן בני/ שׄמין	5.3
שׄמין להן מׄן למׄך בׄר֯ךׄ [	5.4
מן]/ חׄזוה דחל למך	5.6
דחל למך ברך ואׄףׄ מׄן	5.7
אזל אמׄר֯ ללמך ברך[די]מ֯ן֯ לך֯]	5.10
ו]ל֯[א]מ֯ן בׄנ֯יׄ [שמין	5.10
ז֯רׄעׄא֯ מן זׄרׄ [	5.14
וכול שׄבׄיל֯י֯ חׄמׄס֯ ◦◦◦ מ֯ן֯	5.19
חׄדׄי די מנ֯יׄ א֯נ֯פׄיק מ֯ר֯[ה	5.27
מן עול ובכור הׄורׄתי יעית	6.1
וכדׄי נׄפקת מן מעׄי אׄמי	6.1
ולאׄזהׄרותׄני מן נ֯תׄיב שקר	6.3
וׄהׄרת מני וילדת֯ לי בׄנׄין	6.7
נשין נסבת מן בנת אחי	6.8
ו֯א֯זׄל֯ת֯ [לחד] מ֯נ֯ה֯ן ואמׄר֯ לך֯	6.21
ל֯ך֯ ו֯ל◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ מ֯ן֯ כ֯ו֯לה֯ו֯ן	7.4
]◦◦ לבׄנׄיךׄ מׄן בתר֯ך לכול	8.33
מ֯ן֯ אׄיא תחׄומׄאׄ ו֯א֯]	9.10
למ֯ר֯ה֯ כ֯ול֯אׄ דׄי מׄני מׄ◦◦בׄ◦ל	10.1
◦◦◦◦◦ ו֯נסבׄ מן ◦]	10.11
חד מן טורי הוררט ונורׄ עלמׄא	10.12
ודי אעדי ואבׄדׄ מנהא	11.13
◦◦◦◦ מ֯ן֯ שׄמׄיׄאׄ מלל עמי	11.15
בטורׄי הוררט ומן בתר כן	12.8
בני]ן֯[וב]נן מ֯ן בתר מבולא	12.9
די פלטנא מן אבדנא	12.17
]◦◦ת֯ מ֯נ֯ךׄ ד֯י֯ ח֯◦ ◦עׄלי֯	12.21
קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.9
כולהון קצין ונסבׄין להׄון מ֯נ֯הׄ	13.10
ו֯לכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.11
לקדמין עׄבׄר֯ת֯ [רוח] מׄן	13.16
ואתרת מן עלוהי ומ֯ן אנבהׄ	13.17
ואתרת מן עלוהי ומ֯ן אנבהׄ	13.17
ו֯רׄו֯ח֯ צׄפ֯ון מ֯ן֯]	13.18
]◦י֯ ומן אנבׄה֯ אׄ◦◦]	13.18

[ור]א֯מׄת חׄלפ֯ת֯א די נפקא מנה	14.10
מׄיא מ֯ן ◦◦◦ א֯ר֯עׄאׄ	14.10
י֯צׄדׄד֯ ואׄעא מׄנׄה ◦◦	14.11
כׄול יומוהי לא יפרש מנך	14.12
מ֯ן פׄלג֯ה֯ כ֯[ו]ל בׄנ֯י֯ך֯	14.12
אחרנ֯י֯ת֯א ד֯י ◦◦◦ מ֯נׄה֯ ◦[	14.15
◦מׄאפ֯ל֯א֯ ומׄן קצׄת נׄופׄה֯ן֯	14.16
ו֯ד֯י חזית מן קצת נופהן	14.17
]מנׄהׄו֯ן נׄב֯ע און וישבי֯ן֯	15.8
לגׄבׄר֯א֯ ר֯בׄא אׄתׄה מׄן ימין ארעא	15.10
הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעׄאׄ[	15.11
שור מן כול ע֯מ֯מׄי ארעא	15.15
ו֯מׄנ֯ה֯ י֯נ֯ד֯ב֯ ויׄה֯ב֯דל ב֯י֯ן֯	15.17
ואתעירת א]נ֯א֯ נוׄח מן שנתי	15.21
ד֯י֯מׄא די מן ביניהון	16.9
חד מן/ ר֯א֯ש֯י֯ נהרא	19.11
צׄמ֯ח֯[ו] מ֯ן֯ שׄר֯[ש חד]	19.15
ארי תרינא מן שרש ח֯[ד]	19.16
ואתׄעׄירת בליליא מן שנתי	19.17
חׄלמׄתׄ מ֯ן֯ [ד]אנ֯ה֯ דחל	19.18
[ד]אנ֯ה֯ דחל מ֯[ן] ח֯למׄאׄ דן	19.18
יב]ע֯ו֯ן֯ לאעדׄיׄותכי מני	19.21
ו֯תׄלׄתׄא֯ ג֯בׄר֯ין מן רברבי מצרי֯ן֯	19.24
לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא	20.6
ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7
כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס	20.11
די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף	20.14
עבד לי דין מנה	20.14
לטמיא אנתתי מני	20.15
לאסיׄותה מן מׄכתשא דן	20.19
ובעא מני די אתה	20.21
ויׄשלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא	20.23
ויתוד מנכה מ֯כׄתשא דׄן	20.26
ועדי לך מן/ כול מדינת מצרין	20.27
ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באישׄתׄא	20.28
ואתפלי מנה מכתשא	20.29
ואתגערתׄ [מנה רוחא] בׄאישתא	20.29
די ינפק֯י֯[מן מצרי]ן֯ ל֯[ ]◦◦◦	20.32
וסלקת מן מ֯צׄר֯[י]ן [ואז]ל֯[לוט]	20.33
ונסב לה אנתה מן בׄנׄתׄ מ֯צׄר֯[י]ן	20.34
מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא	21.5
מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא	21.5
בר אחי מן לואתי	21.7
וחזית ארעא מן/ רמתא דא	21.10
מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן	21.11
ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן	21.11
ושרית למסחר מן גׄיחון נהרא	21.15
וסחרת מן לי֯[ד]י֯מא רבא דן	21.16
די נפק מן ימא שמוקא	21.18
ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28
ו֯ש֯גיאן מ֯ן֯ [כו]ל֯[ ]ל[	21.33
ואתה חד מן רעה	22.1
די פלט מׄן שביא על אברם	22.2
ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין	22.6
וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9
ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10
ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיא	22.17
די אצלתה מן מלך עילם	22.19
אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21
אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך	21.22
דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי	22.22
ברא מן די אכלו כבר	22.23
וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא	22.23
מן ארעא דא שבק	22.25
מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28
מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28
וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.29
וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.29
מן/ כול די נפקו עמך	22.29
ביום מפקד מן חרן	22.30
ואספרׄך לׄך לתקיף ברא מנך	22.31
וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33

מנה to number, count, assess [verb]

ישכח כול בר אנוש לממניה	21.13
ואף זרעך לא יתמנה	21.13
ומני כול די איתי לך	22.29

מנחה meal offering [noun]

במשח עם לבונא למׄנ֯ח֯ת֯ה֯ו֯ן֯	10.16
וׄקרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחה	21.2
ואסקת עׄלוהיׄ עלא ומנחא	21.20

מני to appoint [verb]

ואש֯לׄמהא֯ לׄי ומני עמי אנוש	20.32

מנתן gift [noun]

והווא יהבׄין/ ל֯[י מנתנן שגיאן	19.25
ב֯י֯[ומא דנ]א֯ מנתנ֯[ן] ש֯גיא֯ן	20.30

מסלה way, track [noun]

במסלי֯ אׄרׄחׄת קושט ולאׄזׄהרותׄני	6.3

מסאן sandal [noun]

אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21

מעה womb, belly [noun]

◦◦◦ [מ]ן מעׄאׄ	3.31
נׄפׄקת מן מׄעׄי אׄמי לקושט	6.1

מעיל robe [noun]

קושטא וחכמתא בׄמׄעיל ו֯עׄק֯א	6.4

מערב west [noun]
- ◦◦◦◦ם֯ מערב וחבטתה ואתרת 13.17
- מ]ע֯ר֯ב֯[16.8
- ובת֯[רה]למערבא לאשור 17.8
- ועבר חולקא דן למערבא 17.10
- ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא 21.9

מעשר tenth, tithe [noun]
- ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיא 22.17

מצח forehead [noun]
- וכמא/ נ֯ע֯י֯ם֯ מ֯י֯צ֯[חה]א֯ 20.3

מצרין Egypt (Mitzrain) [pers./place name]
- וב֯[ני חם כוש ומצרי]ן ו֯פ֯וט 12.11
- ע֯ד֯ לשן ימא די פנה למצ֯ר֯[י]ן֯ 16.18
- ושמעת די ע֯[ב]ו֯רא ה֯ו[א] במצרין 19.10
- למ֯ה֯ך֯ ◦[ ]לא֯ר֯ע֯ה֯ ד֯ב֯מצרין 19.11
- בני֯ חם לארע מצרין 19.13
- בלילה מעלי֯ לא֯ר֯ע֯ מ֯צ֯ר֯י֯ן֯ 19.14
- כ֯ד֯י֯ ע֯[ל]לנ֯א֯ למ֯ד֯י֯[נ]ת֯ מ֯[צרין 19.22
- ו֯ת֯ל֯ת֯א֯ ג֯ב֯ר֯י֯ן מן רברבי מצרין 19.24
- על פרעו צען מלך מצרין 20.14
- קרא לכול ח֯כ֯י֯מ֯[י] מצרין 20.19
- עם כול אסי מצרין 20.19
- מן/ כול מדינת מצרין 20.28
- די ינפק֯י֯[מן מצרי]ן֯ ל֯[ ]◦◦◦ 20.32
- וסלקת מן מ֯צ֯ר֯[י]ן [ואז]ל֯[לוט] 20.33
- ונסב לה אנתה מן ב֯נ֯ת֯ מ֯צ֯ר֯[י]ן 20.34
- מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן 21.11
- תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין 22.28
- וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין 22.29

מקטורה burnt offering [noun]
- ורח מקטורתי ל[ש]מ֯י֯א֯ סלק 10.17

מרד to rebel [verb]
- ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה 21.27

מרה lord [noun]
- קוד֯[ם מרה] שמ֯י֯א֯ 0.14
- ו◦◦◦◦ מ֯ן מ֯ר֯ה֯ ע֯ל֯מ֯א֯ 0.17
- קודם מרה עלמא 0.18
-]מ֯ר֯ה ובמשלחן לכון שלח 1.25
- י֯ע֯ד בעליא במרה רבותא 2.4
- ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי 2.9
- ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא א֯ח֯י֯[2.13
- ויא מרי די אנה לך֯ א֯ת֯[ית 2.24
- ינתן]ל[ה] מ֯ר֯ה֯ לש֯ם֯ ק֯[י]ם֯ 3.29
- מברך למרה כולא ה◦[5.23
- ח֯ד֯י֯ די מנ֯י֯ א֯נ֯פ֯יק מ֯ר֯[ה 5.27
- א֯◦ל֯א֯ מ֯ר֯א֯ וחצי אסרת 6.4
- [די יהב מ]ר֯ה עלמ֯א 6.9
- [ואתחזי לי מרה] ש֯מ֯י֯א֯ בחזי֯ו֯ן 6.11
- חן ר֯ב֯ו֯ ו֯ק֯ו֯ש֯ט֯ה֯ ב֯ע֯י֯נ֯[י] מ֯[רה 6.23
- וחדית למלי מרה שמיא 7.7
- באדין ב֯ר֯כ֯[ת] למ֯ר֯ה֯ כ֯ו֯ל֯א֯ 10.1
-]כ֯ולכון למ֯רכון ו֯ר֯◦◦◦◦ 10.9
- אדין ברכת למ֯ר֯ה֯/ [שמיא 10.12
-]◦◦ך למ֯ר֯ה֯ ◦[12.4
- ו֯ה֯ו֯י֯ת מב֯ר֯ך֯ למרה שמיא 12.17
- ו֯מ֯ר֯ה֯ ר֯בותא הוא די יתה 15.11
- בריך אנתה אל עליון מרי 20.12
- די אנתה מרה ושליט 20.13
- וכען/ קבלתך מרי 20.14
- וי֯ד֯עוך מרי די אנתה מרה 20.15
- וי֯ד֯עוך מרי די אנתה מרה 20.15
- ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי 20.25
- וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא 21.2
- לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא 22.16
- ואמר לאברם מרי אברם 22.18
- לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא 22.21
- ואמר אברם מרי אלהא 22.32

משגי abundance, bounty [noun]
- וארי הא משגית עלו֯ה֯י֯[13.14
- משגיתהון להון רשיעין 15.9

משח oil [noun]
- סולת נשי֯פ֯א פילא במשח 10.16

משוך/משך Meshech [pers. name]
- ויואן ות֯ו֯בל ומשוך 12.12
-]למ֯שך֯ ו֯ב֯נ֯י֯[17.1
- ל[שנא]ת֯נ֯י֯א֯נ֯א֯ למשך 17.18

משכב bed [noun]
- ושכ֯בת על֯ מ֯ש֯כ֯בי ו֯דמכ֯ת֯ ◦[12.19

משלח messenger [noun]
- ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא 1.25

משלחה embassy, errand [noun]
- ובמשלחת קדישא֯ ר֯ב֯א֯ ע֯ל֯י֯ 6.13
- ובמ]ש֯לחת קדישא֯ ר֯ב֯א לי֯ 6.15

משפט justice [noun]
- חזית למ֯עבד דין ו֯מ֯[שפט] ע֯ל֯ 4.11

משרי encampment [noun]
- כ֯ל אתר משריאתי 21.1

משתה drink [noun]
- ב֯מ֯אכל שגי ובמשתה ש֯ג֯י֯ 19.27
- מאכל ומשתה לאברם 22.15

מת land [noun]
ואזל לאׄרׄךׄ מׄת לפרוין 2.23

מתושלח Methuselah [pers. name]
למך רטׄח על מתושלח אבי 2.19
וכדי שמע מתושל]ח אבי 2.21
יהב למׄתׄוׄשׄ]לח ברה 3.26
ויהב למתו]שלׄחׄ בׄרׄהׄ שכל 3.27
ולך מתושלח ב[רי 5.2
וכדי שמע מׄתושלח מׄ[לי 5.24

נבע profusion, bursting forth [noun]
נׄבׄעׄ און וישבׄןׄ בׄ[אר]עׄךׄ[15.8

נגאוה island [noun]
כול נגאותא די ליׄד לוד 17.17
אׄרׄבׄעׄאׄ [נגאו]תׄ ועׄדׄ 17.18

נגד to set out [verb]
ונגדת למׄ[ה]ךׄ תׄמׄןׄ 19.8
ונׄגׄדת לׄמהׄךׄ ◦[ ]לאׄרׄעׄה 19.10
ודי/ נגדו מלכיא 22.4
ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה 22.7

נגד to afflict, wound [verb]
ומׄתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי 20.25

נגד affliction, blow [noun]
וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא 20.18
למלכא כול מכתשיא ונגדיא 20.24

נדב to consecrate, volunteer [verb]
וׄמׄנׄהׄ יׄנׄדׄבׄ ויׄהׄבׄדׄל ביׄןׄ 15.17

נדד to agitate [verb]
מ]תׄנׄדׄדׄא בׄיׄעׄן הׄלׄיׄכׄהׄן ושגגהׄן 15.16

נדן sheath, shell [noun]
ונשמתי לגו נדנהא ואנה בקושט 2.10

נה please, now [particle]
אנתת אברם יׄתׄיבו נה לשרי 20.25

נהר river [noun]
ראיׄש מׄחׄקׄ עׄדׄ טׄיׄנׄהׄ [נ]הׄרׄא 16.9
טינה נהרא דׄנׄאׄ עׄדׄ בׄ◦אׄ[16.15
[ע]דׄ טׄיׄנׄהׄ נהרא דׄיׄ אׄ◦◦◦ 16.16
ע]דׄ ג[יחו]ןׄ[נהרא 16.27
ליד מי חׄדׄקׄל נׄהׄרׄאׄ 17.7
לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהׄרׄיא 17.9
עד די דבק לטינה נהרא 17.16
[דבק]ת לׄכׄרמונא נהרא 19.11
חד מן/ ראׄשׄיׄ נהרא 19.12
וׄחׄלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא 19.12
מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן 21.11
ושרית למסחר מן גׄיחון נהרא 21.15
עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא 21.17
דבקת גחון/ נהרא 21.19
די/ היא בין נהרין 21.24
ובזין מן פורת נהרא 21.28

נוח Noah [pers. name]
[פר]שׄ[ג]ןׄ כתב מלי נׄוׄחׄ [5.29
בׄ[א]דׄיׄ[ן] הוית אנה נוח גבר 6.6
וׄכׄבׄדׄ אׄמׄרׄ ◦◦ לׄךׄ יׄאׄ נׄוׄ[ח] 6.14
אשמע לך אמרין יא נׄוׄח ◦◦ 6.15
]וׄאׄ[ש]כׄחׄת אׄנׄהׄ נוח חן רׄבׄוׄ 6.23
אׄדׄיׄ[ן אנ]הׄ[נוח 8.3
לׄנׄוׄח ◦◦אׄ ◦◦ל מׄלׄיׄןׄ כׄוׄלׄהׄוׄ[ן 10.2
] כׄ[ע]ןׄ אנה נׄוׄחׄ הׄוׄיׄת בתרע 11.1
[אדין] אׄנׄהׄ נׄוׄחׄ נפקת והלכת 11.11
וליׄ אׄמׄרׄ אׄל תׄדׄחׄל יא נוח 11.15
] דׄאׄנׄ[ה] נׄוׄחׄ ◦[12.23
אׄנׄתׄ נׄוׄחׄ אל תׄתמה על חׄלמא 15.19
ואתעירת א]נׄאׄ נׄוׄחׄ מן שנתי 15.21
ושמשא רׄמׄהׄ וׄאׄנׄהׄ [נוח 15.21
וׄנׄוׄחׄ חׄלׄקׄ בעׄדׄבׄ ליׄפת 16.12
בני]הון [כ]וׄלׄ בׄנׄיׄ [נוח 16.21
]לׄ[נ]וׄח שׄאׄ◦ 16.22
ויהב לה נוח אבוהי 17.15
]בניׄ נׄוׄחׄ [ח]לׄ[קו] עׄדׄבׄ[י]הׄ[ון 17.22

נוף bough [noun]
כו]לׄ נׄוׄפׄיׄ[א] וׄכׄוׄל אׄ[נב]יׄ עׄלׄהׄ 14.6
◦מׄאׄפׄלׄאׄ ומן קׄצׄת נׄוׄפׄהׄןׄ 14.16
עׄלל בגו נוף קדמיתא 14.16
וׄדׄיׄ חזית מן קצת נופהן 14.17
עלׄל בגו נוף קדמיתא 14.17

נוף uncertainty, wavering [noun]
ונופהן בׄמׄגׄדׄףׄ שגי ואנבהׄןׄ 15.16

נור light, fire [noun]
]◦◦ נׄוׄר די אתחזי 0.13
עולימׄא דן נור וׄהׄוא ל◦◦◦◦◦ 5.13
חד מן טורי הורׄרט ונוׄר עלמׄא 10.12
ותרבה על נורא אׄקטרת 10.14
מגלא בידה ונורא עמה 15.10
ורמי על נורא כול פשׄ[עיא 15.12

נחת to descend, go down [verb]
הוו]אׄ נחׄתׄ[י]ןׄ ועם נקבתא 1.1
]לארעא ולׄמׄחת להאימׄנה עמׄא 1.26

10.12	]תׄבותא נחת חד מן טורי
12.8	בתר כן נחתת לשפׄו֯לׄי֯ טׄו֯רא
20.12	ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה

ניצח irresistible [adj.]

20.2	כׄמׄה נ֯י֯צ֯ח֯ ושפיר֯ לה

נכס flocks, property [noun]

20.33	וגבלת אנה אברם בנכסׄין
20.34	לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין
21.3	על כול נכסיא
21.5	וכול נכסוהי/ עמה
21.6	והוא רעׄה נכסוהי
21.33	]ו֯ב֯ז֯ מ֯ל֯ך֯ עׄילׄם כול נכסיא
22.1	עמהון וכול נכסוהי
22.3	וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל
22.11	וכול נכסוהי וכׄולׄ/ שביתא
22.17	ויהב לה מעשר מן כול ׳כסיא
22.19	ונכסיא/ כולהון שביקין לך
22.22	דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי
22.24	ואתיב אברם כול נכסיא
22.31	עתרךׄ ונכסיך/ ישגון לחדא
22.32	שגי לי עתר ונכסין

נסב to take, lift [verb]

5.12	לאנפוהׄי נסבא בׄי ודנחא
6.7	ברתה לי לאנתה נסבת
6.8	נשין נסבת מן בנת אחי
6.10	למ֯ס֯בׄ להון נשין לאׄנ֯ת֯ו֯
10.11	◦◦◦◦◦ ו֯נסבׄ מן ◦[
13.9	קצין ונסבין להון מנה
13.10	כולהון קצין ונסבׄין להו֯ן מ֯נ֯ה֯
13.11	ו֯לכוכביא קצין ונסבין להׄון מנה
20.9	ונסבהא לה לאנתא
20.27	ונסבתׄהא לי לאנתה
20.34	ונסב לה אנתה מן בנׄתׄ מ֯צ֯ר֯[י]ן
21.22	אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך

נעים beautiful, pleasant [adj.]

20.3	וכמא/ נ֯ע֯י֯ם֯ מ֯י֯צ֯[חה]א֯

נפיל Nephil, fallen (one), giant [noun]

2.1	ו֯מן קדישין ז֯רׄעׄא֯ ולנפׄיל֯[ין
6.19	מעיד֯ דמא די אשדו נפיל֯יא

נפל to fall [verb]

17.7	ונפל לקׄד֯מׄין לע֯[י]ל֯ם֯ בׄצׄפׄונא
17.10	נפל טור תורא דן ועבר
21.33	ומׄלך עומרׄם/ נׄפל

נפק to go out, bring forth, emerge [verb]

5.27	חׄדׄי די מנ֯י א֯נׄפׄיק מ֯ר֯[ה
6.1	וכדׄי נׄפקת מן מעׄי אׄמי
11.11	נפקת והלכת בארעא
14.10	[ור]א֯מׄתׄ חׄלׄפ֯תׄא די נפקא מנה
14.13	יפוק לנצבת קושט לכול
16.14	לשם נפק עדבא תניׄאנא
16.15	]נ֯פ֯ק מי טינה נהרא ד֯נ֯א֯
16.26	ו֯לחׄסׄ[נפ]ק֯[עדבא תלת]י֯אׄ
20.32	די ינפק֯י֯[מן מצרי]ן֯ לׄ[ ]◦◦◦
21.18	די נפק מן ימא שמוקא
21.31	ונפק מלך סׄודׄם לעורעהׄון
22.14	ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק
22.28	מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן
22.30	מן/ כול די נפקו עמך
22.30	ביום מפקך מן חרן
22.34	להן די יפוק

נפש life, self [noun]

19.20	ותפלטׄ נפשי בדיליכי
19.23	ו]ד֯ח֯ל֯ת֯ [י]ת֯ירׄא בנפשה֯
22.19	הב לי נפשא די אתי לי

נץ feature, bloom [noun]

20.3	ו֯כול נץ/ אנפיהא מ֯שפיר֯

נצב to plant [verb]

6.1	מן מעׄי אׄמי לקושט נצׄי֯בׄת
12.13	למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב

נצבה planting [noun]

2.15	ומנד נצבת פריא֯[דן
12.16	[בתר נצבה די]כׄרׄמׄא ביׄוׄמׄא
14.13	יפוק לנצבת קושט לכול

נצל to take away, rescue, save [verb]

22.10	ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא
22.19	די אצלתה מן מלך עילם

נקבה woman, female [noun]

1.1	הוו]אׄ נחתׄ[י]ן֯ ועם נקבתא
6.8	[ובנן נקבן]ב֯א֯ד֯י֯ן֯ לבני נשין
12.11	לוׄד ואׄרׄם ובנן נקבן חמש
12.12	נ֯ק֯ב֯ן֯ שבע
12.12	ותירׄסׄ ובנן נׄקׄבׄן ארבע

נשא woman [noun]

6.8	ב֯א֯ד֯י֯ן֯ לבני נשין נסבת
6.10	למ֯ס֯בׄ להון נשין לאׄנ֯ת֯ו֯
12.16	לבני ולבני בני ולנשי כולנא
20.7	ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרׄת

נשב to blow [verb]

13.16	[ארבע]רׄוחי שמיא נשבן בתקוף

נשיף wheaten [adj.]
ו֯יהׄבׄת סולת נׄשׄי֯פׄא פילא 10.16

נשמה breath [noun]
בׄח֯ו֯ם ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא 2.10

נתיב highway, road [noun]
ולאׄזׄהׄרותׄני מן נ֯תׄיב שקר 6.3

נתן to give [verb]
ינתן]ל֯[ה] מ֯ר֯ה֯ לש֯ם֯ ק֯ו֯[י]ם֯ 3.29
ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן 21.12
ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננהׄ 21.14
אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך 22.24

נתר to strip [verb]
ואתרת מן עלוהי ומ֯ן אנבהׄ 13.17

סגר to shut, deliver [verb]
די סגר שנאׄיׄך בידך 22.17

סדיא Siddim [people name]
לקרב לעמקא די סׄדׄיא 21.25
בעמׄקאׄ ד[י סדיא] 21.32

סודם Sodom [place name]
ודבק עד סודם 21.6
וׄזׄב֯ן לה בסודם בי 21.6
ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם 21.24
למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי 21.26
ונׄפק מלך סׄודׄםׄ לעורעהׄון 21.31
ואׄתבר מלך סודום וערק 21.32
כול נכסיא די סודׄם 21.33
בסודם כחדׄא עמהון 22.1
ושמע מלך סודם 22.12
באדין קרב מלכא די סודם 22.18
אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם 22.20
וכול/ שביתא ויהב למלך סודם 22.25

סולת flour [noun]
ו֯יהׄבׄת סׄולׄת נשׄי֯פׄא פילא 10.16

סאף/סוף to end, cease [verb]
בׄעד מלוׄהׄי סאף ב֯[עדנ]א 0.13
חזה הוית עד די אסיׄפׄוׄהׄיׄ שׄרץ 13.11
שׄרץ ארעא ושרץ מיא ו֯ס֯ף 13.11
מ֯יא וסף 13.12

סף/סוף end, cessation [noun]
]ל֯ה֯שׄתכׄל֯ לר֯זא ה֯ו֯א֯ לך ס֯ף֯ 14.19
ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו 20.18

סוף Reed (Sea) [place name]
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף 21.18

סור to turn, turn back [verb]
כולהון יבׄ֯ב֯ין וסורין 15.9

סחר to travel, embark [verb]
ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר 21.15
ושרית למסחר מן גׄיחון נהרא 21.15
וסחרת מן לי֯[ד]י֯מא רבא דן 21.16
וסחרת ליד פורת 21.17
וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת 21.18

סלק to go up [verb]
ורח מקטורתי ל[ש]מ֯יא סלק 10.17
וסלקת מן מ֯צ֯ר֯[י]ן [ואז]ל֯[לוט] 20.33
ואמר לי סלק לך לרׄמת חצור 21.8
וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור 21.10
ואסקת עׄלוהׄי עלא ומנחא 21.20
וסלקו ארחא די מדברא 21.28
וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם 22.13

סם medicine [noun]
סׄמין כׄשפ֯ין ו֯ח֯ר֯[שין 1.9

סמך to support, lay hands on [verb]
ואסמׄוך ידי עלוהי 20.22
וסמכת ידי עׄלׄ [ר]א֯ישה 20.29

סעד to assist [verb]
◦◦ל֯ם֯ לסׄעדותי ולמבׄנה 7.19

סעד support, assistance [noun]
ואהׄוׄהׄ לך/ סעד ותקף 22.31

ספר book, written account [noun]
וקרית קודמיהון לס֯פ֯ר֯ מלי֯ ח֯נוך 19.25

ספרא erudition, scribal knowledge [noun]
וש]א֯לו לה֯ון סׄפׄרׄא וחׄכׄמׄתׄא 19.25

סתם to seal [verb]
ובאדין מסתם יב֯◦◦[6.18

עבד to do, make [verb]
]◦ין מא למׄעׄבׄדׄ   אנשא 1.27
]להׄון עבד ואף לכול בשרא 1.28
חזית למׄעבד דין ו֯מ֯[שפט] ע֯ל֯ 4.11
עׄבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די֯[5.18
עׄבדין חמס שגי יׄעבדון עד די֯[5.18
ביומ֯ו֯ה֯י֯ יתׄעבד והׄא ◦◦[5.22
כ֯ו֯ל֯ עׄבׄדׄי֯ חמסא ורשעא ושקרא 11.14
ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמרׄ 12.13
ד֯[י ת]עׄב֯ד֯י֯ן֯ ע֯מ֯י֯ בכול עׄר֯ו֯ת 19.20
למעבד בכולהון דין 20.13
עבד לי דין מנה 20.14
ואמר לי מׄא עבדתה לי בדיל 20.26

ודי עבד עמי טב	21.3
ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם	21.24
תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין	22.28

עבד servant, slave [noun]

ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין	22.6

עבור grain [noun]

ומליׄא דתׄא ועשב ועבור	11.12
ושמעת די עׄ[ב]ו֯רא הׄו[א] במצרין	19.10

עבר to cross over, swell up [verb]

לקדמין עׄבׄר֯ת֯ [רוח] מ֯ן	13.16
ובתרה֯ [עברת רוח] ◦לׄ◦	13.17
ועבׄר֯ כעין או֯ר֯כׄנא	16.9
[ו]עׄבׄר֯ תחומא דן מי ימא רבא	16.11
די פנה למצׄר֯[י]ן֯ ועבר ◦◦[	16.18
נפל טור תורא דן ועבר חולקא	17.10

עבר other side [noun]

לתׄובׄל דבׄעבר	17.17

עד until, up to [prep.]

]◦ ◦ר֯א עׄד	1.6
עובדׄא די עׄד כׄ[ען	1.11
עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני	2.5
במלך כול עלמׄים עד בקושט	2.7
]◦◦◦◦ עׄד֯ י֯ום	3.6
]◦◦ן ועד דׄ[י	3.30
]עׄד֯ ◦◦א֯ וע֯ל֯	3.32
]עׄדׄ לכול עלמים	4.3
עׄבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די֯[	5.18
שפׄית וקוית עד די ק[	6.19
עד תרעי שמׄיׄא ד֯מׄל[ד]	6.25
עׄד֯ מללו֯ כׄ◦◦ב֯ ד֯מׄא	7.10
ע[ד֯ ד֯י֯ כׄול ◦◦◦י֯א֯]	10.9
לעלם ולעד עד כו֯ל ע֯למים	10.10
לעלם ולעד עד כו֯ל ע֯למים	10.10
אׄחדו ואשׄ◦ב֯◦◦ עׄ֯ד֯[	12.18
תמהת עׄ֯ד֯ ד֯י֯[	13.15
ל֯[ ]◦ה֯ עׄד	13.24
וראמא עד רׄמה תלתת בנ֯י֯ן֯	14.10
[ע]דׄ הוׄא ◦◦שׄח	15.6
עד] ד֯י֯ דׄבק ל[	16.8
ראיש מׄחׄק עׄד טׄי֯נׄה [נ]ה֯ר֯א	16.9
עד די דבק לרׄאׄיש	16.10
]ו֯עׄ֯ד֯ אׄ֯ר֯[ע	16.10
עד ד֯י֯ דבק לג֯[ד]רׄא	16.11
טינה נהרא ד֯נ֯א֯ עׄד֯ בׄ◦א֯[	16.15
ע[ד֯ ט֯י֯נ֯ה֯ נהרא ד֯י֯ א֯◦◦◦]	16.16
עׄ֯ד֯ לשן ימא די פנה למצׄר֯[י]ן֯	16.18
עׄד ד֯י דבק לעׄדׄב֯	16.19
ע[ד֯ ג[יחו]ן֯] נהרא	16.27
]צׄ◦ ד֯בׄק עׄ֯ד֯ [דרו]ם֯	16.27
חׄדׄקל נׄה֯ר֯א֯ עד דדבק לימ֯א	17.7
לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא	17.8
עד די דבק לראיש טור֯	17.9
עד דבק למג֯ו֯ג֯ כ֯ול ל[יד]לשׄנ֯א	17.10
◦ל◦◦ ע֯[ד]ד֯ב֯ק֯	17.11
ע֯[ד] ד֯ב֯ק֯ ל֯[	17.13
ואמנא ע֯ד֯ ד֯ב֯ק֯ לפ֯ו֯[רת	17.14
]◦א֯ עׄדׄ ד֯י֯ ד֯[בק ל	17.14
עד די דבק לטינה נהרא	17.16
א֯ר֯בׄעׄא [נגאו]ת֯ ו֯עׄד	17.18
עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא	19.9
ו֯אתית עד די דבקת֯ לחברון	19.9
עד] כען אנחנא בׄגׄו אׄרׄעׄנׄא	19.12
עד די אׄעׄה צח להון	19.26
עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
ודבק עד סודם	21.6
מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן	21.11
ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן	21.11
וכול ארע גבל֯ עד קדש	21.11
ושניר עד פורת	21.12
אחריך עד כול עלמיא	21.14
ואתית ליד ימא עד	21.15
עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	21.17
עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא	21.17
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף	21.18
וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת	21.18
אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21
עד דבׄקו֯ לאיל/ פרן	21.29
עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון	22.7
עד דבקו לחלבון	22.10

עדב portion, allotment, lot [noun]

ועם קדשיא] עדׄבׄה פליג	2.21
ב֯עדׄבׄ באׄמנ֯י֯א֯ יד ע֯י֯ל֯ם֯	14.21
שׄלחׄפׄא ע֯ד֯בה ל֯ע֯ד֯ב֯	14.22
שׄלחׄפׄא ע֯ד֯בה ל֯ע֯ד֯ב֯	14.22
ו֯נוׄח֯ ח֯לק֯ בעׄדׄבׄ ליפת	16.12
לשם נפק עדבא תנׄיאנא	16.14
עׄד ד֯י דבק לעׄד֯ב֯	16.19
ו֯לחׄם֯[נפ]ק֯[עדבא תלת]י֯א	16.26
]בניׄ נ֯ו֯ח֯ [ח]ל֯[קו] ע֯ד֯ב֯[י]ה֯[ו]ן	17.22

עדי to withdraw, relent [verb]

]◦◦◦מ֯ר֯ץ֯ ו֯[ל]עׄדׄה֯ מׄן רׄגזך[	0.10
]ו֯ל֯אעדיא כול	0.12
ודי אעדי ואבׄדׄ מנהא	11.13
יב]ע֯ו֯ן֯ לאעדׄיׄותכי מני	19.21
הא אנתתך דבׄר֯ה֯ אזל ועדי	20.27

עדינה pleasure [noun]

דכׄרׄ לך על עדינׄתי א◦◦ך֯	2.9
עדינתי יאמיא אנה לך	2.14

עדן time [noun]
ב֯[עדנ]א די אסרנאׄ[0.13

עדן rejuvenation, luxuriance [noun]
]עליהׄא עדן בׄעליהון ובאנבהון 11.12

עדר to pluck up, snatch [verb]
]רׄא ודי חזיתה עדרׄו֯ ◦[15.13

עובד deed, act [noun]
עובדׄאׄ די עדׄ כׄ[ען 1.11
וכול עובׄד שופׄטׄ אׄהׄבׄ להׄ ◦[5.11
ואודעת בעובד בני שמין 6.11
כו]ל עׄבׄדׄאׄ וׄ[כו]ל 6.27
ו֯י֯ו֯ב֯ל֯אׄ ושנין עׄו֯בׄ[ד]הׄו֯ן 7.3
וׄמׄ◦צׄית כול עובׄד 7.21
מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא 21.5

עובע hurry, haste [noun]
ושלח/ לעובע דברהא 20.9

עובר hinterland, intermediate region [noun]
לעׄוׄבׄרׄיא ודאׄ[יא]כׄ[ו]ל ◦[11.9

עוד more, still, yet [adv.]
מן אחרׄהון ולאׄ עוד 0.15

עוד to testify, witness [verb]
◦◦ אׄנׄאׄ יׄעׄד בעליא במרה 2.4
מעיׄדׄ דמא די אשדו נפיליא 6.19
]דׄשנני וׄעׄדׄהׄ ליׄ 7.9

עול infancy [noun]
מן עול ובכור הׄוׄרׄתי יעית 6.1

עולים youth, young child [noun]
משתני על עולימא דנא 2.2
]ל די עוליׄמׄאׄ 5.2
]מׄןׄ לדׄ[עו]ל[ימא בק]וׄ[ש]טׄ[5.10
עולימׄא דן נור והׄוא ל◦◦◦◦◦ 5.13
עולימׄי די עמי 22.23

עומרם Gomorrah [place name]
ועם ברשע מלך עומרם 21.24
ומלך [עומרם ומ]לךׄ אדמא 21.31
ומׄלךׄ עומרׄם/ נפל 21.32
ע]וׄמׄרׄםׄ [וכול] רׄ[כ]וׄשׄיׄאׄ[21.34

עוף bird, winged creature [noun]
ולבׄעׄירׄא ולחיותׄא וׄלעופא וׄלׄ[6.26
עו]ףׄ שׄמׄיא וחיות ברא 13.8

עור to awake [verb]
לׄדׄ[ואתעירת א]נׄאׄ נוׄחׄ 15.21
ואתׄעׄירת בליליא מן שנתי 19.17

עורע toward, up to [prep.]; lit. meeting [noun]
ונׄפק מלך סׄודׄם לעורעהׄוׄן 21.31
וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם 22.13

עילם Elam [pers./place name]
[עיל]ם וׄאׄשור אׄרׄפׄכׄשׄד 12.11
בׄעדבׄ בׄאמׄנׄיׄאׄ יד עׄיׄלׄםׄ 14.21
ונפל לקׄדׄמׄין לעׄ[י]לׄםׄ בׄצׄפׄונא 17.7
אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם 21.23
ותקף מלך/ עׄילם 21.26
יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם 21.27
דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי 21.27
]וׄבׄזׄ מׄלׄךׄ עׄילׄםׄ כול נכסיא 21.33
די מלך עילם וחברוהי 22.17
די אצלתה מן מלך עילם 22.19

עין eye [noun]
ודנחא עינוהי כשמׄ[שא 5.12
חן רׄבׄוׄ וׄקושׄטׄהׄ בׄעׄיׄנׄ[י] מׄ[רה 6.23
כמא יאין להׄין לה עיניהא 20.3
ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנחא 21.9

עין דינא Ein Dina [place name]
ותׄבׄו וׄמׄחׄוׄ לעׄיׄןׄ דׄ[ינא 21.30

עיר watcher [noun]
חשׄבׄת בלבי די מן עירין הריאתׄא 2.1
ולא מן כול עירין 2.16
]אׄ עׄלׄי ועיׄרׄא רבא עלי 6.13
שמשא שהרא וכוכבׄיׄאׄ ועיׄרׄיא 7.2

עיר town, city (?) [noun]
דׄ[י ת]עׄבׄדׄיׄןׄ עׄמׄי בכול עׄרׄוׄת 19.20

על upon, about [prep.]
]◦◦ דׄיׄ על 1.11
ולבי עלי משתני 2.2
על עולימא דנא 2.2
ועלת על בתאנוש אנׄתׄתׄיׄ 2.3
דכרׄ לך על עדינתי א◦◦ךׄ 2.9
ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני 2.11
די אשתני אנפי עלי בׄרׄגׄ[זי 2.12
למא צלם] אנפיך כדנא עליך 2.17
ורוחך כדן עליכׄא ◦[2.17
למך רטת על מתושלח אבי 2.19
רׄטׄ עׄל חׄנוך אבוהי למנדע 2.22
ואׄמׄרׄ לך דׄאׄל תׄרׄגז עלי 2.25
דחיל לעליך 2.26
בׄתׄיׄ אׄנׄשׄ[א] ◦הׄ◦סׄ[ ]וׄעׄלׄ 3.8
להׄוׄה על ארעא כולהׄא 3.9
]עׄדׄ ◦◦אׄ ועׄלׄ 3.32

לע֯ל֯ ◦◦ל[	4.3
חזית למעׄבד דין ו֯מ֯[שפט] ע֯ל֯	4.11
]עׄליהון	4.14
]א֯ ע֯ליׄ ועיׄרא רבא עלי	6.13
ועיׄרא רבא עלי בציר	6.13
ובמשלחת קדישׄא ר֯בׄא֯ ע֯לי֯	6.13
[תש]ל[ט] ע֯ליׄהון ארעא וכול	7.1
וכול די עליהׄא בימיא	7.1
◦◦◦◦◦ת֯ על דנׄה	7.8
]◦ יזׄכׄה דׄא֯ זׄכ֯י֯ בׄדׄמ֯א֯ עׄל	7.12
באדין ה֯ו֯ו֯א֯ על א֯ר֯ע֯א֯	10.11
טה֯◦◦ על ◦נ֯ה֯ [	10.12
] ו֯על כול ארעא כולהא כפרת	10.13
ו֯בׄת֯ר֯ה֯ אׄתׄה עׄל ס◦◦ל֯	10.14
ותרבה על נורא אׄקטרת	10.14
ו]כול בשרהון על מדבחׄא	10.15
ע֯[מ]ה֯ו֯ן֯ על מדבחא קׄר֯בׄת֯	10.16
דׄמׄהון ו֯כ֯ולהון עלו֯ה֯[ין]	10.16
]עליהׄא עדן בׄעליהון ובאנבהון	11.12
וברכת די רחם עׄל אׄרׄעא	11.13
ושכׄבת ע֯ל֯ מ֯שכׄבי ו֯דמכׄת֯ ◦[	12.19
והוית תמהׄ עׄל זיתא דׄן	13.15
בחלמך על ראיש טו֯ר֯יםׄ	14.9
ורמי על נורא כול פשׁ[עיא	15.12
אל תׄתמה על חׄלמא דׄן	15.19
ואל יׄהׄירבׄה עלו֯ה֯י֯	15.19
אחויתך וכן כתיבׄ עליׄך֯[	15.20
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא	17.11
א֯מ֯[ר]י֯ עלי די אחי הוא	19.20
ובכת שרי עׄל מׄלי בליליא דן	19.21
בׄפר֯ע֯[ו] צע֯ן֯ על מלי	19.24
על מלי ועל חׄכמתי	19.24
ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרׄת	20.6
וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא	20.9
כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא	20.10
אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא	20.13
על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	20.14
וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא	20.18
ועל כול אנש ביתה	20.18
באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש	20.21
ואצלה על/ מלכא	20.21
ואסמׄוך ידי עלוהי	20.22
אברם דדי לצליׄא על/ מלכׄא	20.22
ויצלה עלוהי ויחה	20.23
וכען צׄלי עׄליׄ ועל ביתי	20.28
וכען צׄלי עׄליׄ ועל ביתי	20.28
ו֯צליׄתׄ על[וה]י֯[די] א֯רׄפא/ הו	20.28
וסמכת ידי עׄל [ר]א֯ישה	20.29
ו֯קרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחה	21.2
על כול נכסיא	21.3
אוספת לה על דילה שגי	21.6
ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	21.7
די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.8
ואסקת עׄלוהיׄ עלא ומנחא	21.20
ושויו עליהון מדא	21.26
פלט מׄן שביא על אברם	22.2
ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5
ורמה עליהון בליליא	22.8
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	22.10
ואנה מגן עליך	22.31

עלא high above, supreme [adj.]

ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7

עלא burnt offering [noun]

ו֯קרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחה	21.2
ואסקת עׄלוהיׄ עלא ומנחא	21.20

עלה leaf, foliage [noun]

]עליהׄא עדן בׄעליהון ובאנבהון	11.12
וארי הא משגית עלו֯ה֯י֯[	13.14
זיתא דׄן וׄעלוהי שגי לחדא	13.15
ואתרת מן עלוהי ומ֯ן֯ אנבהׄ	13.17
כו]ל נ֯ופ֯י[א] ו֯כ֯ול א֯[נב]י֯ ע֯לה֯	14.6

עלי high [adj.]

ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7

עליא Most High [divine name]

א֯נׄא יׄעׄד בעליא במרה רבותא	2.4
ודם ק֯[י]נ֯[א] ע֯ליׄא דׄי קׄ◦◦[	6.24
באדי֯ן֯ עליׄא ב֯[רד]	10.18

עליון Most High [divine name]

לאל עליון לקדישא רבא	12.17
ד֯י֯ ח֯◦ ◦עׄלי֯ אׄל ע֯ל֯י֯ו֯ן֯	12.21
]לקׄח לך֯ אׄל על[יון	15.24
בריך אנתה אל עליון מרי	20.12
שלח לה אל עליון	20.16
ומנחה לאל עליון	21.2
עלא ומנחא לאל עליון	21.20
והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.16
ובריך אל עליון	22.16
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.21

עלל to enter, go in [verb]

ו֯עלת על בתאנוש אנ֯ת֯ת֯י֯	2.3
ע֯לל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.16
עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.17
]◦יׄא֯◦◦ ע֯לל ב֯ה֯ ו֯ק֯ד֯מ֯י֯ת֯[א]	14.20
אמ[רת] עלא[ ]◦[ ]	19.12
בׄ[תר ע]לל[בג]א֯ יׄמא ר֯בׄה	19.13
ו֯עלנא לארע בנׄי חם	19.13
בלילה מׄעלי֯ לא֯ר֯ע֯ מׄצ֯ריׄן	19.14

כ֯ד֯י֯ ע֯[ל]ל֯נ֯א֯ למ֯די֯[נ]ת֯ מ֯[צרין	19.22
הוו]א ע֯לל ◦◦◦	19.29
וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן	20.6

עלם eternity, age [noun]

ו◦◦◦◦ מׄן מׄר֯ה֯ ע֯ל֯מ֯א֯	0.17
קודם מרה עלמא	0.18
במרה רבותא במלך כול ע֯[למים	2.4
במלך כול עלמׄים עד בקושט	2.7
]ע֯ד֯ לכול עלמים	4.3
עלמא יהבׄין כ֯ט֯מ֯א֯ת֯ה֯ו֯ן֯	5.17
מהׄלך בשבי֯לי אמת עלמא	6.2
לחשוך ע֯ל֯מ֯א֯ ו֯ל֯[ח]ש֯ב֯ ה֯ן֯	6.3
יה֯בׄת כדת חוק עלמא	6.8
מ]ר֯ה עלמ֯א לבני אנשא	6.9
ע֯מ֯א֯ ע֯למא ודם ק֯[י]נ֯[א]	6.24
ד֯מ֯ל֯[ד] כ֯[ו]ל֯[עלמיא]	6.25
◦] עלמא	8.4
ל֯מ֯לך כׄול עלמׄיא לעלם	10.10
ל֯מ֯לך כׄול עלמׄיא לעלם	10.10
לעלם ולעד עד כׄול ע֯למים	10.10
חד מן טורי הׄוררט ונורׄ עלמׄא	10.12
שבׄח֯ ע֯מ֯ד֯ לעלם הוא ולה	10.13
די להון כואתך לעלמים	11.15
]לעלמים אמרׄ ל◦◦◦	11.18
]◦◦ה֯ ק֯ו֯ם קׄיאם לעלמים	14.14
למׄב֯ר֯ך֯ א֯ל֯ ע֯למ֯א֯ ו֯[	15.22
למי֯ר֯ת֯ ירותׄת ע֯ל֯מ֯י֯ם֯	16.12
ולבנׄוהי ל֯[ירותת ע[ל]מים	16.14
ו]ל[בנוהי עלמי]ן֯	16.26
על]מ֯י֯א֯	17.19
ו֯מ֯לך֯ ע֯למ֯[י]ם	19.8
עליון מרי לכול/ ע֯למים	20.13
וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא	21.2
ולזרעך לכול עלמים	21.10
וירתונה לכול עלמים	21.12
אחריך עד כול עלמיא	21.14

עם with [prep.]

הוו]א֯ נחת֯[י]ן֯ ו֯עם נקבתא	1.1
בקושט עמׄי תמללין ולא בכדבׄין	2.7
בחלץ תקיף עמׄי מללת ובכ֯ת֯[	2.8
באדין אנסׄת רוח֯הא ועמׄי תמלל	2.13
אנה] בקושט ממללא֯ עמך	2.18
ועם קדשיא] עדׄבׄה פליג	2.20
]◦◦ו֯ח֯ ארעא ◦◦◦ קר֯י ע֯מׄה֯	3.12
כ֯ו֯ל֯א֯ ◦◦◦◦ ◦◦◦ן֯ ע֯ם֯	3.16
כ֯ו֯ל ארעא ו֯ע֯ם ◦◦◦מ֯ין֯	3.17
ועם למך ברה ברז מׄלל֯[	5.25
א֯[ח]ו֯ה֯ ובׄחזיון עמׄי מׄלל	6.14
די עם בנת אנוש֯[א]	6.20

◦לב֯ן֯ וכולא ו֯ע֯ם֯ ש֯א֯◦◦ל◦	7.8
ע]מ֯ה֯ להׄוה֯ ◦◦◦◦◦ לה֯	7.13
מ]לל ע֯מ֯י ואח֯[וה] לי	7.22
ב֯ך֯ ו֯ע֯מ֯י֯ ◦◦◦[	8.11
ע֯[מ]ה֯ו֯ן֯ על מדבחא קׄרׄבׄת֯	10.16
במשח עם לבונא למׄנ֯ח֯ת֯ה֯ו֯ן	10.16
ב֯ר֯כ֯ת֯ ו֯ע֯ם כׄולהון מׄלחא	10.17
◦◦◦◦ מ֯ן֯ שמׄי֯א֯ מלל עמי	11.15
ע֯מׄך אנה ועם בניך די להון	11.15
ע֯מׄך אנה ועם בניך די להון	11.15
מגלא בידה ונורא עמה	15.10
[ו]מׄלל ע֯מ֯י֯ בלי֯ל֯י֯א	19.8
ד֯[י ת]ע֯ב֯ד֯י֯ן֯ ע֯מ֯י֯ בכול ע֯ר֯ו֯ת	19.20
ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא	20.7
חכמא שגיא עמהא	20.7
אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בׄליליא	20.11
והיא עמה/ תרתין שנין	20.17
ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי	20.19
ושרי אנתׄתה֯ ע֯מה	20.23
ואש֯למהא֯ לי ומני עמי אנוש	20.32
[לוט]/ בׄר אחי עמי	20.34
[והוית שר֯ה֯]עמה	20.34
ודי עבד עמי טב	21.3
וכול נכסוהי/ עמה	21.6
ואכלו כחדא/ עמי	21.22
ואשתיו עמי	21.22
ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם	21.24
ועם ברשע מלך עומרם	21.24
ועם שנאב מלך אדמא	21.24
ועם שמיאבד מלך צבוין	21.25
ועם מלך בלע כול אלן אזדמנו	21.25
ומלכיא די עמה	21.26
ומלכיא] די עמה	21.32
בסודם כחדׄא עמהון	22.1
ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה	22.7
ולכול אנשא֯ די עמה	22.15
די שביא עמך	22.19
עולימי די עמי	22.23
תלתת גבריא די/ אזלו עמׄי	22.24
וכול שביא די הואת עמה	22.25
מן/ כול די נפקו עמך	22.30
וכען אל תדחל אנה עמך	22.30

עמם/עם people [noun]

]לארעא ולמׄחת להאימׄנה עמׄא	1.26
ע֯מ֯א֯ ע֯למא ודם ק֯[י]נ֯[א]	6.24
שור מן כול ע֯מ֯מ֯י ארעא	15.15
א֯י֯כ֯נה֯ יצ֯מ֯ד֯ לה֯ ע֯מׄא ד֯ך֯	15.17
כול עממיא וכולהון להון פלחין	15.18
ו֯א֯ל֯[פ]ף֯ מ֯ע֯מ֯ך֯ לך֯	15.21
◦◦◦ ל֯ע֯מ֯ך֯ לך֯ [ ]	20.32

עמד	to stand, endure [verb]		
		שׄבׄחׄ עׄמ֯דׄ לעלם הוא	10.13
עמן	Amman [place name]		
		ולזוזמיא די בעמן	21.29
עמק	valley [noun]		
		לקרב לעמקא די סׄדׄיא	21.25
		בעמׄקׄא֯ ד[י סדיא]	21.32
		אברם שרא בעמק/ שוא	22.13
		הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14
ען	flock [noun]		
		ענה די יהב אברם ללוט	22.2
ענן	cloud [noun]		
		הׄא֯ קׄשׄ֯תׄ֯יׄ֯ [בענן י]ה֯בׄ֯תׄ֯	12.1
		ו֯ה֯ו֯אׄ֯תׄ לׄ֯יׄ֯ לאת בעננא	12.1
ענף	branch [noun]		
		בבׄעׄיׄ֯ עׄנפיאן שגיאן	13.13
ענף	to debranch [verb]		
		וח֯בלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16
		א]עׄאׄ֯ ח֯וׄ֯בׄ מׄעׄ֯[נ]ף מׄנׄ֯	14.4
ענת	time, occurrence [noun]		
		בׄח֯ו֯ם ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא	2.10
עפר	dust [noun]		
		ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא	21.13
עצב	to grieve, be sad [verb]		
		ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא	20.12
עקר	to uproot [verb]		
		ובעין למקץ ולמעקר ל[א]רׄזא	19.15
ערטלי	naked, bereft [adj.]		
		ואנה כדי אמותׄ ערטלי אהד	22.33
ערם	to instruct (?) [verb]		
		וער֯מׄ֯יׄ֯ קׄדׄיׄשׄ֯[א] לׄ֯הׄ֯[	6.2
ערנם	Arnem [pers. name]		
		ושלׄחׄת קרית לממרה ולערנם	21.21
		וערׄנם/ ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה	22.6
ערק	to flee [verb]		
		כתש לכולהון/ וערׄקו	20.21
		ואׄתבר מלך סודום וערק	21.32
		וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9
ערקא	strap [noun]		
		אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21
עשב	herb(s) [noun]		
		ומליׄא דתׄאׄ ועשב ועבור	11.12
		בירקא ועשבא די ארעא	11.17
עשר	ten [adj.]		
		]שא יובלין עשרה	6.10
		]◦שׄ֯ שת עׄשרה והוא כׄ֯וׄ֯ל֯	8.1
		תרתי עשרה שנין הׄוׄוׄא	21.26
		ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה	21.27
		ובשנת ארבע עשרה	21.27
		תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר	22.6
		ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27
עשתרא	Ashtera [place name]		
		ומחו לרפאיא די בעשׄתׄרׄא	21.28
עת	time [noun]		
		]עׄתׄיׄן ורזא די	1.3
עתר	wealth [noun]		
		דמן נכסי כול עתרה דׄי	22.22
		עתרךׄ ונכסיך/ ישגון לחדא	22.31
		שגי לי עתר ונכסין	22.32
פגש	to strike against, meet [verb]		
		]◦ לפׄגׄ֯שׄיׄ֯ן	1.18
פול	to mix [verb]		
		סולת נׄשׄ֯יׄפׄאׄ פילא במשח	10.16
פוט	Put [pers. name]		
		ומצרי]ן ו֯פׄוט וכנען ובנן	12.11
פורת	Euphrates (River) [place name]		
		כול ארעא די משקה פורת	17.12
		ואמנא עׄ֯ד דׄ֯בׄ֯ק֯ לׄפׄ֯ו֯]רת	17.14
		ושניר עד פורת	21.12
		עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	21.17
		וסחרת ליד פורת	21.17
		ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28
פותי	breadth, width [noun]		
		בארעא לאורכהא ולפותׄיׄ֯הׄ֯א֯[	11.11
		כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיהא	21.14
		למדנחא לפותי ארעא	21.16
פלא	miracle, wonderful deed [noun]		
		בפׄ֯לׄ[א]	14.25

פלג to divide, apportion [verb]

ועם קדשיא] עדׄבׄה פליג 2.21

]הׄוׄאׄ דׄיׄ יפלׄג כׄוׄל ארעא 3.17

[ו]שׄםׄ פׄלׄ֯גׄ [ח]לקה בין בנוהי 17.7

חׄולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה 17.15

[ו]יׄפׄתׄ פלגׄ בׄין בנוהי 17.16

פלה to search [verb]

תׄפׄלׄ֯הׄ אׄ◦ן ◦◦חׄו֯ 14.19

פלח to work, serve [verb]

למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב 12.13

◦פׄלׄ֯חׄ לׄקׄדׄמין שׄלׄחׄפׄאׄ עׄדׄבה 14.22

וכולהון להון פלחין ומשתבשין 15.18

פלט to save, rescue [verb]

ופלטׄ לׄ֯גׄבׄרׄ צׄדׄיקׄא ל◦◦◦ 11.14

די פלטנא מן אבדנא 12.17

ותפלטׄ נפשי בדיליכי 19.20

די פלטׄ מׄן שביא על אברם 22.2

פלי to remove [verb]

ואתפלי מנה מכתשא 20.29

פלג/פליג division, offshoot [noun]

וׄהׄאׄ פׄלׄי֯גׄ֯אׄ חׄדׄהׄ יׄצׄדׄדׄ 14.11

מׄן פׄלׄגׄ֯הׄ כׄ[ו]ל בׄנׄ֯יׄךׄ 14.12

פם mouth [noun]

די פם חד תלתהון ממללין 20.8

פני to turn [verb]

וׄאתפנית למחזה זיתא 13.13

עׄדׄ לשן ימא די פנה למצׄרׄ[י]ןׄ 16.18

די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא 17.12

שרי למפנה לצען 19.22

פסגה branch [noun]

ודי חזיתה לפׄסׄ֯גׄתׄ חלפתא 14.15

אׄנׄ◦◦ פׄיׄסׄ[גי]םׄ 14.16

פצא to save, rescue [verb]

באׄ◦ כׄוׄל לא יׄפׄצׄאׄ וׄאׄ◦◦ כׄוׄל 9.2

ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא 22.11

פרוין Parvaim [place name]

ואזל לאׄרׄךׄ מׄת לפרוין ותמן 2.23

פרזל iron [noun]

ל֯◦◦◦◦אׄ לׄפׄרזלא ולאילניא 13.10

פרי to be fruitful [verb]

פ]רׄיׄ ושׄגׄיׄ ומׄלי ארעא 11.16

פרי fruit, produce [noun]

ומנך נצבת פריאׄ] דן 2.15

כׄולהׄא פׄרׄ֯יׄאׄ חׄדׄאׄ ישׄיׄם 3.11

פרעו Pharaoh [pers. title]

ופׄרעו צׄעׄ]ן 19.22

בׄפׄרׄעׄ[ו] צׄעׄןׄ על מלי 19.24

על פרעו צען מלך מצרין 20.14

פרש to separate, divide [verb]

כׄול יומוהי לא יפרש מנך 14.12

בׄתר יומא דן פרש לוט 21.5

ובאש עלי די פרש לוט 21.7

פרשגן copy, repetition [noun]

[פר]שׄ[ג]ןׄ כתב מלי נׄוׄחׄ] 5.29

פשע evil(doer) [noun]

ורמי על נורא כול פשׁ]עיא 15.12

פתגם word [noun]

בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי{ו} 22.27

פתח to open, engage [verb]

ובגו כרמי כׄומרא דן פתחת 12.15

ופׄתׄחׄוׄ קרבא/ בעמׄקׄאׄ ד[י סדיא] 21.31

פתי simple, childlike [adj.]

פ]תׄיא ומכיא ושפליא 0.7

צבוין Zeboiim [people name]

ועם שמיאבד מלך צבוין 21.25

ומלך צׄבׄוׄאׄין ומלך בׄלע 21.31

צדד to branch off [verb]

וׄהׄאׄ פׄלׄיׄ֯גׄאׄ חׄדׄהׄ יׄצׄדׄדׄ 14.11

צדו devastation, destruction [noun]

] אׄרׄי צדותא הואת שגיא בארעא 12.9

צדיק righteous, blameless [adj.]

ופלטׄ לׄ֯גׄבׄרׄ צׄדׄיׄקׄאׄ ל◦◦◦ 11.14

צׄדׄיׄקׄאׄ[ ]למׄחׄוׄהׄ דׄיׄ 15.23

צוח to cry out [verb]

למלי מרה שמיא ואציחת 7.7

צות to listen [verb]

[וכען] אצׄתׄ ושמע אנתה הוא 14.9

צח clearly, plainly [adv.]

עד די אעׄהׄ צח להון 19.26

ציר	errand, mission [noun]	
	ועיׄרא רבא ״לי בציר ובמשלחת	6.13

צלח	to succeed [verb]	
	יׄצׄלחׄוׄן ובׄחרו באׄנון ◦◦◦[	6.17

צלי	to incline, turn, pray [verb]	
	בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12
	ואצלה על/ מלכא	20.21
	אברם דדי לצליא על	20.22
	ויצלה עלוהי ויחה	20.23
	וכען צׄלי עׄלׄי ועל ביתי	20.28
	וצׄליׄתׄ על[וה]יׄ[די] אׄרׄפא/ הו	20.28

צלם	image [noun]	
	למא צלם] אנפיך כדנא עליך	2.16
	ושפירׄ לה צלם אנפׄיהא	20.2

צמד	to join, place together, abut [verb]	
	אׄיׄכׄנׄהׄ יׄצׄמׄדׄ לׄהׄ עׄמׄא דׄךׄ	15.17
	לאׄמׄנא דׄצׄמׄיׄדׄ טׄוׄרׄ הׄרׄטׄ	17.14

צמח	to grow, sprout [verb]	
	ותמרא/ חדא כׄחׄדׄאׄ צׄמׄחׄ[ו]	19.15
	תרינא מן שרשׁ חׄ[ד] צׄ[מח]נׄא	19.16

צען	Zoan [pers./place name]	
	ופׄרעו צׄעׄ[ן]	19.22
	שרי למפנה לצען	19.22
	בׄפרׄעׄ[ו] צׄעׄןׄ על מלי	19.24
	◦◦◦תׄ אׄנׄהׄ לצׄעׄןׄ בׄאׄ◦◦	19.29
	על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	20.14

צפון	north [noun]	
	וׄרׄוׄחׄ צׄפׄוׄן מׄןׄ[	13.18
	כול ארע צפונא כולהא	16.10
	ונפל לקׄדׄמׄין לעׄ[י]לׄםׄ בׄצׄפׄונא	17.7
	שׄמׄוׄקא לראישה די בצפונׄא	17.8
	בׄצׄפׄונׄא די מחען לשנא דן	17.11
	לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא	17.16
	למדנחא ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא	21.9
	כלמדנח צפון חברון	21.20

קבל	to receive, take [verb]	
	]די בכול נקבל גיׄור	0.2

קבל	to complain, protest [verb]	
	וכען/ קבלתך מרי	20.14

קדיש	holy (one) [divine name/adj.]	
	ק]דׄישׄא רבא	0.11
	ומן קדישין זרׄעׄאׄ ולנפׄילׄ[ין	2.1
	יאמיא אנה לך בקדישא רבא	2.14
	ועם קדשׄיאׄ] עדׄבׄה פליג	2.20
	דׄיׄ קׄ[ד]יׄשׄאׄ רבא וקץ [	4.12
	ועׄרׄמׄיׄ קׄדׄיׄשׄ[א] לׄהׄ[	6.2
	ובמשׄלחת קׄדׄישׄאׄ רׄבׄאׄ עׄלׄיׄ	6.13
	ובמ]שׄלׄחׄת קדישׄאׄ רׄבׄא ליׄ	6.15
	◦◦הׄאׄ קדישׄיןׄ די עם בנת	6.20
	לׄקׄדׄיׄשׄא רבא וחדית למלי	7.7
	חׄלמת ובׄרׄכׄתׄ קדׄ[י]שׄאׄ רׄבׄאׄ	7.20
	לאל עליון לקדישא רבא	12.17
	עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא קדישא	19.9

קדמי	first [adj.]	
	[שעיר]הׄ לקׄדׄמׄיׄןׄ וׄבׄתׄרׄהׄ	10.14
	לקדמׄין ארפכשד תרתין שנין	12.10
	אׄתׄהׄ רגלא קדמׄיׄא ביׄום חד	12.14
	לרגלא קדמׄיא דׄיׄ בׄחׄודׄשא	12.14
	קדמׄיא[	12.15
	ויתברך לה לקדמׄין עׄבׄרׄתׄ [רוח]	13.16
	] ודׄיׄ חׄזׄיׄתׄהׄ לחלפתא קדמׄיתא	14.11
	[ה]אׄ בׄרׄ קׄדׄמׄיׄאׄ כׄול יומוהי	14.12
	בׄרׄ [ק]דׄמׄיא יפוק	14.13
	עׄלל בגו נוף קדמׄיתא	14.16
	עלל בגו נוף קדמׄיתא	14.17
	]◦יׄאׄ ◦◦ עׄלל בׄהׄ וׄקׄדׄמׄיׄתׄ[א]	14.20
	◦פׄלׄחׄ לׄקׄדׄמׄין שׄלׄחׄפׄאׄ עׄדׄבה	14.22
	ונפל לקׄדׄמׄין לעׄ[י]לׄםׄ בׄצׄפׄונא	17.7
	לגמר יהב לקדמׄין בצפונא	17.16

קדמת	before (temporal) [adv.]	
	קדמׄת יומיא אלן	21.23

קדש	Kadesh [place name]	
	וכול ארע גבלׄ עד קדש	21.11

קובל	before, opposite, alongside [prep.]	
	ולקובלי קׄם וכׄבׄדׄ אׄמׄרׄ	6.14
	דׄיׄ הׄוׄא קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9
	לקובלי כדרלעׄ[ומר ומלכיא]	21.32

קודם	before, in the presence of [prep.]	
	קודׄ[ם מרה] שמיׄאׄ	0.14
	קודם מרה עלמא	0.18
	קׄודמׄי וחׄשׄבׄתׄ כׄול לכׄתׄ	6.16
	וקרית קודמׄיהון לספׄרׄ מליׄ חׄנוׄך	10.25
	קודמׄיהא ואף לחגר	20.32
	ואודית תמן קודם אלהא	21.3
	וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמׄוהי	22.9

קוי	to wait, be patient [verb]	
	שפׄית וקוית עד די ק[	6.19

קאם/קום	to rise, stand [verb]
]םׄ רגזך תתקׄף וׄתתקיׄאׄם	0.5
יבישתא למׄקׄי֯י֯םׄ]	1.12
ולקובלי קׄם וכׄב֯דׄ אׄמ֯רׄ ○○	6.14
דׄי הׄוׄא קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9
]○○הׄ ק֯וׄם קׄיאם לעלמים	14.14
]○○הׄ ק֯וׄם קׄיאם לעלמים	14.14
ולא הׄו֯וׄא אׄתׄין למקם	19.26
וכול חכימיא למקם לאסיותה	20.20
וחׄיׄ וקם ו֯יׄהׄבׄ/ לי מלכא	20.29
קום הלך ואזל/ וחזי	21.13
ואתחלם אברם וקם	22.5

קושט	righteous(ness), truth [adj./noun]
עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני	2.5
[בקושטא] תׄחו֯ינני ולא בׄכדבין	2.6
עד בקושט עמי תמללין	2.7
ואנה בקושט כולׄא אׄ[חוינ]ךׄ	2.10
אנה] בקושט ממללׄא עמך	2.18
למנדע מנה כולא בקושׄטׄאׄ]	2.22
בקשוט די לׄא בׄכׄדׄבׄיׄן	3.13
]○○○ וׄבׄ֯קׄ֯וׄשׄטׄ[ ]	5.7
בקושט מהימן דׄי ○○○○	5.8
אדׄיׄן בקושט	5.9
]מׄןׄ לדׄ[עו]ל[ימא בק]וׄ[ש]טׄ[	5.10
ובכור הׄורׄתי יעית לקושט	6.1
מן מעׄי אׄמי לקושט נצׄיׄבׄת	6.1
וקושטא כול יומי דברת	6.2
במסלׄי אׄרׄחׄת קושט ולאׄזׄהׄרותׄני	6.3
בחזון קושטא וחכמתא	6.4
וׄאׄחׄדׄת בקושטא ואׄתׄקׄפׄתׄ	6.6
אׄנׄהׄ נוח חן רׄבׄוׄ וׄקׄושׄטׄהׄ	6.23
בׄקׄשׄטׄיׄ ושכׄבת עׄלׄ מׄשׄכׄבי	12.19
יפוק לנצבת קׄושט לכול	14.13
]כולא בקושט אחויתך	15.20
סׄפׄרׄא וׄחׄכׄמׄתׄא וׄקׄושׄטׄא	19.25

קטין	small [adj.]
ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת	20.5

קטל	to kill [verb]
די יבעון למקטלני	19.19
לאעדׄיׄותכי מני ולמקטלני	19.21
ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי	20.9
בדילהא ולא קטילת	20.10
וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל	22.3
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין	22.4
והווא קטל/ בהון בליליא	22.8

קטר	to burn [verb]
ותרבה על נורא אׄקטרת	10.14
בשרהון על מדבחׄא אקטרת	10.15

קיים	everlasting [adj.]
ינתן]ל[ה] מׄרׄ֯הׄ לשׄםׄ קׄיׄ[י]םׄ	3.29

קינא	jealousy [noun]
עׄמׄאׄ עׄלׄמׄא ודׄם קׄ[י]נׄ[א] עׄלׄיׄאׄ	6.24

קל	voice [noun]
לׄי קל אשמע לך אמרין	6.15

קלל	curse [noun]
ולקלל לכול בשרא	1.24

קנה	to obtain, buy [verb]
חׄדׄ וׄלׄכׄול קׄנׄה בדילה	11.14
לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין	20.34

קסם	divination, magic [noun]
]בׄקסׄמׄא א[ט]מׄהׄ וׄאׄזׄלׄתׄ	6.21

קץ	end [noun]
ותמן אשכחה לקץ אׄ[רעא	2.23
דׄיׄ קׄ[ד]יׄשׄאׄ רבא וקץ]	4.12
]שמיׄא לחׄדׄא וקצׄיׄ ○[	7.19
קׄצׄיׄ אׄ֯רׄעׄ֯אׄ ודי חזיתא	15.9

קצץ	to cut, chop down [verb]
]אׄ ○○ אׄבׄניא וחספיא הווה קצין	13.9
כולהון קצין ונסבׄין להׄוׄן מׄ֯נׄ֯הׄ	13.10
ו֯לכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.11
יקׄיׄץ טׄוׄרׄ שׄגׄאׄיׄ וׄמׄנׄהׄ יׄ֯נׄדׄבׄ	15.17
ובׄ[נ]י֯ אנוש אתו ובעין למקץ	19.15
ואמרת אל תקוצו לאׄרזא	19.16
ולׄא קׄצׄ֯צׄ֯וׄ֯נׄיׄ	19.17

קצת	a little, some of [adj.]
]מׄן קצת/ עובדׄאׄ	1.10
○מׄאׄפׄלׄאׄ ומן קצׄת נׄוׄפׄהׄןׄ	14.16
וׄדׄיׄ חזית מן קצת נופהן	14.17

קרב	to sacrifice, draw near [verb]
על מדבחא קׄרׄבׄתׄ דׄמׄהון	10.16
ולא יכל למקׄרׄב בהא	20.17
וׄקרבת עלוהי עלואן	21.2
באדין קרב מלכא די סודם	22.18

קרב	war, battle [noun]
ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם	21.24
לקרב לעמקא די סׄדׄיא	21.25
וׄפׄתׄחׄוׄ קרבא/ בעמׄקׄאׄ ד[י סדיא]	21.31
גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא	22.6

קרי	to call out, summon [verb]
]○○וׄחׄ ארעא ○○○ קׄרׄיׄ עׄמׄהׄ	3.12

קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי 12.16
ובזרעה יתקרה שׁמ֯ךׄ 14.12
וׄקריׄת תמן בׄשׁ֯[ם א]לׄ[הא] 19.7
וׄקריׄת קודמיהון לס֯פׄ֯רׄ מליׄ חׄ֯נוׄך 19.25
ושלח/ קרא לכול חׄ֯כׄ֯יׄמׄ֯[י] מצרין 20.19
ורוח שחלניא וקרׄא [מ]ל[כ]אׄ֯ 20.26
וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא 21.2
ושלׄחת קרית לממרה ולערנם 21.21

קריב near [adj.]
וכען קרׄ֯יׄ֯בׄ֯הׄ֯ ידׄ֯ך לממחה 0.12

קריה region, area, city [noun]
לראיש טוׄר הוׄ֯רׄ[רט]בקרית דׄאׄ֯ 17.9

קרנין Karnaim [place name]
לרפאיא די בעשתׄרׄא/ דקרנין 21.29

קשר to tie [verb]
כׄ֯ולׄאׄ֯ וׄ֯שׄדׄיׄאׄ֯ן קשרן בה] 13.15

קשת bow [noun]
הׄאׄ קׄשׄ֯תׄ֯יׄ [בענן י]הׄ֯בׄ֯תׄ֯ 12.1

ראי to see (?) [verb]
וׄ֯הׄ֯רׄ֯אׄ֯ ○○○ 8.13

ראש/ראיש head, top, peak, first, source [noun]
כפרת וׄראיש רׄ֯מׄ֯ה עׄ֯[ל 10.13
בחלמך על ראיש טוׄ֯רׄ֯ים 14.9
ראׄיש מׄחׄ֯ך עׄדׄ טׄיׄ֯נׄה [נ]הׄרׄ֯א 16.9
עד די דבק לרׄאׄיׄשׁ 16.10
שׁ֯מׄ֯וׄקא לראישה די בצפונׄא 17.8
לראיש טוׄר הוׄ֯רׄ[רט]בקרית דׄאׄ֯ 17.9
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא 17.11
חד מן/ ראׄ֯שׁ֯יׄ נהרא 19.12
וׄחׄ֯לפת שבעת ראשי נהרא 19.12
[ו]רקׄיׄקׄ להׄ שער ראישה 20.3
וסמכת ידי עׄלׄ [ר]אׄ֯יׄשה 20.29

רברב/רב great, large [adj.]
ק]דׄ֯ישׁא רבא 0.11
]○○יׄ֯ן֯ רׄ֯בׄרׄ֯בׄיׄ֯ן 1.8
בקדישא רבא במלך ש[מיא 2.14
דׄ֯יׄ֯ קׄ֯[ד]יׄ֯שׁׄאׄ רבא וקץ [4.12
]אׄ֯ עׄ֯ליׄ ועיׄרׄא רבא ילי בציר 6.13
ובמשלחת קדׄ֯ישׁׄאׄ רׄ֯בׄאׄ֯ עׄ֯ליׄ֯ 6.13
ובמ]שׁ֯לׄחת קדישׁׄאׄ רׄ֯בׄ֯א ליׄ֯ 6.15
לׄ֯קׄ֯דׄ֯יׄשׁא רבא וחדית למלי 7.7
חׄ֯למת וׄבׄ֯רׄכׄתׄ֯ קדׄ֯[י]שׁׄאׄ רׄ֯בׄאׄ 7.20
רבא 10.1
לׄ֯[שם] בׄרׄ֯יׄ֯ רׄבא יליד לה בר 12.10

למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב 12.13
לאל עליון לקדישא רבא 12.17
אנׄ[בא]רׄ֯ברב ושׁפׄיׄר ומתחזה 13.14
אנתה הוא ארזׄ֯אׄ רבאׄ 14.9
וׄ֯כׄ֯לׄ֯ אׄיׄאׄ֯ ○הׄ○ל ליׄ֯ם רׄ֯בׄ֯א 14.18
[י]מׄ֯אׄ [ר]בׄ֯הׄ מׄ֯[14.21
לגׄבׄרׄאׄ֯ רׄ֯בׄאׄ אׄתׄהׄ מׄן ימין 15.10
ארבעא מלאכׄיׄן רׄבׄרׄ֯בׄ֯יׄ֯ן֯] 15.14
[ו]עׄבׄרׄ תחומא דן מי ימא רבא 16.11
ים מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן 16.17
בׄ[תר ע]ללׄ֯[בג]אׄ֯ יׄ֯מא רׄ֯בׄ֯ה 19.13
וׄתׄלׄתׄאׄ גׄ֯בׄרׄין מן רברבי מצריׄן֯ 19.24
ואחזי ידך רבתא 20.14
ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן 21.11
וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן 21.12
וסחרת מן ליׄ֯[ד]יׄ֯מא רבא דן 21.16
ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון 22.4

רבה to be(come) great, abundant [verb]
ואל יׄ֯הׄיׄרבׄ֯הׄ֯ עלוׄ֯הׄ֯יׄ֯ 15.19
]בׄ֯בׄ֯טנא דׄיׄ אׄ֯תׄרבה 19.26

רבו greatness, majesty [noun]
במרה רבותא במלך כול עׄ[למים 2.4
אׄ֯נׄ֯הׄ נוח חן רׄבׄוׄ֯ וׄ֯קושׁ֯טׄהׄ֯ 6.23
וׄ֯מׄרׄה רׄבותא הוא די יתה 15.11

רגז anger [noun]
]סׄ רגזך תתקׄ֯ף וׄתתקיׄאׄם 0.5
]סׄ חמת רגזך 0.6
וׄ֯[ל]עדׄהׄ מׄן רׄגׄזׄך[0.10
]בׄ֯רׄגׄזׄ֯ךׄ ○○ן מן דיׄ נׄ֯הׄ֯ך 0.11
די אשתני אנפי עלי בׄרׄ֯גׄ[זי 2.12

רגז to be(come) angry [verb]
וׄאׄמׄרׄ לך דׄ֯אׄל תׄ֯רׄגז עלי 2.25

רגיג precious, desirable [adj.]
ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא 20.3

רגל (pilgrimage) festival [noun]
אׄתׄ֯הׄ֯ רגלא קדמיׄא ביׄוׄם חד 12.14
ביׄוׄם חד לרגלא קדמיא 12.14

רגל leg, foot [noun]
רגליהא/ כמא שׁפׄיׄרן 20.5

רגש to stir up, cause trouble [verb]
]○○○○ שׂגׄ֯י יהרגשון 4.1

רדף to pursue [verb]
והוא רדף בתרהון 22.7
ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון 22.9

רוח spirit, wind, emotion [noun]
באדין אנסתׄ רוחׄהא ועמי תמלל 2.13
[ארבע]רׄוחי שמיא נשבן 13.16
לקדמין עׄבׄר֯ת֯ [רוח] מׄן 13.16
ובדרתה לרוחׄיׄא ובתרה֯ 13.17
ובתרה֯ [עברת רוח] ◦ל◦ 13.17
ו֯רׄו֯ח֯ צ֯פ֯ון מ֯ן֯[13.18
רוח מכדש למכתשׄה 20.16
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא 20.16
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון 20.20
ורוח שחלניא וקרׄא [מ]לׄ[כ]א֯ 20.26
ותתגער מנה רוחא דא באישׄתׄא 20.28
ואתגערתׄ [מנה רוחא] בׄאישתא 20.29
מן ארבע רוחיהון 22.8

רוט to run [verb]
אנה למך $^{\text{רטׄת}}$ על מתושלח 2.19
ר֯ט֯ עׄל֯ חׄנוך אבוהי למנדע 2.22

רם/רום height [noun]
ו֯רׄמׄוהי בארעא וכול עובׄד 5.11
וארׄיׄ הא זיתא גבר ברומה 13.13
וראמא עד רׄמה תלתת בנ֯י֯ן 14.10

ראם/רום to rise, grow upward, be high [verb]
[ור]א֯מׄתׄ חׄלפ֯ת֯א די נפקא מנה 14.10
וראמא עד רׄמה תלתת בנ֯י֯ן 14.10
מׄרים אנה/ ידי יומא דן 22.20

רז mystery [noun]
ו֯אׄף רז רשעא די 1.2
]עׄתׄין ורזא די 1.3
]ר֯ז֯א אן אנון 1.7
אחוי ברׄזא דׄנׄא כ֯ו֯ל֯[5.21
ועם למך ברה ברז מׄלׄלׄ[5.25
] שׄמׄיׄא וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי 6.12
]להׄשׄתכׄלׄ לרׄז֯א הׄו֯וׄאׄ לׄך ס֯ף֯ 14.19
]ו֯רז֯אׄ מ֯◦◦◦[14.20

רח smell, odor [noun]
ורח מקטורתי ל[ש]מׄיׄא סלק 10.17

רחים beloved [adj.]
בדי הוא רחׄיׄם ור◦◦[2.20

רחם to have compassion, to love, desire [verb]
ו֯תׄבׄת וברכת די רחם עׄל אׄרׄעׄא 11.13
תלתהון ממללין שגי רחמה 20.8

רחם friend [noun]
ת׳תת אחיא אמוראא רחמי 21.21

רחמן merciful [adj.]
רחׄמנא לרׄח֯◦◦ 15.7

רחש creeping thing [noun]
ו֯[בעי]ר֯ אׄדמׄאׄ ורחׄש יבישתא 13.8

רכוש property [noun]
[ע]ו֯מ֯ר֯ם֯ [וכול] ר֯[כ]ו֯ש֯יׄא֯ 21.34

רם high, mighty, great [adj.]
כפרת ורׄאיש ר֯מ֯ה ע֯]ל 10.13

רמה height [noun]
ואמר לי סלק לך לרׄמת חצור 21.8
וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור 21.10
וחזית ארעא מן/ רמתא דא 21.11

רמי to raise, throw (oneself) [verb]
ורמׄי על נורא כול פש]עיא 15.12
ושמשא רׄמׄהׄ ו֯אׄנׄה [נוח 15.21
ורמה עליהון בליליא 22.8

רמת חצור Ramat Hazor [place name]
ואמר לי סלק לך לרׄמת חצור 21.8
וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור 21.10

רעה shepherd [noun]
מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא 21.5
ואתה חד מן רעה 22.1

רעה to shepherd [verb]
והוא רעׄה נכסוהי 21.6

רעו approval, acceptance [noun]
רׄעותה ואזל לאׄרׄךׄ מׄת 2.23

רפא to heal [verb]
וׄצׄליתׄ על[וה]יׄ[די] א֯רׄפׄא/ הו 20.28

רפאי Rephaite [people name]
ומחו לרפׄאיׄא די בעשׄתׄרׄא 21.28

רצץ to crush [verb]
ונורא עמה ארצׄיׄץ כׄול 15.10

רקיק soft [adj.]
[ו]רקׄיׄקׄ להׄ שער ראישה 20.3

רשע wicked, evil [adj.]
ו֯אׄף רז רשעא די 1.2
כׄו֯ל֯ עׄבׄדׄיׄ חמסא ורשעא ושקרא 11.14
]ברשע לׄכ֯ו֯ל מׄ◦◦ 15.5

משגיתהון להון רשיעין	15.9
]לׄפׄדׄיׄאׄ ורׄשעא ורמי על נורא	15.12

שאל to ask [verb]

וש]אׄלׄו להׄון סׄפׄרׄא וׄחׄכׄמׄתׄא	19.25

שבועה week [noun]

]◦ שבועין תרין ובאדין	6.18
בׄשבעׄתׄכׄם אׄל֯[	8.16
וׄכׄשבועה וכתׄיׄבׄהׄ דׄ[י	8.18
שבוׄעׄהׄ ו֯◦◦◦◦	8.19
וכתלת שׄבׄוׄעׄיׄ֯ן֯ [	8.20

שבח to glorify [verb]

ואׄזׄלׄוׄ בׄ◦◦ן והללוׄ ושבחוׄ	10.8

שבח praise, glory [noun]

שׄבׄחׄ עׄמׄדׄ לעלם הוא	10.13

שבי to take captive [verb]

ושׄבׄיׄ לוט בר אחוי	21.34
וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין	22.4
ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10
די שבאו אתיב	22.12
די שביא עמך	22.19

שבי captivity [noun]

די פלט מׄן שביא על אברם	22.2
וכול נכסוהי וׄכׄול/ שביתא	22.12
די אתיב אברם כול שביתא	22.12
וכול/ שביתא ויהב למלך סודם	22.25
וכול שביא די הואת עמה	22.25

שביל path [noun]

ישלקׄון וכול שׄבׄיׄלׄיׄ חׄמׄסׄ	5.19
מהׄלך בשבׄיׄלׄי אמת עלמא	6.2
[ ]ל[ ]◦◦ כול שבילי חמס	6.5

שבע seven [adj.]

נׄקׄבׄןׄ שבע	12.12
וׄחׄלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא	19.12
תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין	22.28

שבק to leave behind, spare [verb]

ולׄמׄשׄבׄקׄ תׄמרא בלחודיהה	19.15
ושׄבׄיק ארזא בטלל תמרתא	19.16
למקטלני ולכי למשבק	19.19
ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא	20.10
ונכסיא/ כולהון שביקין לך	22.20
מן ארעא דא שבק	22.25

שבש to entangle, confound [verb]

הא באדין ישתבשון ויׄתׄכׄלון [	5.16
וכולהון להון פלחין ומשתבשין	15.18

שגי to be(come) many, increase [verb]

פ]רׄיׄ וׄשׄגׄיׄ וׄמׄלי ארעא	11.16
ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא	21.13
וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו	22.29
עתרך ונכסיך/ ישגון לחדא	22.32

שגיא/שגי much, many [adj.]

]דׄאׄ בׄכׄולׄא ושגי לבי עלי	2.11
]◦◦◦◦ שׄגׄיׄ יהרגשון	4.1
א◦◦◦ שׄגׄיׄ וׄבׄאׄיׄשׄתׄא	4.3
עׄבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד דיׄ[	5.18
]◦ ◦◦אׄ שׄגׄיׄ	7.16
]שׄגׄיׄאׄן וׄ◦בעׄ אתחזיאת לי	12.3
צדותא הואת שגיא בארעא	12.9
שׄגׄיׄאׄ וׄכׄול חׄמׄרׄאׄ אׄיׄתת	12.14
ושען שגיאן בבׄעׄיׄ עׄנפיאן	13.13
בבׄעׄיׄ עׄנפיאן שגיאן	13.13
זיתא דׄןׄ וׄעׄלוהי שגי לחדא	13.15
ונופהן בׄמׄגׄדׄףׄ שגי ואנבהׄןׄ	15.16
יקׄיׄץ טׄוׄרׄ שׄגׄאׄיׄ וׄמׄנׄהׄ יׄנׄדׄבׄ	15.17
והווא יהבׄין/ לׄ[י מתנין שגיאן	19.25
בׄמׄאכל שגי ובמשתה שׄגׄיׄ	19.27
בׄמׄאכל שגי ובמשתה שׄגׄיׄ	19.27
כול שפרא דן חכמא שגיא	20.7
תלתהון ממללין שגי רחמה ושלח	20.8
בׄיׄ[ומא דנ]אׄ מנתנׄ[ן] שׄגׄיׄאׄן	20.30
ויהב להׄ מלכאׄ כׄ[סף וד]הב [ש]גׄיא	20.31
ולבוש שגי די בׄוׄץ	20.31
בנכסׄין שגיאין לחדא	20.33
לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין	20.34
אוספת לה על דילה שגי	21.6
וׄשׄגיאין מׄןׄ [כו]לׄ[ ]ל[	21.33
שגי לי עתר ונכסין	22.32

שגג inadvertent error [noun]

מ]תׄנׄדׄדׄא בׄיׄעןׄ הׄלׄיׄכׄהׄן ושגגׄהׄן	15.16

שד rope, band, cord (?) [noun]

]כׄוׄלׄאׄ וׄשׄדׄיׄאׄן קשרן בה	13.15

שהר moon [noun]

שמשא שהׄרא וכוכבׄיׄאׄ ועׄיׄרׄיא	7.2
חׄזׄה הוית לשמשא ולשהׄרׄאׄ	13.10

שוא Shaveh [place name]

אברם שרא בעמק/ שוא	22.14

שוה הקריות Shaveh Hakerioth [place name]
ולאימיא [די ב]שׂוה הקריות 21.29

שוי to put, impose [verb]
ושויו עליהון מדא 21.26

שופט judge [noun]
וכול עובׄד שׁוׄפׄטׄ אׄהׄבׄ להׄ ◦[5.11

שור chain, band [noun]
בׄהון שור ארבעא מלאכׄיׄן 15.14
]לׄ[ ]אׄה להון שור מן כול עׄמׄמׄי 15.15

שחלן foulness [noun]
ורוח שחלניא וקרׄא [מ]ל[כ]א֯ 20.26

שחלף to exchange, change [verb]
ל֯ק֯דׄמין שׁלחׄפ֯אׄ ע֯ד֯בה ל֯ע֯ד֯ב֯ 14.22

שחת to be ruined, distorted [verb]
כדנא עליך שנא ושחת 2.17

שים to place, put [verb]
פׄרׄיׄאׄ חׄדׄאׄ יׄשׁיׄם אׄרׄעׄא 3.11
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק 22.10

שכב to lie down [verb]
ושׁכׄבת עׄל מׄשׁכׄבי ודׄמכׄתׄ ◦[12.19

שכח to find, be able [verb]
לפרוין ותמן אשכחה לקץ אׄ[רעא 2.23
]וׄאׄ[ש]כׄחׄת אׄנׄהׄ נוח חן רׄבׄוׄ 6.23
משכח ארי במׄ[י]אׄ ◦◦◦ 10.12
דׄי לא ישכח כול בר אנוש 21.13
ואשכחת כול אנשׁי שלם 21.19
וכול ד]יׄ אשכׄ[ח]וׄ [תמן] 21.34
עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון 22.7

שכלו/שכל insight, understanding [noun]
למתו]שׁלׄחׄ בׄרׄהׄ שכל וׄ◦יׄ[3.27
קדׄ[י]שׁאׄ רׄבׄאׄ וׄ◦◦◦ שכלותא 7.20

שכל to comprehend, understand [verb]
]לׄהׄשׁתכׄלׄ לרׄזא הׄוׄאׄ לׄך סׄףׄ 14.19

שלח to send [verb]
ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא 1.25
ושלח/ לעובע דברהא 20.8
שלח לה אל עליון 20.16
ושלח/ קרא לכול חׄכׄימׄ[י] מצרין 20.18
ויׄשלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא 20.23
ושלׄחת קרית לממרה ולערנם 21.21
ושלח כולהון 22.26

שלט to rule, have mastery over [verb]
[תש]לׄ[ט] עׄליׄהׄון ארעא וכול 7.1
ומׄלי ארעא ושלט בכולהון 11.16
עׄמׄמׄי ארעא די לא ישלטוׄ[15.15
ואל ישלט בליליא דן 20.15

שלטן authority, rule [noun]
[וי]הב אנה שׁלטנׄאׄ דׄנׄהׄ ל[ך] 9.3

שליט ruler, master [noun]
די אנתה מרה ושליט 20.13
ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט 20.13
אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך 22.24

שלם to complete, be whole, pay [verb]
כדי שלמׄו לי לחשבון 6.9
באדין שלם לבני למׄסׄבׄ להון 6.10
]◦◦ יׄקׄרׄ וׄאׄגׄרׄיׄ אנה מׄשלם לך 7.5
דׄיׄ מׄני מׄ◦◦בׄ◦ל וׄשׁלׄםׄ ◦◦[10.1
ואשׁלׄמהאׄ לׄי 20.32
ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא 22.28

שלם peace, wholeness [noun]
ודי אתיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם 21.4
ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם 21.19
ואשכחת כול אנשׁי שלם 21.19

שלם Salem [place name]
וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם 22.13
ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק 22.14

שלק to boil, be consumed by heat [verb]
יׄשׁלׄקון וכול שׁבׄיׄלׄיׄ חׄמׄסׄ 5.19

שם name [noun]
ינתן]ל[ה] מׄרׄהׄ לשׁׄם קׄי[י]םׄ 3.29
◦◦◦ןׄ שׁם/ דׄיׄ קׄ[ד]יׄשׁאׄ 4.11
ובזרעה יתקרה שׁמׄךׄ 14.12
וקריׄת תמן בשׁׄ[ם א]ל[הא] 19.7
וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא 21.2
והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ לׄאלהא 21.2

שם Shem [pers. name]
לׄ[שם] בׄרׄיׄ רׄבא יליד לה בר 12.10
וׄ[הוו]אׄ כול בני שם כולהׄון 12.10
ואז]לׄיׄת אׄנׄהׄ לשׁׄם ברי 15.22
לשם נפק עדבא תנׄיאנא 16.14
]לׄדׄאׄ◦◦◦ לשׁׄםׄ 16.28
[ו]שׁׄם פׄלׄגׄ [ח]לקה בין בנוהי 17.7

שמאל left, north [noun/adj.]
וחׄד לשׁמׄאׄל אׄרׄעׄהׄ 14.17

די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.8
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	22.10

שמוקא Erythrean (Sea) [place name]

לימׄא/ שׄמ֯ו֯קא לראישה	17.8
עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא	21.17
והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.18
די נפק מן ימא שמוקא	21.18

שמי heaven(s), sky [noun]

קוד֯[ם מרה] שמ֯יׄא	0.14
[חד מן] בני שמין עד כולא	2.5
בקדישא רבא במלך ש[מיא	2.14
ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין	2.16
]◦◦ו֯◦◦◦ יתׄבין בני [שמין	3.5
]לׄ[א] מן בני/ שמין להן	5.4
[ו]ל֯[א]מׄן בׄנ֯י [שמין	5.10
[ואתחזי לי מרה] שׄמׄיׄא בחזיׄון	6.11
בעובד בני שמין ומׄאׄ כ֯ו֯ל	6.11
] שׄמ֯יׄא וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי	6.12
עד תרעי שׄמׄיׄא דׄמׄל[ד] כׄ[ו]ל֯	6.25
כול מזלת שמיא שמשא	7.2
למלי מרה שמיא ואציחת	7.7
]שמׄיׄא לחׄדא וקצׄי ◦[	7.19
דׄיׄ ◦◦נׄדׄ בׄמׄלך שׄמׄיׄ[א	8.10
ורח מקטורתי ל[ש]מׄיׄא סלק	10.17
למׄרׄהׄ/ [שמיא]דׄיׄ שׄבׄחׄ עׄמׄדׄ	10.13
◦◦◦◦ מׄן שׄמׄיׄא מלל עמי	11.15
וׄהׄוׄיׄת מבׄרׄך למרה שמיא	12.17
עו[ףׄ שׄמׄיא וחיות ברא	13.8
[ארבע]רׄוחי שמיא נשבן	13.16
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.16
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.21

שמיאבד Shemiabad [pers. name]

ועם שמיאבד מלך צבוין	21.25

שמע to hear, obey [verb]

וכדי שמע מתושל[ח אבי	2.21
וכדי שמע מׄתׄושלח מׄ[לי	5.24
וׄכׄדׄי אׄנה למך שׄ[מעת	5.26
ליׄ קל אשמע לך אמרין	6.15
◦◦◦◦ ושׄמׄעו ל֯◦[	10.9
[וכען] אצתׄ ושמע אנתה הוא	14.9
ושמעת די עׄ[ב]וׄרא הׄו[א] במצרין	19.10
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8
וׄכׄדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט	20.24
ושמע מלך סודם	22.12

שמש sun [noun]

ודנחא עינוהי כשמׄ[שא	5.12
שמשא שהרא וכוכבׄ֯יׄאׄ ועׄיׄרׄיא	7.2
חׄזה הוית לשמשא ולשהרׄאׄ	13.10
ושמשא רׄמׄהׄ ואׄנׄהׄ [נוח	15.21

שנא enemy, hated one [noun]

די סגר שׄנׄאׄיׄךׄ בידך	22.17

שנאב Shinab [pers. name]

ועם שנאב מלך אדמא	21.24

שנה year [noun]

ו֯ב֯כ֯ול ש֯נ֯אׄ ד֯נ֯הׄ ו֯י֯ו֯ב֯ל֯אׄ	7.3
ו֯י֯ו֯ב֯ל֯אׄ ושנין ע֯ו֯ב֯[ד]ה֯ון	7.3
]◦◦◦י֯ן֯ ש֯נ֯י֯ן֯	11.18
אנה לךׄ ◦◦ בׄשׄנין בנׄיׄך	11.19
תרתין שנין בתר מבולׄאׄ	12.10
בלובר טורא ולשנין ארבע	12.13
ל◦◦◦יׄ כול שׄנ֯הׄ בׄלׄ◦	12.27
ויתבת [תמ]ן֯ [תרתי]ן֯ שׄנׄ֯יׄן	19.10
כול בׄרׄ אׄנ֯ו֯שׄ[חמ]שׄ שׄנׄין	19.23
ולסוף חמש שניא אלן	19.23
והיא עמה/ תרתין שנין	20.18
ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו	20.18
תרתי עשרה שנין הׄווא	21.26
ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה	21.27
ובשנת ארבע עשרה	21.27
ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27

שנה sleep [noun]

ואתעירת א[נׄאׄ נׄוׄחׄ מן שנתי	15.21
ואתׄעׄירת בליליא מן שנתי	19.17

שני to change [verb]

ולבי עלי משתני על עולימא	2.2
ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני	2.11
אנתתי די אשתני אנפי עלי	2.12
כדנא עליך שנא ושחת	2.17

שניר Senir [place name]

ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן	21.11
ושניר עד פורת	21.12

שעי to tell, relate [verb]

ואמרת לי אשתעׄיׄ לי חלמך	19.18
ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן	19.18

שעיר he-goat, hairy goat [noun]

[שעיר]הׄ לקדמׄיׄן ובׄתׄרׄהׄ	10.14

שעה hour [noun]

ושען שגיאן בבׄעׄיׄ עׄנפיאן	13.13

שער hair [noun]

[ו]רקׄיׄקׄ להׄ שער ראישה	20.3

שפול lower part, skirt [noun]
נחתת לשׄפ֯ו֯ליׄ ט֯ו֯רא דן 12.8

שפי to be silent [verb]
שׄפׄית וקוית עד די ק] 6.19

שפיר beautiful [adj.]
]◦◦◦יא֯ חׄ◦ לחד שׄפׄירא 7.18
◦◦ל֯ שׄפ֯ירׄ 12.19
אׄנ[בא]רׄברב ושׄפׄירׄ ומתחזה 13.14
כׄמׄהׄ נ֯י֯צׄחׄ ושפירׄ לה 20.2
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא 20.4
דרעיהא מא שפירן 20.4
רגליהא/ כמא שׄפׄירן 20.6

שפל lowly [adj.]
פ[תׄיא ומכיא ושפליא 0.7

שפנין turtledove [noun]
ותליתי לבני שׄפ֯נ֯י֯נ֯אׄ 10.15

שופר/שפר beauty [noun]
ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרׄת 20.7
ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן 20.7
ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא 20.7
וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא 20.9

שפר to be beautiful, fair [verb]
וׄכול נץ/ אנפיהא מׄשׄפׄירׄ 20.4
לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא 20.6
ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרׄת 20.7

שק leg, thigh [noun]
וכמאׄ שׄלׄמא להן לה שקיהא 20.6

שקה to water, irrigate [verb]
כול ארעא די משקה פורת 17.12

שקל to lift [verb]
ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנחא 21.9

שקר deceit, lie [noun]
מן נׄתׄיב שקר די אזלן לחשוך 6.3
כׄוׄלׄ עׄבׄדׄיׄ חמסא ורשעא ושקרא 11.14

שרי to begin, release [verb]
[ו]שׄרית אנה ובני כולהון 12.13
ושרית למשת'ה ביום חד 12.15
] מׄלׄכׄא ושרי֯◦[13.3
ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן 19.18
ושרית למסחר מן גׄיחון נהרא 21.15

שרי to encamp [verb]
והוׄית שׄרׄהׄ [עמה] 20.34
אנון/ שרין בבקעת דן 22.8
אברם שרא בעמק 22.13

שרי Sarai [pers. name]
ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם 19.17
ובכת שרי עׄל מׄלי בליליא דן 19.21
שרי למפנה לצען 19.22
ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי 20.9
כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס 20.11
ושרי אנתׄתׄהׄ עׄמה 20.23
ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי 20.25
אנתת אברם יׄתׄיבו נה לשרי 20.25
ואת֯י֯בׄ לי/ לשׄרׄי 20.31

שרץ swarming creature(s) [noun]
חזה הוית עד די אסיפׄוׄהׄיׄ שׄרץ 13.11
שׄרץ ארעא ושרץ מיא וׄס֯ף 13.11

שרש root [noun]
צׄמ֯חׄ[ו] מׄן שׄרׄ[ש חד] 19.15
ארי תרינא מן שרש ח֯[ד] 19.16

שת six [adj.]
]◦שׄ שׄת עׄשרה והוא כ֯ו֯לׄ 8.1

שתי to drink [verb]
ושרית למשת'ה ביום חד 12.15
ביום חד לשתא חמׄישׄיׄאׄתׄא 12.15
ואכלת ואשתית תמן 21.20
ואכלו כחדא/ עמי ואשתיו עמי 21.22

תיבו/תבו ark [noun]
[תׄבותא נחת חד מן טורי 10.12
אנה נ֯וׄחׄ ה֯ו֯ית בתרע ת'בותׄאׄ 11.1

תבר to break, shatter [verb]
ויתברן לה לקדמין עׄבׄר֯ת֯ 13.16
ואׄתבר מלך סודום וערק 21.32
ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון 22.9

תגר to profit, make gains [verb]
כדי הוית מׄתגר על דילהא 20.10

תוב to return, repeat, repent [verb]
וׄת֯בׄת וברכת די רחם עׄל אׄרׄעׄא 11.13
אנתת אברם יׄתׄיבו נה לשרי 20.25
ואת֯י֯בׄ לי/ לשׄרׄי 20.30
ודי אתיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם 21.3
ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם 21.19
ותׄבׄוׄ ו֯מ֯חׄוׄ לע֯י֯ן ד֯[ינא 21.30

די שבאו אתיב 22.12
די אתיב אברם כול שביתא 22.12
ואתיב אברם כול נכסיא 22.24
וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין 22.29

תובל Tubal [pers. name]
ויואן ותׄוׄבל ומשוך 12.12
לתׄוׄבׄל דׄבׄעבר 17.17

תוך to depart, come to an end [verb]
ויתוך מנכה מׄכׄתשא דׄן 20.26

תוקף force [noun]
די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף 20.14

תור (Mount) Taurus, bull [place name]
נפל טור תורא דן ועבר 17.10
די/ דבקת לטור תורא 21.16
ואזלת ליד טור תורא 21.16

תחום border, boundary [noun]
מׄןׄ איא תחׄומׄאׄ ואׄ[9.10
[ו]עׄבׄר תחומא דן מי ימא רבא 16.11
ואזל תחומׄא דן כעין 16.17

תירס Tiras [pers. name]
ותירׄסׄ ובנן נׄקׄבׄן ארבע 12.12
]ל֯[תירס 17.18

תלית third [adj.]
אקטרת ותליתי לבני שׄפׄנ֯י֯נ֯א֯ 10.15
ו֯לׄחׄםׄ[נפ]ק֯[עדבא תלת]י֯א 16.26

תלת three [adj.]
וילדתׄ לי בׄנׄיׄן תל֯[ת]הׄ 6.7
וכתלת שׄבׄ֯וׄעׄי֯ן [8.20
וראמא עד רׄמה תלתת בׄנ֯י֯ן 14.10
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא 17.11
וׄתׄלׄתׄאׄ גׄבׄרׄין מן רברבי מצריׄן 19.24
די פם חד תלתהון ממללין 20.8
תׄלתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי 21.21
ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה 21.27
גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא 22.6
וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא 22.23

תמה to be amazed, astounded [verb]
והוית תמהׄ עׄל זיתא דׄן 13.15
תמהת עׄדׄ דׄי֯[13.15
אל תׄתמה על חׄלמא דׄן 15.19
וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא 20.9

תמן there [adv.]
לפרוין ותמן אשכחה לקץ אׄ[רעא 2.23
וקרית תמן בׄשׄ[ם א]ל[הא] 19.7
ונגדת למׄ[ה]ךׄ תׄמׄןׄ 19.9
ויתבת [תמ]ן [תרתי]ן שׄנׄיׄן 19.10
לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחא 21.1
וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא 21.2
ואודית תמן קודם אלהא 21.3
ובנית תמן מדבח 21.20
ואכלת ואשתית תמן 21.20
[וכול ד]יׄ אשכׄ[ח]וׄ [תמן 21.34

תמני eight [adj.]
תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר 22.6

תמרה date palm [noun]
ותמרא/ חדא כׄחׄדׄאׄ צׄמׄחׄ[ו] 19.14
וׄלמׄשבׄק תׄמרא בלחודיהה 19.15
ואכליאׄת תמרתא ואמרת 19.16
ושׄבׄיק ארזא בטלל תמרתא 19.16

תנה/תנא here [adv.]
די לתׄנׄאׄ אתית לבׄ[עי]ךׄ[2.25
תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין 22.28

תניאן second [adj.]
על נורא אׄקטרת ותניאנא 10.14
לשם נפק עדבא תנׄיאנא 16.14
ל֯[י]דׄ לוׄדׄ ללשׄ[נא ת]נ֯ׄיׄאנא 17.17
ל[שנא]תׄנ֯י֯אׄנׄאׄ למשך 17.18
ובניתה תניאני/ ל֯◦ 21.1

תקיף strong [adj.]
]◦◦◦נוׄן אסיר תקיׄף 1.21
בחלץ תקיׄף עמי מללת 2.8
בכית אנה/ אברם בׄכׄי תקיׄף 20.11
ואספרׄךׄ לׄךׄ לתקיׄף ברא מנך 22.31

תקף to be(come) strong [verb]
]םׄ רגזך תתקׄף וׄתתקיׄאם 0.5
ואׄתׄקׄפׄתׄ בׄחׄכׄמׄתׄאׄ אׄ[6.6
ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו 20.18
ותקף מלך/ עׄיל 21.25
ואהׄוׄהׄ לך/ סעד ותקף 22.31

תקוף strength [noun]
[ארבע]רׄוחי שמיא נשבן בתׄקׄוף 13.16

תרב fat [noun]
]◦◦ ותרבה על נורא אׄקטרת 10.14

תרין two [adj.]
]◦ שבועין תרין ובאדין 6.18
תרתין שנין בתר מבולאׄ 12.10
תׄרׄין בנ֯י֯ן ◦◦◦תה 14.16

לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהׄרׄיא	17.9
ויתבת [תמ]ן [תרתי]ן֯ שׄ֯נׄין	19.10
ארי תרינא מן שרש	19.16
מלי חרקנוש ומלי תרין חברוהי	20.8
והיא עמה/ תרתין שנין	20.17
ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו	20.18
תרתי עשרה שנין הׄוׄוא	21.26
תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין	22.28

תרע door, gate [noun]

עד תרעי שׄמׄיׄ֯א֯ דׄ֯מׄל֯[ד] כׄ֯[ו]ל֯	6.25
אנה נ֯וׄח הׄו֯יׄת בתרע תבותׄא	11.1

תרעל Tiral [pers. name]

תרעל מלך גׄוים	21.23

תשבחה glory, praise [noun]

לעלם הוא ולה תשׁבׄחׄתׄא֯	10.13

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